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BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

A

History of Aylesbury

WITH ITS

BOROUGH AND HUNDREDS,

The Hamlet of Walton,

AND

THE ELECTORAL DIVISION,

BY ROBERT GIBBS.

"I neede not seeke so far in coastes abrode,
As some men do, which wryte strange historeys,
For whyles at home I made my chiefe abode,
I founde enowe which seemed to suffice,
To set on worke farre finer wits than mine."

GEORGE GASCOYNE. [1572].

AYLESBURY:
PRINTED BY ROBT. GIBBS, "BUCKS ADVERTISER & AYLESBURY NEWS" OFFICE.

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Aylesbury Original Market House. Page 402.

Preface.

"If an author unites a large share of accuracy even with a moderate portion of erudition; if he collects materials with industry, and uses them with judgment; if he distinguishes between ingenuity and refinement, and separates useful information from ostentatious pedantry, he will have a claim to public favour, though he should not possess the exquisite taste of a Heyne, the profound erudition of a Hemsterhuys, or the keen penetration of a Porson."—DR. PARR.

WITHOUT having any definite object in view, I had for a considerable period collected and preserved all facts and scraps I met with relating to Aylesbury. In course of time I found myself possessed of an accumulation of material, but it was in such a tangled, disordered, and uninviting state that I was undecided as to the disposal of it. It occurred to me that with some labour my collection would form the neucleus for a "History of Aylesbury," and the present volume is the result.

When I commenced my work I had no idea of producing a book of 700 pages, but I do not in the least regret the amount of labour I have expended on it, as in my researches in obtaining information for my readers I have gained so much for myself as amply to compensate me for my exertions.

It is a pleasure to me to have to acknowledge the courtesy and promptitude with which any requests I have made for information have been accorded; consequently I have not found my task irksome or laborious. Numerous offers of assistance have been proffered and accorded in the most acceptable manner, and which I now

respectfully take the opportunity of acknowledging. To many of my friends general thanks are not sufficient. I am indebted to Mr. St. John Aubyn, London; Mr. E. R. Baynes, steward of the Aylesbury Manors; the Rev. A. Beanlands, late of Aylesbury; Mr. R. S. Downs, of High Wycombe; Mr. D. Brandon, of Berkeley Square, London; Mr. W. H. Filby, of Aylesbury; Mrs. Hooper, sen., of Aylesbury; Mr. W. P. Ivatts, of South Hackney; the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.D., All Saints', Lambeth; the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield; the Rev. C. C. Mackarness, of Aylesbury; Messrs. J. and T. Parrott, of Aylesbury; the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, of Bournemouth; Mr. Pink, of Leigh, Lancashire; Mr. J. G. Rowe, of Aylesbury; Mr. F. F. Sherriff, of London; the Rev. F. Young, of Walton, Aylesbury; the Managers of the Aylesbury Silk Mill, Printing Works, and Anglo-Swiss Milk Company, and others.

A reference to the List of Subscribers and Patrons will ever afford me the highest gratification.

ROBERT GIBBS.

Oak Hall, Aylesbury, 1885.

'Tis but a simple record of the past,
Scarce worthy of your note. Yet there are names
Of good men and of true enshrined here,
With some blurred pictures of an age long dead
And humble records of the days gone by.

GODEFRIDUS.

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A History of Aylesbury.

By ROBERT GIBBS.

Chapter I.—INTRODUCTION.

Disadvantages in Compiling a History of Aylesbury—No Original Documents—All Records Lost—Few Remnants of History—Former Historians of Aylesbury—Only Scraps — Leland — his Account of Aylesbury — Camden — his Account — Sir W. Dugdale — Browne Willis — his Account — Samuel Lysons — Dr. Lipscomb — he proposes to publish a History of Aylesbury—no Subscribers to it—project fails—Concise Biographical Notices—Late John Gibbs's notes on Aylesbury.

THE compiler of a History of Aylesbury undertakes his task with the greatest disadvantages. Although the town at one time enjoyed the privileges of a Corporation, could boast of its Chief local Magistrate, its Aldermen, Capital Burgesses, its Mansion House, Officers, and other paraphernalia, all have disappeared. Everything but a copy of the Act of Incorporation and the names of its first "wise men" has passed into oblivion, and it is to be lamented that not a single scrap has survived to tell us of former sayings and doings relative to Aylesbury. Its archives, with its documents, ar all lost to us for ever. There never was a more perfect annihilation. Although the author of this compilation has resided in the town the whole of his life, and has probably advantages of research which many do not possess, still all his efforts to discover the smallest particle of a single original document tending to elucidate information relative to the ancient history of the place have been unavailing, and consequently disappointing. The only ancient records of which the antiquarian can avail himself are the Parish Registers and the Court Rolls of the Manor, and these are but poor and scanty references on which to found a general history. From this paucity of material, it may be inferred, a comprehensive or detailed history of Aylesbury has never been attempted.

All that is recorded relating to the history of the town is to be found in portions of larger historical works. Scraps referring to it are to be met with in the writings of Leland, Camden, Dugdale, Browne Willis, and other historical authors, but these notices are generally meagre in the extreme. Dr. Lipscomb, the Bucks County Historian, is the only writer who gives any details relating to Aylesbury, and these are included in his general history of the County of Buckingham.

Leland, amongst others who have mentioned Aylesbury in their works, was Chaplain and Librarian to Henry VIII. He spent six years in travelling to collect materials for his "History and Antiquities of England and Wales," but before he had finished his work he died insane, in the year 1552. This is Leland's account of Aylesbury:—

"If ever I passed into Alesbury, I rode over a little bridge of Stone called Woman's Bridge, under the which passed a Brooke down on the right Hand as I rode; and from this Bridge to the Towne is a Stone Cawsey. This is, as farre as I can gather, Tame Water.

"The Towne selfe of Alesbury standeth on an Hill in respect of all the Ground thereabout, a 3 Miles flatt North from Chiltern Hilles. The Towne is neatly well builded with Tymbre, and in it is a celebrate Market. It standeth in the High-Waye from Banbury to London, and Buckingham to London. There is *domus civica* in the middle of the Market Place, a late re-edifyed by — Baldwin, chiefe Justice of the Common-Pleas; but the Kinge gave the Tymber of it. The Gaole for Buckinghamshire is in this Towne.

"There is but one Parech Church standing West-North-West in it; but that is one of the most ancientest in all those quarters, as it appeareth by the life of St. Osith. Querendon, a mile and an halfe from Alesbury, also Burton and Alesbury (*qy.* Ellesburrowe) in Chilterne, 3 miles of by South, with divers other Hamletts, were in Alesbury Parish.

"It is sayd that a B. of Lincolne desired by a Pope to give the Personage of Alesbury to a stranger, a kinsman of his, found the means to make it a Prebende, and to impropriate it to Lincolne Church. At the which time also the Personage of Tame was impropriate and made a Prebende in Lincolne. Soe that the care of both the churches with a right bare Livinge be reject unto the Vicars. St. Osith, daughter to Fredwald, was borne in Querendon, in Alisbury Parish, and brought up with an Aunt of hers at Ellesburrowe, in Chilterne Hilles, a 3 Miles from Alesbury by South, whereof the E. of Salesbury were late Lordes, and now the Kinge by atteinture.

"St. Osith's body was translated for a while for feare of Danes, from Chich. alias St. Osith, to Alesbury. There was, as some saye, a Nunnery, or other House of Religion, whereas the Personage now is, and record yet remaineth that this house should be of the Maturines, alias *patres ordinis Stæ. Trinitatis*, of like sect to the Fryers of Tikhill and Hundestawe, 10 Miles from London.

"There was a house of Grey-Friars in the towne towards the South, founded about the tyme of K. R. 2. The Lord of Ormund was in the tyme of man's minde counted chiefe L. of Alesbury, since Boliew by Partition of Land.

"There runneth a pretty brooke, almost at the very End of the Towne, by South under a Wooden Bridge. It runneth downe from East by West into Tame. I take the head of it to be towardes Wendover a through Fare, 3 miles of.

"Tame River selfe, as I there learned, riseth in the Eastern Parts of all the Chilterne Hilles toward Dunstable, and the head of it is about 7 miles from Stone Bridge, on Tame, betwixt Alesbury and Querendon."

William Camden, another historical writer, who recognises Aylesbury, was a learned English antiquary; he received his early education at Christ's Hospital, and subsequently studied at Oxford, where he took his B.A. After filling the situations of second and chief master of Westminster School, his proficiency in antiquarian lore procured him the honourable and lucrative office of Clarencieux King at Arms. In addition to his great and well-known work "The Britannia," he published "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," also a Greek Grammar, and other learned works. He was born in 1551, and died 1623. Referring to Aylesbury he says:—

"Not far from the river Tame, which watereth the south part of the Vale, stands on a rising ground a very fair Market-town, large and pretty populous, surrounded with a great number of pleasant meadows and pastures, and now call'd Ailsbury; whence the whole Vale is commonly term'd the Vale of Ailsbury. The Saxons call'd it Aeglerburge, when Cutwolph the Saxon took it by force in the year 572. As for its old British name, that through the injury of time is quite lost. This town was heretofore chiefly famous for St. Ædith, a native of it, who when she had prevail'd with her father Frewald to give her this for her portion, presently upon perswasion of some Religious persons, left the world and her husband, and taking on her the habit of a Nun, grew so celebrated for her sanctity, that in that fruitful age of Saints she is reported to have done several miracles, together with her sister Edburg, from whom Edburton, a little village among the hills, takes its name. In the time of the Conquerour this was a Manour-royal, and several yard-lands were here given by the King, upon the condition that the holders of them should find Litter (*i. e.* straw) for the King's bed whenever he should come thither. In the reign of Edward 1. certain Knights surnam'd de Ailsbury, who bore for arms a Cross argent in a field azure, are reported (but how truly I know not) to have been Lords of this place. Yet so much is certain, that these Knights were eminent in those times; and that by marriage with an heiress of the Cahaignes (formerly Lords of Middleton Cahaignes) they came to a plentiful estate, which fell afterwards by marriage to the Chaworth's or de Cadurcis, and Staffords. The greatest repute it now hath is for Cattel. It owes much to the munificence of Lord chief Justice Baldwin, who not only adorn'd it with several publick edifices, but rais'd an excellent Causey for about three miles, where the road is deep and troublesome. All round about are fed a vast number of well-fleec'd sheep, to the great profit and advantage of their owners; especially at Querendon, a Lordship belonging to the very eminent Sir Henry Lee, Knight of the Garter; Eythorp, once to the Dinhams, now to the Dormers, Knights; and Winchindon, to the Godwins, Knights, &c."

Sir William Dugdale, who in his "Monasticon" refers to the Grey Friars Monastery at Aylesbury, was an eminent antiquary and herald; he was educated at St. John's College Oxford; he accompanied Charles I. throughout the Civil War, and after the Restoration, on being appointed Garter King of Arms, he received the honour of Knighthood. His chief work is the "Monasticon Anglicanium;" he also wrote "The Baronetage of England," "The History of St. Paul's Cathedral," "Origines Juridicales," and several other works of merit. He died in 1686.

Browne Willis was a local author and antiquarian; he was born at Blandford, in Dorsetshire, in 1682. He was grandson of the very celebrated Dr. Thomas Willis, M.D., the Royalist, and physician in ordinary to Charles I. Dr. B. Willis succeeded to a good estate in Bucks, left him by his father; it consisted of lands in Whaddon, of the estimated value of £2,000 a year, but he much reduced it by his little knowledge of the world. His attentions seem mainly to have been devoted to ecclesiastical antiquities. He was excessively liberal in his benefactions to decayed churches, particularly to those in his own neighbourhood. Willis was the author of several works of an antiquarian character, which have now become scarce and valuable. His "Notitia Parliamentaria"* is a history of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs in England and Wales, showing their antiquities, charters, and privileges, with a list of all knights, citizens, burgesses, &c., from the first summons to Parliament. He was author of "A Survey of the Cathedrals

* A reprint of the Bucks portion was published by the author of this work in 1854.

o York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Bristol, Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough ;" also, "A Survey of the Cathedrals of St. David's, Landaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor;" and "A History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbeys and Conventual Cathedral Churches;" also a work of considerable interest to Buckingham people, under the title of "The History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred and Deanery of Buckingham." He died in 1760, and was buried at Fenny Stratford.

Aylesbury by Browne Willis:—"The church of Ailesbury was one of the most ancient in all these parts, and the parish thereto belonging, of the greatest extent in the whole county, it including Ellisborough-parish in the Chilterne, as also Bierton, Buckland, Stoke-Mandeville, and Quarendon: all which places were formerly only chapels of ease to it, neither was the manour of the town less considerable ; for, at the time of the Norman survey, Ailesbury lordship, which was then the Demesne Land of the Crown, was rated at £56, which lordship the Conqueror (tho' he bestow'd the church, with its appendants, viz., Bierton, &c., on the cathedral of Lincoln, to which it is at this day prebendal) still reserv'd to himself, as his immediate successors also did ; for it was not alienated 'till the fifth of King John, who bestow'd in on Geffrey Fitz-Piers, Earl of Essex ; yet nevertheless appointed the said Geffry to pay a quit-rent out of it of £60 per ann. to the Crown, which was continu'd 'till Queen Elizabeth's time (who releas'd the same by granting the said rent to Sir Thos. Barrington, and his heirs). Tho' this town had often chang'd its owners passing, upon failure of issue-male of this Geffry's family, to Joan wife of Theobald de Botiler, who, Anno. 25 Edward I. (upon the decease of Richard Fitz Geffry and Emma his relict, to whom this manour was assign'd for dower) in his wife's right, who was the said Richard's fourth sister and co-heir, had the town of Ailesbury assign'd him (*inter alia*) for her purparty ; and the descendants of the said Theobald, afterwards created Earls of Wilts and Ormond, long enjoy'd the same : Tho, during the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III., this family being attainted for adhering to the house of Lancaster, the said princes granted *(inter alia)* this town, parcel of the possessions of James Butler, Earl of Wilts, to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex ; but the scene being chang'd in the next reign, and the attainder revers'd by Henry VII., they soon were re-instated, and held this manour in quiet occupation, 'till on the decease of Thomas Earl of Wilts and Ormond, without issue-male, this manour (as the title of Earl of Wilts did) came to Thomas, son of Sir Richard Bullen, Knight, and Margaret his wife, daughter and co-heir to Thomas Botiler, Earl of Wilts and Ormond aforesaid: which said Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wilts, father of Anne, one of King Henry VIII.'s Queens, sold the same to Sir John Baldwin, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; which Sir John departing this life, Anno 37 Henry VIII., Thomas Packington and John Borlase, who marry'd (as I remember) his daughters, were then found to be his cousins and next heirs, and accordingly had partition of his lands ; upon sharing of which, this Manour of Ailesbury was allotted to the said Thomas Packington."

Like many other authors who venture on the publication of works of a local rather than of a general character, Browne Willis was not successful in a pecuniary point. He complains of the want of patronage ; referring to his History of the Town and Hundred of Buckingham he says: "Sold only 69 copies, of which to the gentlemen of Buckinghamshire but 28." In 1756 he writes to one of his daughters, "I have worked for nothing ; nay, except in one book, have been out of pocket and at great expense in what I printed."

Samuel Lysons was an eminent antiquarian and biographer; he studied at the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar; was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London; he died in 1819; his principal and well known works are the "Environs of London" and a topographical and historical account of several counties, in which works he was associated with his brother, the Rev. Daniel Lysons. It is in his history of counties he includes Buckingham, in which he gives a concise reference to Aylesbury.

Dr. George Lipscomb, the historian of Bucks. to whom we are indebted for considerable details referring to Aylesbury, was a native of Quainton. His father, Mr. James Lipscomb, was in early life a medical officer in the Royal Navy; he (the father) was eldest son and heir of Thomas Lipscomb, of Winchester, surgeon, by Mary Fussell, sister of the Rev. James Fussell, who was rector of Hardwick in 1738. James Lipscomb married Mary George, of Grendon Underwood, a member of an old and reputable family of that village; these were the parents of Dr. George Lipscomb; they resided at one period at Quainton, but subsequently at Grendon Underwood. James Lipscomb died in 1794, and is buried in Quainton churchyard, where a memorial is erected to his memory by his widow and son. It is evident that Dr. Lipscomb contemplated publishing a history of Aylesbury as a distinct work had he obtained the slightest encouragement; his plan was not carried out. In the following letters to a friend at Aylesbury he asks his opinion upon the subject:—

"Dear Sir,—Having had repeated applications to publish an octavo volume, properly illustrated, the 'History of the Town, Borough, and Parish of Aylesbury,' do you think such a scheme feasible? and could you afford me your co-operative assistance in it? How many subscribers, if the volume makes about eight or ten sheets (at most), do you think might be depended upon in the vicinity, and at what price might it be charged?

"Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"Newington, Surrey, July 1st, 1842." "G. Lipscomb, M.D.

On the subject of the "History of Aylesbury," he again writes:—

"Great Smith Street, Westminster.

"Sir,— . . . I have been preparing a very pretty and attractive vignette as the initial for the 'History of Aylesbury,' and I should have been very glad if I could have procured a copy of a slight sketch which I remember to have seen in my boyhood, of the distant view of the old spire of the church, on the face of clocks, made by either Mr. Stone or Mr. Quartermaine, of Aylesbury, for which I have repeatedly inquired in vain.

"Can you give me any account of the old paintings or carvings in the 'George Inn' or 'White Hart,' of which my deceased correspondent, Sir Scrope B. Morland had repeatedly promised me more information than he lived to impart—the old carvings in the 'White Hart,' said to have been brought from Salden House.'

"Do, pray, endeavour to get me a subscriber or two among your Aylesbury friends, for I am very poor, and this great work is exceedingly expensive, and exhausts all my means to the very dregs. I should esteem it a great kindness if you can get me an order even for a single copy.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant.

"G. Lipscomb."

The great work he refers to, is his history of the County of Buckingham. It is much to be deplored that Dr. Lipscomb's zeal in his literary labours led him into sad pecuniary difficulties. For many years he resided at Whitchurch, where he was acknowledged as the village doctor. Eventually he left Whitchurch to live in London. About the year 1840 his letters were addressed from various parts of the metropolis, and it may be assumed that at that period he had no settled residence. So embarrassed became the state of his affairs that a portion of his work was written within the precincts of the Queen's Bench, or whilst he was under the jurisdiction of the "Liberties of the Fleet Prison" as a debtor. He is last traced to lodgings in Westminster, where, or in the neighbourhood, he died in abject poverty and distress; the precise date of his death has not been ascertained. But for the kindness of the late Mr. Gordon Gyll, of Wraysbury, who incidentally heard of the death, Dr. Lipscomb would have found his last resting place in a pauper's grave. Mr. Gyll and a few others subscribed and saved the remains from this ignominy. As the death took place subsequently to the passing of the Registration Acts there would be little difficulty in finding when and where the unfortunate historian was buried. His wife pre-deceased him, and they left no issue. The history of Bucks was not finished at the time of Dr. Lipscomb's decease, but as it was in the hands of energetic publishers it was completed by them, and the latter portions of it will well compare with the earlier published parts. The index to the work is a comprehensive one, and displays great and laborious care in its compilation.

In the year 1842 the late Mr. John Gibbs wrote a series of articles on Aylesbury, which were published in the *Aylesbury News* of that date; they related more to the social and domestic state of the town than to a general history, and his remarks were confined to events within his own recollection. These articles were certainly original, very quaintly written, and contain matter not to be met with elsewhere; extracts will be made from them in this work.

Chapter II.—EARLY HISTORY.

The Chiltern Hills—Ancient Inhabitants—Traces of their Footsteps—their Fastnesses—vestiges of their Settlements—Barrows—Tumuli—Mounds—Modes of Interment—Early English Barrows—Druid Barrows—British Barrows—Fortresses—Early Fortifications—Anglo-Saxon Fortifications—Norman Fortresses—Plentiful vestiges of Former Ages—little known of them generally—Roman and other "Finds" at Dinton, Hartwell, Walton, Weston Turville, Stone—Improvement of public taste in Archæology—Publications on the subject.

BY a journey of but a few minutes' duration from the Aylesbury Station on the Great Western Railway, the foot of the Chiltern Hills is reached. Every native of Buckinghamshire must have frequently gazed with peculiar interest and delight upon the Chilterns. They constitute the most prominent object of his county, and have been familiar to him from earliest childhood; and now, perchance, they remain the sole unaltered mementoes of those bright and buoyant days. There is no spot more popular amongst the residents of the Aylesbury district than that known as Velvet Lawn. Few there are of the neighbourhood who have not spent some happy hours in that rural and lovely retreat. The Velvet Lawn visitors of our day are of a far different class to those who made a retreat of that place in remote ages. Time was, when overgrown as woodland, it was one of the most impenetrable fastnesses of the Ancient Britons; there, under cover of the immense forest and the shelter of the lofty hills, they evaded the pursuits of their enemies. They have left numerous traces of their occupations and footsteps, perhaps unobservable to the casual visitor; but here the historian, the antiquary, and the collector of rural tradition and legendary lore may pursue their respective recreations with profit and delight—may increase their own literary treasures, and cast additional light and interest on the annals of our country's history; for here may be wended miles along the Ickeneild—that ancient road, first constructed by our aboriginal ancestors, perhaps two thousand years ago. Here you may trace many an encampment of the Roman invader, and explore the sepulchral barrows of our Saxon forefathers. There the rustic cottager will point out to you the deep fosse and lofty bank, made, as he will tell you, by Oliver Cromwell, and then, with solemn air and terrified countenance, will relate how, in the dusky mists of midnight, spectre armies of Cavaliers and Roundheads are still seen fiercely contending with each other in deadly and interminable warfare. Here, too, you may trace for some miles the course of Gryme's Dyke, which, your rustic guide will tell you, was all made in one terrible, tempestuous night by grizzly Gryme, the wicked wizard; and perhaps the learned antiquary would not be able to give you a more

truthful account of its origin, so completely hidden is it in remote antiquity. On these hills may be traced vestiges of British and Roman settlements, and the chronicled sites of Saxon and Danish battles.

There is no subject more interesting to the enquiring mind than that which relates to the primitive inhabitants of our native land. The question is intricate and beset with difficulties; for an inquiry into the aborigines of Britain would embrace a dissertation on the early antiquities of the great family of man. The early history of this country is yet unwritten. Hume says that "the history of nations in their infancy is not worth a recital;" as if the commencement of the arts of civilized life, the dawn of national intelligence, and the framing of the social system, were not subjects interesting to the mind when contemplating the subsequent greatness of a country and its advancement in intellectual and political greatness.

There are various sources available in an inquiry into the manners, habits, and customs of our forefathers. There is, first, the evidence of tradition. This species of evidence is in many cases unsound, and cannot be depended on, from the additions and alterations which must necessarily occur in its transmission through the course of ages. There is, next, the evidence of language, which has often been satisfactorily applied in elucidating the early portions of the history of the human race, and in tracing the connexion between the different aboriginal nations. There is another source which is of importance in entering on the subject of the manners and habits of the ancient Briton; it is the evidence of contemporary authority. The great writers of Rome were more anxious to record the achievements of their military leaders over the barbaric tribes, than to furnish much information concerning their customs and mode of life. The testimony of Cæsar and Tacitus is still of great weight amongst inquirers, and furnishes an outline of the general manners of the early tribes of Gaul and Britain. However valuable each of these sources of evidence may be, the only satisfactory substitute for historic document is to be found in the actual existing remains in our country; and in proportion as we find them rude in appearance, and devoid of all appearance of art, the nearer will they conduct us to a primitive state of society—to the infancy of social man. To these rude vestiges of former times, these silent memorials of men and days long since forgotten; to these rude efforts of our ancestors, which, before the light of civilization and religion dawned upon them, recorded their simple emotions and aspirations, we must have recourse in tracing out ancient manners and customs.

Amongst the many monuments of antiquity of our land none are more numerous than the sepulchral mounds known as tumuli or barrows. They abound in the neighbourhood of the Chiltern Hills, and may be found on Bledlow Down, at the foot of Lodge Hill at Saunderton, and at Slough in the same parish; there is also a barrow on White Leaf Hill; in Hampden Park are large barrows; in fact, mounds, barrows, and sepulchral emblems abound in these hills and their locality.

In all ages of the world, the task of commemorating the mighty dead seems to have been one of the most pleasing and gratifying to the minds of the survivors. The materials of a monument in early times would necessarily be determined by the means available in the vicinity of its erection. Thus previous to the invention of writing, and the cultivation of the arts of architecture and sculpture, pillars of stone and mounds of earth were the earliest species of records. Hence the universality of tumuli.

The barrows of the ancient Britons exhibit great variety of size and form; and from this can be conjectured not only the period of their construction, but also the condition of the individuals whom they were intended to commemorate. Thus, it has been supposed that the oblong barrows, which are but slightly raised above the surface, some of which are as long as 400 feet, are the earliest species of this kind of grave in this country, from their containing but few bones and relics. Some barrows are in the shape of inverted bowls. Others are bell-shaped, and from their exhibiting greater skill and workmanship it is evident that they belonged to an age of more improved manners. The class termed by antiquaries, Druid barrows are the more refined of this series of graves, and they appear to have contained females, from finer trinkets and smaller bones having been found within them.

What were the precise ceremonies which were used at the interment of the ancient Britons is not known; but from the deposits of their tumuli it appears that almost everything that was valuable belonging to the deceased chieftain was interred with him. In the British barrows are found weapons of war and for hunting, ornaments of a rude kind, and even articles of jewellery, and sometimes the relics of dogs and deer mingled with human bones. In the interment of their dead the Britons appear to have placed the body in various positions. The earliest mode was probably that of placing the body in a cist with the legs bent upward. In barrows where this practice appears to have been followed, daggers of bronze and drinking cups of the rudest workmanship have been discovered. In other tumuli the bodies appear to have been placed at full length, and in these are found articles of bronze and iron, such as spear-heads, lances, swords, bosses of shields, and other articles of a similar description, which indicate the cultivation of the arts. The Ancient Britons in some instances appear to have adopted the practice of burning the bodies of their dead. Urns of unbaked clay are found in some barrows, and in these rude urns the ashes of the deceased were deposited after burning; this is evident from the fact that wherever these vases and ashes are found the tumuli contain no remains of bones, either of animals or of man.

These rude and simple memorials of our ancestors cannot be contemplated without the mind involuntarily carrying itself back to past ages; their tombs—the last resting-places of their illustrious dead—which crown the summits of our hills, are viewed with feelings of awe and veneration. Whilst the proud towers and walls of Babylon are effaced from the earth—whilst Baalbeck, Palmyra, and Persepolis are now only "ruins

in the desert," whilst the noble erections of human genius at Athens, and the structures of the Imperial City, have yielded to the hand of time and the barbarian spoiler, these simple monuments of affection and esteem, covered with eternal verdure, outlive on the blank heath the most splendid efforts of man ; and, if not disturbed by the hand of the sacrilegious leveller, will remain to the latest age, memorials of the hopes and aspirations of our patriarchal forefathers.

On the Chiltern Hills may also be found traces of fortifications ascribed to the aboriginal inhabitants ; they were but mounds of earth, trenches or barriers formed of trees and stakes, and are generally to be met with on the tops of hills or other elevated spots. At Velvet Lawn is a conspicuous work known as Kimble Castle, and the tradition concerning it is that it was the hold of Cunobeline, a British King.

Of Anglo-Saxon fortresses there is generally but little remaining ; it is probable that on the retreat of the Romans, the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants took possession of the fortresses already erected, and enlarged, altered, or reduced their extent as it suited their own taste and convenience, and this will account for certain incongruities in the remains of those edifices, and explain the variation of the styles of architecture they now exhibit. The want of fortresses at the time of the Norman invasion has been adduced as the cause of the easy conquest of the country by William the Conqueror, and as probably one of the causes of its being so completely subdued, and in so short a time. No sooner, however, was the Conqueror established on the throne of England than the whole face of the country was changed. We are told by Matthew Paris that he "excelled all his predecessors in building castles, and greatly harassed his subjects and vassals by these works." This example appears to have been imitated by all the great barons, and also by the prelates. Domesday Book makes mention of forty-nine castles in this reign, although in the time of Edward the Confessor the only castle mentioned is that of Arundel. According to Domesday Book, the Conqueror built eight castles : ten were raised by the Great Barons ; one by an under-tenant to Earl Roger, and eleven by other persons. All these are distinguished by lofty mounds and keeps. This style of building marks the peculiar architecture introduced into our castellated fortifications by the Normans at their first settlement. Knighton informs us that William Rufus also was a great builder of castles, and indeed the state of the country required strongholds for the security of life and property. The reign of Stephen was most remarkable for the number of castles erected in it. From the chronicles of that age it appears that in the space of nineteen years 1,115 castles were erected, and it is calculated that at that time 1,500 fortified edifices existed in England.

In our own immediate neighbourhood we are singularly destitute of these remains of Norman and other ancient edifices. The castles once existing in our midst now remain in name only. That the castle of Aylesbury once raised its proud head there is no doubt, but the site of its erection is not now even known ; Buckingham and Wycombe also had castles. In other districts these relics are much more numerous.

Our principal relics of antiquity are found under, not above ground; the footsteps of our predecessors are but faintly marked in connection with Aylesbury proper; still, from the finds which have turned up near us it is evident our district has been occupied by the Celtic Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Near Dinton Castle Saxon relics have been found. In the year 1840, when lowering the hill to improve the high road near Stone, several human skeletons, together with bones of oxen and horses, were turned up, also a singular horseshoe and numerous relics of weapons and a few Roman coins, and it is presumed that the general date these relics represented was between 300 and 400 A.D. Near this spot a skeleton was disinterred. with a spear head, a knife, and the umbo of a buckler; and pretty close to it, among unequivocal marks of extensive fires, were found two funereal vases containing human bones, so that Pagan cremation and Teutonic interment were in juxtaposition. Several other Roman coins have been picked up near this site.

At Hartwell a bronze fibula of the heathen Teutones was dug up in the year 1840; at Tythrope, a coin of Nero A.D. 54; near Hartwell House, a coin dated A.D. 279. In 1859 a somewhat extensive find was made nearer home. In draining a field in Walton, known as Benhill, the workmen discovered a quantity of human and other bones, a corroded spear head, and the remains of a terra cotta vessel. These remains were imbedded about three feet from the surface, in a soil bearing the appearance of burning having been practised. No coins, medals, nor implements, nor the remains of any foundations were discovered. The opinion of the late Admiral Smyth was that these remains were Danish, the spear-head offering a pretty positive clue to such a decision. Benhill was once probably the site of an Anglo-Saxon encampment where an engagement with the Danes had taken place; after which the slain men and horses were buried indiscriminately where they fell.

Confining our observations as much as possible to matters connected with the immediate neighbourhood of Aylesbury, reference is made to a discovery of remains at Weston Turville, where in 1855 some coins of Vespasianus, Trajanus Adrianus, and Antonius were found. About the same time, and in the same village, a Roman Amphora used for a cinerary urn was discovered; it was of coarse yellowish pottery. Within the amphora were articles of glass, green glass vessels, fragments of bone, pieces of red Samian ware, two pateræ within the one of which were leaves, probably the remains of garlands or wreaths used at the burial, and some white substance which emitted an aromatic scent when pressed, which proved to be the ancient frankincense. There were also several ornaments, pieces of iron with rivets and nails, which were affixed to the wood, as the adhering fibres of decayed wood show; there were several other sundry matters. The ornaments afford evidence that the burial was that of a female. In 1823 some old coins were found at Mr. Grace's farm, in Walton; one of the Roman Emperor L. A. A. Commodus, Aug., A.C. 180. Finds of coins, pottery, arms, fibulæ, armillæ, beads, tesseræ, and mattoni have been discovered at Princes Risborough and Elles-

borough. Celtic, Roman, and Saxon relics have also been found at Mentmore. In 1854 a Roman pavement was discovered at Little Kimble. Roman tiles and Roman coins are occasionally found in many parts of the neighbourhood. On opening the earth for the foundation of the County Lunatic Asylum at Stone, in the year 1850, traces of extensive Romano-British sepulture were discovered.

Modern finds are more prolific. The district of Aylesbury felt the dire effects of the Civil War in all its miseries, and the peacefully inclined residents lived in constant fear of the ever marauding excursions of the contending parties. Many, doubtless, secreted stores in the earth which have yet to be exhumed. In 1835 a hoard was found near the Church at Hartwell, when 2,400 crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences of Edward VI., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. were unearthed; they were mostly of the latter reign, and doubtless buried in that period of civil commotion.

Few countries in Europe abound so plentifully as ours with the vestiges of former ages. Yet so little do the majority of the inhabitants of England know of the treasures they possess that, beyond the knowledge of the professed antiquary and the limited information acquired by the tourist, an almost complete state of universal ignorance prevails. This refers particularly to architectural remains. The ruins of a castle are surveyed by the multitude with the apathy of perfect indifference, and the sight-seers are satisfied, in the inspection of a cathedral, with the meagre and rotary intelligence of an antiquated sexton or a childish crone. To these *emeriti professores* of antiquarian literature is intrusted the instruction of the visitors to our national monuments, and whoever has, in the course of his peregrinations, entered the walls of the ancient palaces and stately mansions of our ancestors has no doubt met with groups of querists staring agape at the impertinence and twaddle of the *custos* of the lions of the exhibition, whose unvarying pertinacity to the formula of her communications is perhaps the most extraordinary part of the things heard or seen. It is very true, an immense deal has been collected and published on the subject of architectural and other remains, and the valuable labours of many men of high talent, judicious discrimination, and indefatigable industry have enriched our national literature in its relation to the study of antiquity. We are speaking of the antiquities of the "middle ages," and having done this justice to our antiquaries we revert to the fact that though their labours have been immense their diffuseness has prevented them from being generally useful, and, with all due respect for the great names which ornament the title pages of the many ponderous volumes of antiquities, county histories, and similar compilations, those huge volumes abound too much in prosy disquisitions on things of minor importance, and lead the reader into labyrinths of tedious discussion, which, instead of conveying the information of which he is in search, beget a distaste for the very subject of his inquiry and compel him to abandon his pursuit in disgust and despair. A better state of things has arisen. The public taste has improved; it only requires proper guides to direct its energies, and fortunately such guides do now exist.

Chapter III.—EARLY HISTORY (*Concluded*).

Buckinghamshire—its situation—Central position of Aylesbury—gives the name to the Vale—Etymology of Bucks—Boccen—Buccen—Bucinobantes—Bocas-son—Bock-ing-ham—Bockland—Folkland—The Cattieuchlani—Cassii Men—The Britons—Original name of Aylesbury lost—Situation of Towns—Places of Worship—Fifty-seven variations in the etymology of Aylesbury—origin of name—its prefix—its affix The Danes commit great ravages at Aylesbury—Burg—bury—its origin—The Romans—The Saxons—The Danes—The Normans.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE is strictly an inland county, and is also classed amongst the Midlands. Aylesbury is centrally situated in Bucks, on an eminence in the bosom of the fruitful vale to which it gives its name. It is owing to its central position that Aylesbury has been enabled to hold its position not only as the county town, but also as the chief town in the shire. Although the origin of the names of most counties has been traced without much difficulty, the etymology of Buckinghamshire is still an open question. Ancient authors were divided upon it; more modern writers left it in abeyance; and the etymologists of the present period have not cleared up the point. All are agreed that the town of Buckingham gives the name to the county. Camden derives the name from Bucken as the Saxon word Boccen or Buccen, —beech trees; but although beech trees are prolific in the southern part of the county, they are but little cultivated in that district in which the town of Buckingham is situate. Camden in support of this theory quotes Buckenham in Norfolk, where he states beech trees abound, but he is misinformed, as such is not the fact. Spelman gives the derivation of Buckingham from Buccen as signifying buck or deer. Here we must transpose the argument as to the beech; it is highly probable that when the neighbourhood of Buckingham abounded in forests it also was well supplied with buck and deer, but they are not prolific in the centre or southern parts of the county, or flourish in the Chiltern district. A third proposition is that the name of the shire is obtained from a very powerful tribe of heroes known as the Bucinobantes or Bucenobantes, Buck-ing-ham being the home of Bocas' son or Bucis' son. If so these Bucenobantes must not only have been very powerful, but also a most numerous clan, as there are several other towns and villages having the prefix of Buck. In a late issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* the subject of the origin of the names of English counties is treated by Mr. Henry Bradley. He traces the modern names of our counties to the ancient sources whence they were derived, and in connection with Buckinghamshire he gives the following:—

"The three names, Buckingham, Warwick, and Nottingham—in their oldest forms, Buccingahám, Wæringawic, and Snotinga-ham—are derived from Anglo-Saxon clans or tribes. The Teutonic tribal names ending in *-ingas* are in general of very obscure

origin. It is quite a mistake to suppose that they are all 'patronymics,' derived from the name of some real or supposed ancestor. Some of them, no doubt, are so; but there is evidence that many others are derived from the local names of the districts in Germany from which the tribes migrated, or from words descriptive of the character of the regions in which they settled. It is possible that the Buccingas, whose 'home' was at Buckingham, may have taken their name from the buck as a tribal emblem. The common derivation of Buckingham, from the beeches abounding in the neighbourhood, is philologically impossible."

In Doomsday, Buckingham is spelt Bockingham. Charter lands were anciently called Bocklands, and this distinction generally carried with it absolute property in the land; it was one of the titles which the English Saxons had to their lands, and these titles were always in writing. Bocklands, subject to certain conditions, may be looked upon as freeholds, in contradistinction to folklands, which passed from one to another without any writing, and which may be supposed to represent the copyholds of the present day.

The British tribe inhabiting the district in which Aylesbury is situated was called the Cattieuchlani; they were probably the ancient Cassii, and from them their Prince Cassinellaurius or Cassibelinus took his name. It is certain that the Cassii mentioned by Cæsar inhabited these parts, and the name is still retained in Caishow or Cashiobury. Under the name of Cassii were comprehended all the inhabitants of Bucks, Beds, and Herts. The stoutest and most vigorous soldiers were by the ancient Gauls called Gessi, and they were noted for their warlike valour; indeed, that they were renowned for martial prowess is most certain, for before the arrival of Cæsar, they had waged continual war against their neighbours, and had reduced a part of the Dobuni, which included Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, under their subjection. And upon Cæsar's invasion, the Britons constituted the Prince of the Cassii commander in chief of their forces. They too had by this time extended their name and dominion to a considerable distance beyond their own original settlement.

The Britons planted little or no corn, and lived upon the flesh of their flocks and herds, together with what they killed in hunting. Their towns or villages, if such they could be called, were a collection of turf or skin covered huts, hidden in a thick wood, with a ditch all round, and a low wall of mud, or trunks of trees placed one upon another. Like all savage nations, they stained their bodies to inspire their enemies with fear; their favourite colour was blue, which they obtained from a plant called woad. Aylesbury was one of the strongest garrisons of the Britons, but was taken by Cuthwulf, a West Saxon, in 571.

The original name of Aylesbury has not been handed down to us, it having been, it is said, lost in obscurity. Probably it did not differ much in its signification from its successors. In a majority of cases the situation of a town determined its appellation. In forming a settlement nascent communities gave preference to an eminence, from the facilities of defence it afforded; to a confluence of rivers; or to the conjunction of one

with the sea, where, besides other advantages, fishing in both might be enjoyed and at the same time be made lucrative. A site was settled upon in favour of a fordable part of a river, as its adjoining pastures might be made available for the flocks and herds of the inhabitants, and the waters serve for mercantile or domestic purposes. The erection of a place of worship has often in religious ages congregated to its neighbourhood, as a centre, the scattered population of a district and imparted its name to a rising village. To this latter proposition may be ascribed the derivation of the name of Aylesbury.

It is a satisfaction that as some compensation for the alleged loss of the ancient name of the town, we have handed down to us a fruitful progeny; no less than fifty-seven variations in the etymology of the name being on record. Thus :—

Æglerburgh.	Eilesbria.	Ailsbury.
Æglesburge.	Elesberie.	Ailesbury.
Æglesburie.	Ellesbury.	Aillesburg.
Æglesburis.	Eelesbury.	Aillisburi.
Ægelsbirg.	Eilesbury.	Aillesbury.
Æilesbyry.	Eldsbury.	Aillsburey.
Ægelsbyrig.	Eilesberia.	Alesburie.
Æelsburge.	Eillesbury.	Aylesbyrie.
Æglesburge.	Ailespiri.	Aylesburie.
Æglesberg.	Eylespiri.	Alsbury.
Eglesburh.	Eylesbirs.	Aylisbury.
Æglesbyrg.	Eylisbirs.	Alesbury.
Æglesburch.	Aillesbyri.	Aylisbery.
Ægelesburh.	Allesbury.	Ayllebur.
Egelsburh.	Allesburie.	Aylsbury.
Haselbergam.	Aill.	Aylesbiri.
Eglesborough.	Aillesbur.	Aylesburig.
Eileberie.	Ailesburi.	Aylesburey.
Eilesberie.	Aillesburi.	Aylesbury.

The etymology of the ancient varieties in the name of Aylesbury, may lead us to assume it as appertaining to a church, a temple, or place of worship, or it may be rendered a church or temple on an elevated site :—Thus we find—*Eaglais*, Gael. *Eglise*, Fr. *Ecclesia*, Lat. from the Greek—a church or place of worship. Thus we have Eccleshall in Staffordshire, *i.e.*, the churchman's hall, where the Bishop of Lichfield formerly had a palace; Eccleston in Lancashire, *i.e.*, church town ; Eaglesham in Renfrew, *i e.*, the hamlet with a church; Eglwys, North Wales,—the town with a church; Æglis-breck, the speckled church. Mr. R. S. Downs, of High Wycombe, who has given great attention to the etymology of local names, is of opinion that the name is wholly Saxon, root as well as suffix, having no reference whatever to the Church. As to the affix:—Burg ; Burgh ; Bury (*Burg*, Saxon. *Bourg*, Fr.) all refer to a town, castle, a city or town fortified with a wall for defence and safety of the people against the attempts of their enemies ; for these places at the first were faced about with walls of turf or clods of earth for men to be shrouded in, as in forts and castles. Whether it be spelt *beorh*, *berg*, *berh*, or *borough*, it is

etymologically the same, and refers to an artificial tumulus, or mound ; and, as applied to a town, a work of this kind raised for defence. We are told by Anglo-Saxon scholars that whenever we find *bury* or *berg* in the name of a town we may regard it as an evidence of fortification in Anglo-Saxon times, though of course it does not absolutely prove that such fortification was then existing for the first time. In speaking of a fortified place we must not picture in our minds an impenetrable mass of huge masonry constructed on scientific principles ; quite the reverse, the fortifications of the Ancient Saxons were merely earthworks piled up in the most primitive form.

There was, however, a division of opinion amongst old authors as to the derivation of the word *burgh*. Whilst some contended the Latin *burgus* to be derived from the Greek, and to signify a tower, a castle, or city, others asserted *burg* to be a pure German word signifying the placing or situation of many houses together, which were called a vicus, or street, or rows of houses close to one another. Not that every vicus or street was a burg, but only such as were the head or chief of some country or tract. Further, the word in its most ancient signification denotes an inclosure or hedge, which was called ton, tun, or town. A burg has also been described as a congregation of houses which were not inclosed with a wall, that is, a great town not walled about. *Bergh* or *berg* also signified a place of receipt, as in Hallo-bergum, a word derived from Hallum, a convention for the determining law cases, and *berg* the house where it was kept. Somner, in his Saxon Dictionary, tells us that *burg* signifies a city, fort, fortress, tower, castle, a borough, free borough, or town corporate, and cites its derivation from the Saxon in *Tutum recipere, servare*,—to preserve and keep in safety. Burghs might be termed places of safety, protection, and privilege ; places of trade with liberties granted them necessary to the advantage of buying, selling, and trading, by which tradesmen might quietly and without disturbance enjoy benefits.

The quarrels and wars, which were of frequent occurrence between the different tribes in this the midland part of our island, were at length effectually put an end to by the conquest by the Romans, A.D. 78, who at the same time largely introduced the elements of civilization. The Romans softened the manners of the Britons, and adorned the country with stately temples and buildings; erected several fortresses, and began roads which were afterwards extended across the country. The County of Buckingham was first included by the Romans in the province of Britannia Superior, and subsequently in that of Flavia Cæsariensis.

By the commencement of the fifth century the Roman power in Britain had almost declined. The Britons then called in the aid of the Saxons, who had long infested the eastern and southern coasts, in order to defend themselves from the invasions of the Picts and Scots. After a contest of nearly one hundred and fifty years, the Saxons supplanted the Britons, driving them into Wales and into the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire.

The native tribes being thus overpowered and expelled, the Saxons divided the

country into seven independent states called the Saxon Heptarchy. Buckinghamshire formed part of one of these states, viz., the great kingdom of Mercia—a kingdom which comprised the whole of the Midland Counties.

The Saxons were now in their turn much harassed by the Danes, who made their first appearance in 787. Great ravages were committed by them in the Vale of Aylesbury about 921, when Aylesbury and the Forest of Bernewode suffered severely from their incursions. Elfleda, Duchess of Mercia, a daughter of King Alfred, induced her brother, Edward the elder, to repair Eldsbury, after the town had been laid waste by those invaders.

The Danes were the principal enemies the inhabitants of this country had to contend with. They are not to be looked upon as conquerors for the purposes of annexation of territory, but mere marauders or plunderers. They repeated their inroads several times, and in 991 were paid £10,000 to depart; three years after they were again bought off for £16,000. The Danes continued their depredations until the Saxons, in pursuance of secret instructions from Ethelred the Unready committed that most terrible of all deeds, the murder, on the night of the 13th day of November, A.D. 1002, of all the Danes who were their neighbours. To revenge this massacre, Sweyn, King of Denmark, sailed to England with a large army and carried on a desolating war for many years, until the Saxons were entirely subdued, and this Midland part of our island was held by Canute the Dane, who eventually became King of England.

In the commencement of the eleventh century, the Saxons again threw off the yoke of the Danes, and regained their supremacy; and in the year 1042 placed upon the throne a King, Edward, surnamed the Confessor. On his death in the year 1066, there succeeded the well-known struggle for the throne between Harold and William the Norman, styled the Conqueror, which eventually terminated in the death of Harold at the battle of Hastings, and the accession of William to the throne.

Chapter IV.—THE PARISH CHURCH.

A Church—What is it?—Early Churches—their Dedications—Aylesbury Church—a former building—present building—probable date of its erection—its proportions—its features—its ill-usage—General wilful damage to Churches—General miserable state of Churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Desecration of Aylesbury Church—dangerous state of the fabric—proposal to rebuild in 1765*—report of state of fabric in* 1848*—Panic—Erection of galleries—The bells—list of subscribers to new bells in* 1773*—inscriptions on the bells—bell-ringing—The font—The organ—given by Mrs. Pitches—she endowes it—Clock and chimes—given by John Stone—Clock and Chimes Estate—Ancient monuments—Ancient coffins—Mural tablets—inscriptions on them—The Stone Man—The restoration of the Church—Stained glass windows—their donors—inscriptions, &c., &c.*

A CONSECRATED edifice to which Christians of any particular locality are accustomed to repair for the reception of the Sacraments and for public worship is called a Church. The term is so used in Holy Scripture—"Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the Church of God?" (1 Cor., xi., 22). The first church in this sense of the word was the upper room so often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, where the apostles were assembled when the Holy Ghost came upon them (Acts ii.); where our Saviour instituted the Eucharist; where He appeared to the disciples two Sundays, one after another, after His resurrection (John xx.); where the seven deacons were selected and ordained (Acts vi.); where the first council of Jerusalem met (Acts xv.), which place was afterwards called the Church of Mount Sion.

A church is divided into two parts—the body of the church or the nave, and the chancel. The chancel, observes Bishop Cosins, is separated from the body of the church by a frame of openwork, and is, or ought to be, furnished with a row of chairs or stools on either side.

At first there was only one church in each diocese, viz., at the place where the Bishop resided and performed all divine offices; from whence, as necessity required, priests were sent out to preach and baptise in the remoter parts of the diocese. By degrees the Saxon thanes and noblemen erected lesser churches for their own convenience. Anciently churches were very mean buildings. Mean as they were, they were always consecrated, and a great feast made on that day, or on the Saint's day to which the church was dedicated. This custom was the origin of wakes.

The Church being the most ancient edifice in the town and the object of great veneration for so many ages it follows that in compiling a History of the town, that building would be the first object of interest presenting itself to the notice of the

historian. There doubtless existed a church, but of less pretensions, on the site of the present building; indeed, there are unmistakable evidence that such was the case.

The present church is supposed to have been erected at some date between A.D. 1200 and 1250. It has been described as standing on the highest spot in the town; 140 ft. in length; and has, at the intersection of the nave and chancel, a strong tower resting on piers about 70 ft. high. The tower is 21 ft. by 27 ft., embattled, and surmounted by a square turret, 10ft. 6in. high, called the clock tower, terminating with a spire of timber or frame work covered with lead, and about 22 ft. high, sustaining a cross measuring 9ft. 6in., on which is a large gilt vane 3 ft. high; the total elevation being 121 ft. The nave is 78 ft. long by 26½ ft. wide; the south transept, 35 ft. by 20½ ft.; the chancel, 41 ft. by 26½ ft., and there are north and south aisles. It is further particularised in the "Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England," dated 1849, a period, it should be remembered, prior to its general restoration, so that some of the details will not accord with its present state:—

"*Aylesbury, St. Mary.*—Cruciform; chancel with aisles, Lady chapel parallel with chancel, central tower, transepts, nave with aisles, and side chapels, clerestory, porch south-west, and doors north, west, and at extremity of south transept. The latter door good Perpendicular; the west doorway Early English, with handsome external arcade. There is also a finely moulded arcade of same date in chancel, including three lancet windows on north side, and again in south porch. Tower with fine lantern and double triforium, Early English. Vestry on north of chancel aisle, with upper storey; ancient fireplace and baluster window in upper room; ancient door to lower vestry, with curious winch lock. There is also an ancient moulded wooden cupboard, with swinging horse for vestments. Aumbry, sepulchre, Early English, and stalls with misereres on north side of chancel; entrance with hanging stone steps to rood loft. Two piscinæ (one square-headed, with projecting shaft); reredos trefoil-headed, Early English; and sepulchre Early English, with massive Decorated feathering, and effigy of knight, fourteenth century (dug up on the ground of the hospital of Grey Friars in this town), all in north transept. In south transept, remains of altar with mullioned squint for reredos, looking through aisle to chancel and Lady chapel, and having on north side a moulded groove for crucifix, with bracket and shaft (now chiselled away) beyond, and on south side a richly coloured niche, with crocketed pediment. There are also piscinæ in both the side chantry chapels of nave; in the north two tombs. Windows of chancel, three Early English on each side, with bad Perpendicular of five lights at east end; all the windows in transepts, nave, and clerestory are now bad Perpendicular (the west debased), but some of the jamb mouldings are Decorated. There is one mutilated Decorated window at the east end of the Lady chapel. The font Norman, with circular escalloped bowl, cushion-moulded base, and a double chevron moulding round the shaft. There are some very beautiful Early English arches in the transepts, with tooth moulding and clustered jamb shafts. Encaustic tiles of numerous patterns, and several matrices, but no brass remaining. There is a curious little Latin cross florée, moulded within a quartrefoil, on a stone now inserted in the west wall of north aisle." This description was compiled by the Rev. A. Baker, who was then one of the Secretaries to the Bucks Archæological Society.

It is supposed that the old fabric of the Church extended no farther than the nave, having a high pitched roof springing from the walls. The light thus obtained being insufficient, it is thought that the clerestory, and the flat roof, were added about the

fifteenth century. The east ends of the north and south chapels were probably extended about the same time, so as to form chantries or chapels. Originally the Church was strictly cruciform, that is with chancel,* nave, transepts and tower, and it still retains substantially that form, though altered and modified at various periods. The roof of the south chapel, which is considerably the largest of the two, is of ancient woodwork, supported by a king-post. The perpendicular timber roof of the nave is very fine; the beams are supported by corbels of carved angels, with expanded wings, and bearing shields.

At a not very remote period the Church must have undergone some exceedingly rough usage, as on opening some of the closed archways prior to the restoration, injuries were to be observed inflicted on the ornamental stone work, which could not have been the result of accident. These desecrations are ascribed to the period of our civil contentions of the reign of Charles I. Exposed as the Aylesbury district was to the full force of the mischievous effects of the civil commotions of that period, it would, indeed, have been extraordinary if this Church above all others had escaped the ravages and excesses of those unfortunate times, when the noblest ecclesiastical structures of our country were plundered, defamed, and defaced. The rabble and the soldiery set about such task in delightful earnest. At Canterbury the soldiers and people violated the monuments, broke down the rarest windows in Christendom, destroyed the organ and the ancient woodwork, tore up the service books and strewed the pavement with the fragments. At Lichfield the carvings, the rich windows, the costly tombs, and the records were all wilfully destroyed; a slaughter-house was established within the building, and the meat cut up on the altar. Several churches were converted into stables for the use of cavalry horses; and calves, swine and other animals were brought to the fonts, sprinkled, and named in pure derision. At Westminster the soldiers sat drinking and smoking at the altar, lived in the Abbey, and converted it to the vilest of uses. In the chapel at Lambeth, Parker's monument was thrown down, the remains of the prelate cast on to a dunghill, and the leaden coffin which had inclosed them sold. In our own neighbourhood we read of the excesses of the soldiery, in their treatment of the churches of the districts through which they passed in their marches, nor did the clergy even escape personal violence. In August, 1642, Nehemiah Wharton, a Parliamentary soldier, writes from Aylesbury, telling his friends how they pillaged one Penruddock, whom he calls a Papist, having been basely affronted by him and his "dogge;" they showed their zeal by breaking into his Church, defacing the stained glass windows, and burning the "holy railes;" how that Chiswick Church was served in the same way; at Hillingdon, says he, being no "railes" to burn, they "got the surplesse to make handecherches;" and at Uxbridge they burnt the service books. He further relates how a Warwickshire

* CHANCEL.—*Cancellus*, so called a *Cancillis*, from the lattice work partition betwixt the choir and the body of the Church, so framed as to separate the one from the other, but not to intercept the sight. By the rubric before the Common Prayer, it is ordained that the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past, that is to say, distinguished from the body of the Church in manner aforesaid.—*Church Dictionary.*

minister was pillaged to the skin by the Cavaliers. In December of the same year he reports, "the troops are forbidden to plunder, but permitted to seize base priests wherever they could find them." In 1642, in the churchwardens' accounts for Great Marlow, is a charge for "cleaning the Church when the souldiers laye inn itt," which gives a pretty fair idea how disgracefully the building had been used and what a filthy state it was left in. In October, 1644, Lillingstone Dayrell Church was entered by some unruly soldiers, who destroyed the font and did other wilful and wickedly-devised mischief. At Maidsmorton the soldiers amused themselves by firing at the church vane, thus sacrificing the sacred building to their wanton sport. The Churches of Grandborough, Winslow, Hogshaw, East Claydon, and Addington also suffered from the hands of destructive foes at this period. These excesses were general throughout the country.

The state of the fabrics of the churches generally, appears to have been miserably bad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Rev. F. G. Lee, D.D., in his work on "The Church under Queen Elizabeth," gives a very deplorable account of them:—

"In some dioceses, notoriously those of Oxford and Norwich, numerous churches and chapels were deliberately allowed to become utterly desolate. Men could not be secured to serve them, for the new owners of the great tithes were often only eminent for their superfine rapacity. In certain of them no service of any sort or kind had been held for nearly twelve years. There was often no one either to look after the fabric, to keep up the straggling hedges or impaired fences of the churchyards, in which swine often grubbed up the graves; no one to let fresh air into the building or to preserve the remaining fittings from the alternate evils of mustiness and damp on the one hand, or dry rot and pilferers on the other. Doors at last lost their rusted hinges and imperfect fastenings, dust accumulated, storied windows were broken, starlings found a shelter under the roof, spiders undisturbed spun their webs in convenient angles, bell towers were turned into dovecotes and places for breeding pigeons by some local yeomen, the bells, no longer needed, were sold—for they brought in something; the lead was stripped off the aisle roofs; sometimes the chancel was altogether destroyed, so as to avoid the cost and difficulty of repairing it; whilst in certain cases these combined evils led to the absolute destruction of whole fabrics; so that even now in many parishes it is impossible for any but the duly initiated to trace even the foundation stones on some secluded slope of what, until Queen Elizabeth's day, had been a fair and stately 'House of God.' Many such at the hands of the 'godly' were wholly 'reformed' off the face of the earth. In the Diocese of Oxford may be mentioned the churches of North Weston, Easington, Quarrendon, Creslow, Mursley, Littlecote, Medmenham, Saunderton, Deyne Court near Wooburn, and Rowsham in Wingrave, as ruined or razed. The late Rev. W. H. Kelke, in a paper on the desecration of churches in Bucks, asserts that the whole number in Buckinghamshire alone may be estimated at no less than sixty."

Matters must have continued in this unsatisfactory state for a lengthened period. Lord Clarendon, in his history, tells us that—

"The people took so little care of the churches and the parsons of the chancels, that instead of beautifying or adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided against the falling of many of their churches, and suffered them at least to be kept so indecently and slovenly that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses."

Amongst the State papers domestic, of Charles I. valuable MSS. have been discovered, also original rough drafts of more formal MSS. relating to the state of the Buckinghamshire churches in the year 1637. These papers appear to be the results of a detailed visitation under or by direction of Dr. Williams, the then Bishop of Lincoln, to whose diocese the county of Buckingham at that period belonged. The return does not appear to be complete, and by no means fully reproduces the entire catalogue of abuses and deficiencies then existing. Some of the churches are altogether omitted.

The internal fittings of churches at this period must have presented a most incongruous appearance; it seems to have been a fashion for the gentry and leading inhabitants to elevate their seats at church in accordance with their worldy position in the parish in which they resided. In sixty-five churches in this diocese these high seats are referred to, ordered to be cut down, and made uniform. At Langley Marish "Sir R. Parsons had a seat 7 ft. high, 7 yards long, and covered overhead; it had eight lattice windows to open in the sides towards the church, besides a door in the midst, and a door opened into the churchyard." At Stoke Poges the cover of Lady Windwood's seat was ordered to be taken away. At Penn Mr. Penn's seat was $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and Mr. Carey's was the same height and covered. At Moulsoe the tester over a seat was ordered to be removed, and also a canopy over a seat at Hardmead. Sir Richard Moore's seat in Bledlow Church appears to have been adorned with a "piece of a coach." At Risboro Parva the pulpit wanted stairs; and at Hedsor the parson had to ascend a ladder to reach the pulpit. Instrumental music was abandoned. "Organs there have been," says the inspector, "as the cases were left." At Amersham, the organs *were somewhere in the town*, and at Hambleden the organ pipes had been sold for 6s. 8d.

From what we gather from this return, nothing could have been done to the fabrics in the shape of repairs for many previous years. In no less than eighty-one churches the windows were reported to be in utter decay, principally dammed up, probably with rough boarding; in some cases the "monions" (mullions) were gone; at Hardwick the windows were reported as having been stuffed up with straw! At Caversfield there were no windows at the east end of the chancel at all. In many cases the roofs of the churches were bad, and the rain found its way in; lead had been exchanged for tiling. At Bow Brickhill the lead had been stolen off the roof; at Taplow the pigeons came in and "dunged" in the chancel; at Horsendon the south aisle had altogether disappeared; the buttresses, foundations, and pavements in some cases had sunk and given way. At Thornton an elder tree grew on the top of the steeple. In some places the repairs of the Church-yard cross were referred to; at Drayton Parslow half the cross was reported to be down, and at Edgcott the cross was in decay; at Marsh Gibbon the cross was ordered to be set upright. Fawley and West Wycombe were presented as having held no "perambulations." Divers inhabitants of Wraysbury are reported as absenting them-

selves from church on holidays, and that they kept their hats on in prayer and service time. In one case, that of Brill, the church authorities had been careful, and had handed down eight pewter dishes, three diaper cloths, and two brass pots used for the Whitsun ales. Throughout the report there are but two references to pews, and only three to galleries, showing that these incumbrances are comparatively of modern date.

Aylesbury being a peculiar,* and consequently not under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, its condition at the period of this return cannot be ascertained. Like other churches, it had its incongruities, and they existed even to our own time. There are many who now worship there can remember the unsightly pews and the more unsightly galleries. There was the old gallery with its bird-cage pew; this pew was completely inclosed with lattice work, and thus named the bird-cage; its front was ornamented with filligre work, presenting the appearance of a box at the opera; this was the old manor pew, and was occupied by the Judges and Sheriff at the Assize sermon, and used upon other state occasions. Some of the pews in the body of the church were fitted with brass rails and moreen hangings to make them more private. In the north chapel were the high pews; they were raised some feet above the floor, and reached by three or four steps. The whole of the nave was filled with ugly, old-fashioned, panelled pews, over which the occupiers claimed exclusive and permanent right; it was thought something grand to be known as the owner of a "faculty pew." The divisions which were exceedingly high, were adorned according to the various fancies of their owners; some were lined with blue cloth and bedizened with an abundance of large brass-headed nails; others would be scarlet; green baize was the prevailing "comfort," whilst some of less pretensions were satisfied with paint. These pews were of all shapes and sizes, without the least pretence to uniformity. The pulpit was of the class nick-named a "three-decker," and it had the usual accompaniment of a sounding board. The psalms about to be sung were published on the panels in front of the singing gallery; these panels were made to open inward, and the organist had a supply of shifting figures, which he placed into a groove, and on closing the panel the announcement of the psalms was made. This plan was like the one now in use for publishing the score at a cricket match. There was a jealous feeling respecting possession of pews; and it was a common practice for many of the owners to keep the doors carefully locked. "When the wicked man" came into church, his arrival was announced by the clicking of the lock of his pew door, which might be heard by all the congregation. This scrupulous care as to possession was of long standing. The Prebendal House, the residence of Wilkes, was at times unoccupied

* PECULIARS.—Those parishes and places are called peculiars, which are exempted from the jurisdiction of the proper Ordinary of the diocese where they lie. These exempt jurisdictions are so called, not because they are under no Ordinary, but because they are not under the Ordinary of the diocese, but have one of their own. They are a remnant of Popery. The Pope, before the Reformation, by a usurped authority, and in defiance of the Canons of the Church, exempted them from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese. At the Reformation, by an oversight, they were not restored to the jurisdiction of the diocesan, but remained under the Sovereign or under such person as by custom or purchase obtained the right of superintendence.—*Church Dictionary.*

for considerable periods, during which no use was made of the family pew. In 1759 "Dear Dell" seems to have asked John Wilkes to allow him to use the unoccupied pew, but notwithstanding the cordiality subsisting between them, and the obligations Wilkes was under to "Dear Dell," he is refused. Wilkes writes in reply, "I cannot lend you my pew tho' I wou'd willingly assist your piety. I will tell you the particular reason (which you cannot guess) when I see you."

In 1756 it was proposed that a gallery should be erected under the supervision of the minister, John Wilkes, Esq., Hugh Barker Bell, Esq., Mr. Robert Jemmett, and Mr. Thomas Pain. It was also agreed that the "middle isle"* of the church be "cieled" under the direction of the aforesaid gentlemen. This was the resolution of a vestry, the minute book being signed by John Patten Burnham and Deverell Dagnell, as churchwardens; John Gibbs and Francis Neale, overseers; and twenty-five other parishioners. In the year 1765 the state of the fabric of the Church excited the serious attention of the parishioners, and a Mr. Keen, a surveyor, was called in to report on its condition. His report was confirmatory of the opinion of those assembled in vestry, which was that the building was in a very unsafe state, and required re-erection. It was resolved that his report be printed and published and copies sent to all the owners of estates in the parish, with a request that they would pay after the rate of sixpence in the pound on their rentals for the space of ten years. This proposition does not seem to have been very popular, for no further efforts were then made, and all the vestry obtained by the movement was an account from the surveyor of his fee of £10, which they had to pay. In 1781 a faculty was obtained for the erection of a new gallery at the west end of the church, and a plan settled as to which families should be apportioned to the new sittings in it. The meeting to arrange this matter took place on the 13th June, 1781, and was held in the Parish Church, in open court, "before the Revd. the Commissary and Official Jurisdiction of the Prebendary of the Prebend of Aylesbury."

Before the recent general restoration of the Church, a portion only of the building, partitioned off from the transepts, was used for public worship—the nave and chapels with the galleries. At this time the south transept resembled a marine store; this considerable part of the building, now filled with sittings, was then used as the receptacle of all the paraphernalia of the parish Fire Brigade. Three lumbering old fire engines were kept there, long ladders, drags, lengths of hose, a great lot of Sun Fire Office buckets, and firemen's helmets; also the gravedigger's tools, the parish bier, trestles, and a great wooden hut which was used by the minister at funerals in bad weather. All manner of other parish lumber not required for frequent use was stored in this principal entrance to the Church. In the early part of the present

* Ile or Aisle.—Ile is said to proceed from the French word *aile (ala)*, a wing; for that the Norman Churches were built in the form of a cross, with a nave and two wings. The word nave or naf is Saxon, and signifies properly the middle of a wheel, being that part of it in which the spokes are fixed; and is from thence transferred to signify the body or middle part of the Church; in like manner, the German nab, by an easy transmutation of the letters b, f, and v, frequent in all kindred languages, signifies the vertical part of a hill.—*Church Dictionary.*

century the Church was also used as a gunpowder magazine. In the times of the French war, the stock of gunpowder required for the local regiments was stored for safety in the innermost parts of the Parish Church! At this period the Church internally might be termed a "jumble of horrors;" without an atom of stained glass; with the beautiful arches which divide the nave from the chapels filled with ugly galleries; the transepts so blocked up as to be abandoned as useless; the low arches connecting the chapels with the transepts with all their wealth of mouldings buried in the walls; the triforium of the tower, one of the finest features in the building, hidden by a gallery, in which the organ was then erected; the handsome west window darkened by the old men's gallery, and the effect of the clerestory windows destroyed, and the fine oaken roof hidden by the lath and plaister ceiling of the "middle isle"—nothing could be more hideous or unsightly. The aisle being the lateral division of a Church, it is very absurd to speak of a middle aisle, and tautological to speak of the side aisles.

The state of the fabric of the Church in the year 1848 may be gathered from a report made on a survey by Mr. Gilbert Scott in that year:—

"The entire structure appears to have been re-erected at one date, probably between A.D. 1200 and 1250. The existence of an earlier building may be inferred from the beautiful Norman font and the existence of some fragments of the same age. It is, however, pretty clear that the Church was re-planned and re-built during the above-named period, though it has been subject to numerous subsequent alterations. This tends to account for the universal failure of the foundation of the original portions, the whole having probably been laid at one time, and with one prevailing defect. There is scarcely one wall or pillar of the original date which has not gone out of the perpendicular. The four great piers of the tower are buttressed up in all directions to keep them standing, while the arches adjoining them have been early walled up for additional security. The pillars of the nave lean westward to a frightful extent. The western wall has probably been partially re-built to correct a similar defect. The south wall of the nave is terribly crooked; and even the porch, trifling as its weight is, follows the general fashion of the building by spreading on both sides. The chancel leans sadly on the north, while the south wall has been re-built, as have probably the end walls both of the chancel and of the transepts, with some other parts, and indeed every part which is not in a failing state. It is most extraordinary that so universal a failure should exist in a building said to be founded on a rock. The foundations of the tower piers are probably a fair specimen of those of all the original parts, at least it is hardly to be supposed that those which had to carry the greatest and most concentrated weight would be worse than those of the lighter portions of the building, and from my examination I should doubt the possibility of the latter being worse than the parts I have exposed. From the surface of the rock to nearly the level of the floor of the Church (a depth of four or five feet or more), the foundation consists of a mass of loose stone and earth thrown in without order and without cement, so that the whole, being composed of parts readily movable among themselves, presents no resistance to any tendency to change of position in the superstruction, which fully accounts for the anomaly, for though the Church is in one sense founded upon a rock, there intervenes between the rock and the walls a stratum of perfectly loose and movable material, so that all the advantage of the natural strength of the foundation is lost. The failure of the foundation would naturally first show itself in a serious manner in the piers carrying the central tower, as the

weight is there the greatest, and the outward thrust the strongest. The thrust of the great arches would have but little effect to the eastward on account of the longitudinal walls of the Church, but in other directions it would be less resisted, and would be helped by the foundations of the smaller piers, which would deprive the tower of their aid as subsidiary abutments. The piers were unfortunately of a material of but little strength, and would be quite incapable of supporting the oblique and partial pressure thrown upon them from the time when they began to deviate from the perpendicular, so that there is little doubt that they became very seriously cracked, if not in some parts actually crushed. The tower piers began to fail at an early period, and from time to time various expedients were resorted to, to strengthen them. An arch between the south-east pier and the transept must evidently have been frightfully crushed as early at least as the 15th century, when it was blocked up by the very curious wall which now fills it, and the pier buttresses both towards the transept and the little chapel at the back. At the same time the southern and eastern arches of the tower itself appear to have been much injured, and to have lost their true curves. It might possibly have been about the same time that the arch on the west side of the transept was walled up, and the south-west pier of the tower buttressed on its south side. At a much later period (as is shewn by the date 1596 upon the stonework) the remaining sides of this pier were encased in stonework. A little later still (1599) the same operation was performed on the north-west pier, and probably at the same time the arch abutting against it was walled up. In 1622 the south-east pier underwent a second buttressing, and at perhaps some other period the casing was built round that to the north-east, and its arches walled up. This is proof that in one instance at least (that of the south-west pier) the second casing failed at an early date, as is shown by the large cramps which have been added to it, and subsequently there have been continued failures in casing of both of the western piers. The roof of the nave is in a seriously decayed and defective state, the wall plates being thoroughly decayed, and three of the beams more or less broken, besides many other serious defects. It has never been a good roof, and from its present state I am of opinion that any attempt at reparation would be hopeless, though if taken off some of the present timber may be used again. I would therefore recommend its reconstruction in oak according to the original form, with some improvements, which might be derived from the roofs of the transept. The clerestory walls, being bulged in some places, should be repaired at the same time. The roofs of the transepts require some repairs and restorations, particularly one of the beams of that in the north transept, of which the end is decayed. The roof of a part of the north aisle of the nave is much decayed, and should be removed. The wider roof at the eastern end of the same aisle requires some repairs, but is in the main sound. The ornamental work of this roof requires restoration."

A surveyor had been consulted upon the state of the Church many years previously to 1848. He was from London, and his report was a very concise one. He gave it as his opinion that the Church might probably stand until he got to Watford, but that it would fall before he reached home. On the 24th of September, 1848, during the Sunday morning service, the chimes being silenced as usual, the fastenings by which they were held gave way, and caused a great clatter in the tower. Many thought the prophecy made by the surveyor, so many years before, had come to pass, and that the Church was actually falling. There was a panic, and a great rush made by many of the congregation to escape from the supposed falling ruins; some scrambled over the tops of the pews, some tumbled over each other in attempting to make their way out, and for a time there was utter confusion. When the more timid had reached the churchyard, and their

fears had become somewhat allayed by finding that there was nothing whatever the matter, they returned to their seats, and the service was resumed and concluded.

THE BELLS.

In 1773 a new peal of bells was "opened," probably with consecration. Three of the old bells having been cracked, and the others very much out of repair, it was resolved that they should be exchanged with Messrs. Pack and Chapman, of London, for new ones. Among those parishioners who subscribed one guinea and over to the new bells were:—Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., Joseph Burnham, Wm. Brooks, Thos. Bigg, Jer. Bigg, Alex. Croke, Esq., Robt. Carter, John Clements, Wm. Collins, Wm. Cheese, John Dell, Thos. Duncombe, Thos. Dagnall, Jos. Edmonds, Wm. Edmonds, Thos. Grace, sen., Geo. Ginger, Jos. Grimes, Thos. Hill, John Hill, Wm. Hickman, Thos. Hoar, Jas. Joysey, John Irons, Sir Wm. Lee, Bart., Jas. Lee, Rob. Ludgate, Wm. Minshall, Rob. Neale, Fras. Neale, Rev. Mr. Pugh, Mary Pitches, Mary Paten, Ed. Price, Jno. Perkins, Thos. Rogers, Wm. Rickford, John Purssell, Henry Russell, John Smith (draper), John Smith (Green End), Henry Sherriff, Ed. Terry, Richd. Terry, Thos. Towers, John Turvey, Richard Watford, John Woodward, Robt. Wheeler (the sexton). The total sum subscribed was £106 4s., and the remainder of the outlay was met by the parish as sanctioned by the vestry.

It is supposed that at one time there were but six bells; some think that at a still earlier date, the belfry contained only the great bell (tenor) and the saints' bell, which is the oldest. It bears the date of 1612, and "G. T.," probably the initials of the bell founder. The inscriptions on the eight bells are as follow:—

(Treble). "Pack and Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773.
"If you have a judicous ear
"You'll own my voice is sweet and clear."

2nd. "I mean to make it understood
"Tho' I'm little yet I am good.
"Pack & Chapman, of London, Fecit me, 1773."

3rd. "Such wondrous pow'r to musick's given,
"It elevates the soul to Heaven.
"Pack & Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773."

4th. "Musick is medicine to the mind.
"Pack & Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773."

5th. "To honour both of God and King
"Our voices shall in concert ring.
"Pack & Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773."

6th. "Pack & Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773."

7th. "Ye ringers all, that prize your health and happiness,
"Be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess.
"Pack & Chapman, of London, fecit me, 1773."

Tenor (re-cast in 1850). "In wedlock bands, all ye who join,
"With hands your hearts unite,
"So shall our tuneful tongues combine
"To laud the nuptial rite.
"Thomas Tindal,
"Z. D. Hunt, } Churchwardens.
"Moses Lovett,
"C. & G. Mears, London, 1850."

The saints' or sancte bell was the one rung when the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth* was said, to prepare the people for the elevation of the "Host," and that all who were absent might fall on their knees in reverence of the holy office then going on in the Church. The knell or passing bell was used, as enjoined by the sixth canon, "When any is *passing* out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death (if so it fall out) there shall be rung no more but one short peal, and one other before the burial and one other after the burial."

It is generally considered that Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, introduced bells into ecclesiastical use about 400 A.D. In England large wooden rattles were at first used to summon the worshippers to the House of God; but bells for that purpose are mentioned by the venerable Bede as early as 680. The first peal of tuned bells in England was put up in Croyland Abbey about the year 870. Our forefathers had a pious custom of dedicating bells to the sacred use of the Church, and often gave them names. Thus we learn from Ingulphus, the historian of Croyland, who died in 1109, that the six bells of that celebrated Abbey were named "Bartholomew," "Beladine," "Turketutlum," "Beterine," "Pega," and "Bega."

The three largest bells in the world are possessed by Russia, the "Empress Anne" at Moscow, cast in 1653, weighing no less than 443,772lbs. Its height is 21ft.; circumference at base, 67ft. 4in.; greatest thickness, 23in. It has, however, never been hung, and probably, from its immense weight, never will be. "Great Tom" of Oxford, the largest bell in England, weighs 18,000lbs.

Our forefathers attributed wonderful properties to Church bells, affirming that they had power to drive away evil spirits, to calm the tempest, and to keep off the plague.

Men's death I tell
  By doleful knell;
Lightning and thunder
  I break asunder;
On Sabbath all
  To Church I call;
The sleepy head
  I raise from bed;
The winds so fierce
  I do disperse;
Men's cruel rage
  I do assuage.

Bell-ringing is associated with every important event in life, both religious and social —at christenings, at coming of age, at weddings, at buryings, at going to worship, as the mark of the flight of time from hour to hour, at executions, at time of fire, at summoning to the dining-hall. The curfew, the summoning to arms, the calling to prayer in the dead of night, were also in former times occasions when bells were used. English bell founders originally could not make an octave of bells in tune; they were good enough for "triple bob majors" and other like athletic exercises, but they did not meet

the requirements of a musician's ear. We were much indebted to the Belgians for good bells.

There is much less bell-ringing at Aylesbury for secular purposes than heretofore. The curfew, which rang every evening at eight o'clock, and was thus called the eight o'clock bell, has been discontinued forty years; the Grammar School boys were formerly summoned to school at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m., by a quarter of an hour's ringing; this is now discontinued. For many years there was a tablet in the belfry commemorating a feat of bell-ringing; it was inscribed—"Was rung on the 12th of November, 1804, in this belfry (by as good a set of ringers as could be found) a complete set of grandsire triples of 5,040 changes in three hours and sixteen minutes."

THE FONT.

The rites of baptism in early times were performed in fountains and rivers, as converts were many, and because those ages were not provided with other baptistries. Fonts (*Fons*, Lat., a fountain) were subsequently built and consecrated for the more reverent and solemn administration of the sacrament. These were placed at first at some distance from the church; afterwards in the church porch, and that, significantly, because baptism is the entrance into the church mystical as the porch is of the temple. At last they were introduced into the church itself, being placed in the west end, near the south entrance. They were not admitted in the first instance into every church, but into the cathedral of the diocese, thence called "the Mother Church," because it gave spiritual birth by baptism. Afterwards they were introduced into rural churches.

There is an engraving of the Aylesbury font in "Batty's History of Baptismal Fonts;" also in Lysons' and Lipscomb's histories. It is described by Batty as cup-shaped, escaloped, with upper edging of banded foliage, remarkable projecting chevron moulding on stem, square base with cushion moulding. There are remains of the fastening of the cover on the rim. This font appears to be of the type of several others of similar character in the neighbourhood; *e.g.*, Weston Turville, Monks Risborough, Great Kimble, &c. The external diameter of the bowl is 2ft. 11in.; interior depth, 1ft. 3in.; entire height, 3ft. 4½in.

It is charged against the parishioners of Aylesbury that their ancient font was put away amongst the Church "lumber," and superseded by a small modern one. That the font was put aside there is not the least doubt, and that it was discovered in fragments in different parts of the Church. Let us be more charitable towards our ancestors, and give them credit for higher motives. We know the destructive tendencies during the commotions of the seventeenth century, and the ravages and wanton mischief then perpetrated; during these times the font may have been concealed for safety, rather than cast away as lumber. The fact that many ancient fonts exist is a proof that they were highly venerated. Mr. Batty states there are more Norman fonts existing than Norman churches, and that it is no uncommon occurrence to meet with a font manifestly of earlier origin than the church in which it is placed.

The distinction between a baptistry and a font is apparent; the former was the building in which the font stood, while the latter was the fountain, or pool of water, wherein baptism was performed. The 81st canon of the Church appoints that there shall be a font of stone in every church and chapel where baptism is to be administered, the same to be set in the ancient, usual place, in which only font the minister shall baptise publicly. This does not necessarily infer that the practice of immersion ceased when the fonts were directed to be set up in churches, for all the older fonts are of sufficient depth and width for the dipping of infants, as at Aylesbury, at the two Kimbles and in other instances, and the Church of England still gives preference to Baptism by immersion. (See Rubric, Public Baptism of Infants).

The orifice or channel at the bottom of the older fonts, which is invariably seen either entire or choked up, was perforated to admit the water running off into the earth beneath; a plug was employed to retain the element in the vessel as required. This, too, is a clue to the covers or lids with which they were furnished, and these were so constructed that they might be fastened down with lock and key, traces of which ancient custom are still frequently visible. Some have affirmed that the use of the lock was to prevent the superstitious carrying away the water in which a child had been baptised to the house of a diseased person, either to be drunk or used as a lotion to wash the diseased parts. A famous legend of Constantine having cured himself of a leprosy by a like remedy might perhaps have given rise to the precaution.

THE CLOCK AND CHIMES.

According to a tablet formerly in the Church, and dated as far back as 1494, John Stone, of Aylesbury, gave by will two tenements to the parish, the rents of which were to be applied to maintain a clock and chimes in the tower of Aylesbury Church for ever. In 1691 it was arranged at a parish vestry that "John Aylward, clockmaker, of Aylesbury, is to have the tenements left by John Stone, for 31 years, at a peppercorn rent, providing he erects and maintains a substantial clock and chimes in the tower of the Parish Church of Aylesbury." The premises are described in various old leases as "all that messuage or tenement situate in the parish of Aylesbury near a place known as 'Green End,' being formerly two tenements or messuages in several occupations, together with a cooper's shop or gateway; also a yard and garden thereto belonging, with a barn, &c.; bounded on the north or north-east side by a part of the estate of the Trustees of Bedford's Charity." The estate has also been described as being commonly known as the Clock and Chimes Estate. In 1821 the churchwardens expended £250 in erecting stable, coachhouse, and washhouse; this outlay was not satisfactory to the Charity Commissioners. The property is now in the occupation of Mr. Hooper, surgeon, and is situate at the rear of his residence in Temple Square.

At a vestry held in 1824, Mr. Tindal inquired of the churchwardens why the church clock and chimes were not kept in a better state of repair, as he knew, from

having himself been churchwarden, there were ample funds for that purpose. Mr. Fowler (one of the churchwardens) replied that the persons who had filled that office three years ago had expended £250 in repairs of the estate left for the purpose of keeping the clock and chimes in order, which would absorb the whole of the proceeds till the year 1831, and there would be then £21 due to the clerk and sexton for winding up the clock for seven years at £3 per year. Mr. Rose, Mr. Churchill, and many other gentlemen concurred with Mr. Tindal in thinking the subject should be inquired into. Mr. Tindal added that if the churchwardens did not collect the rents and apply them to the repairs of the clock and chimes, a bill in Chancery would be filed against them.

In 1815, in removing the old church clock, the following inscription was found on it:—

I labour here with all my might,
To tell the hour both day and night;
Then you a lesson take by me,
And serve your God as I serve thee.

Another clock was sold in 1854 for £50, and a new one, with four large dials, striking the quarters on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th bells, and the hours on the tenor, was erected by Mr. Field, at a cost of £451. These dials were removed during the general restoration of the Church, and four new ones of cast iron, in character with the architecture of the Church, put up in their places. The dials are 7ft. 6in. in diameter. This outlay fell upon the Clock and Chimes Estate.

THE ORGAN.

Before the tenth century, organs were not only common in England but exceeded, both in size and compass, those of the Continent. St. Dunstan gave one to the Abbey of Malmsbury in the reign of Edgar. Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, obtained one for his Cathedral in 951, which was the largest then known. The organ was at first very rude in its construction, and extremely limited in its means. The keys were four or five inches broad, and must have been struck by the clenched hand, in the manner of the carrillons; the pipes were of brass, harsh in sound, and the compass in the twelfth century did not exceed a dozen or fifteen notes, and to accompany the plain chant no more were required. Few particulars are recorded concerning the organs of this country from the Reformation to the time of Charles I. At the Restoration it appeared that only four organ builders of eminence survived, a circumstance which led to the introduction of foreign artists. Our English church organs are now numerous and generally well toned, and though they do not contain so many nominal stops as a few on the Continent can boast, yet we possess some which, in regard to the greater calibre of the pipes and power of every kind, surpass any foreign instrument.

The organ in Aylesbury Church was the gift of Mrs. Mary Pitches. At a full vestry meeting held in February, 1782, the gift was cheerfully accepted and "it was unanimously resolved to return their acknowledgments to Mrs. Mary Pitches, of this place, widow, for her bounty in having erected at her own expense a handsome organ

for the use of the Church." It was also resolved "that this gift be duly entered in the parish register book; the minister and churchwardens also to wait on Mrs. Pitches with a copy of such entry made in the book of acts had and done in matters regarding this parish." This organ was built by Green, of Lichfield; it was greatly improved at a considerable cost in 1853, and probably but little of the original instrument now remains. At the vestry held in 1782 the sum of £20 per year was voted to an organist, such sum to be raised by equal taxation on all *dwelling houses* in the parish, rateable to the poor. Mrs. Pitches, at her death in 1800, bequeathed to Daniel Thomas Hill, Joseph Pitches, and John Parker, as trustees, the sum of £500, the dividends arising from such sum to be paid to such person as should be for the time being elected and appointed the organist in the Parish Church of Aylesbury. The organ has occupied several positions in the Church; at first it was erected in a gallery called the organ loft, which, with the ringing floor, filled up the tower; the organ faced the nave, and the organist and choir sat in front of it. It was afterwards removed to the centre of the west end, close to the west door; it remained there but a short time, and at the general restoration of the Church it was admirably placed in a chamber or recess communicating by arches with the transept and chancel, whence it is heard to advantage over the whole of the edifice.

MONUMENTS AND TABLETS.

The monument in a recess in the north transept, to which reference has already been made, is the effigy of a knight or warrior, sculptured in marble, representing him clad in a surcoat of mail, partly gilt and formerly painted; chain gorget, cuirass, and part of a sword suspended by a belt. The head rests on his tilting helmet, and the feet on a dog or lion. The figure has lost its hands and a portion of its feet; it retains slight tracings of armorial bearings on the surcoat, which appear to have been a fess danzette between three tigers' or leopards' faces, as borne by the Wests' and Cantilupes. The crest on the helmet is a bear's or camel's head, muzzled. The recess in which the effigy now lies is of earlier date than the figure, indicating that it is not in its original position; indeed it is placed therein for the sake of convenience, as at different periods it has occupied several parts of the Church. It was discovered many years ago in the grounds of the Monastery of the Grey Friars in the Friarage, but at a considerable distance from the supposed site of the monastic building. It is uncertain whom it is designed to represent, but from the elaborate workmanship, and the costly material of which it is formed, it is doubtless the effigy of a person of wealth and consequence, probably a large benefactor to the monastery; the finer parts of the figure are much worn and defaced. It has with reason been supposed to be the effigy of James Boteler, Earl of Ormonde, who founded the House of Grey Friars in 1387.

The two stone coffins placed within Early English niches in the outer wall of the north chapel were discovered some 30 years ago when the Church was undergoing repairs; unfortunately, the cover of one of them was so much broken by the workmen that it was

found necessary to supply its place with a new one, which is a copy as near as possible of the original. The lid of the other remains uninjured, and by its chaste and simple cross, affords a good example of a large class of ornamental stone coffins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This coffin, which probably contains the relics of an ecclesiastic, may be assigned to the twelfth or the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

In the north transept is an alabaster monument to Lady Lee, wife of Sir Henry Lee, of Quarrendon, and third daughter of William, Lord Paget, and her three children. Two female figures, gorgeously habited, with large ruffs, are kneeling, and two infants are in swaddling clothes. The monument is emblazoned with—Arg. on a fess Az. three lilies Or; between three unicorns heads erased S. impaling quarterly 1 and 4 S. on a cross engrailed Arg. five lions passant of the first between four eagles displayed Or; 2 and 3 Arg. two bars Gu. In a dexter canton Gu. a cinquefoil Or; in sinister chief a crescent; below, on the dexter side, the arms of the dexter impalement, and on the sinister those of the sinister impalement, in a lozenge; for Lee of Quarrendon and Paget, as further explained on the tablet; it was formerly profusely ornamented with gold and colouring; is of the time of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Lee having died in 1584; and bears this inscription:—

If passing by this place thou doe desire
To know what corpse here shry'd in marble lie
The some of that whiche now thov dost reqvire
This scle'der verse shall sone to the descrie.

Entombed here dothe rest a worthie dame
Extract and born of noble'hovse and blovd
Her sire Lord Paget hight of worthie fame
Whose virtves cannot sinke into le flovd
Two brethern had she Baro's of this realme
A Knight heer frere Sir Henry Lee he hight
To whom she bare thre impes which had to names
Ihon Henry Mary slayne by fortvnes spight
First two bei'g yong which cavsd ther pare'ts mo'e
The third in flower a'd prime of all her yeares
All thre do rest within this marble stone
By whiche the fickle'es of worldly ioyes appears
Good fre'd sticke not to strew with crims'o flowers
This marble stone wherin her cindres rest
For svre her ghost lyes with the heave'ly powers
And gverdon hathe of virtvovs life possest.

Sir Henry Lee was a Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and a great courtier. In Quarrendon Chapel was a magnificent altar tomb to his memory, supported with surcoats and helmets, and adorned with battleaxes and javelins. On the sarcophasus was the recumbent figure of the Knight in complete armour, with a mantle, collar, and George of the Order of the Garter, the head reposing on a helmet, adorned with a plume of feathers. Part of the coat of arms was in the Hartwell Museum, and is depicted in Ædes Hartwellianæ. He died in 1610. Lady Lee's father was Sir William Paget, Lord Paget, K.G., Ambassador to France, Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, temp. Henry VIII., Lord Privy Seal to Queen Mary. Her brothers, Sir

Henry Paget, K.B., 2nd Lord Paget, and Thomas, 3rd Lord Paget, who was attainted in the reign of Elizabeth.

There are no ancient brasses remaining in Aylesbury Church. Prior to the general restoration of the building there were several very old slabs imbedded in the floor of the chancel; the inscriptions formerly on them, however, were entirely obliterated and worn away; but traces of matrices were plainly observable on some, showing that they were formerly inlaid. No brasses attached to them have existed within memory, and the probability is that they have been ruthlessly denuded of them. There must have been at some period an annihilation or general removal of monuments, as none now exist of the seventeenth century, with the exception of one erected by Alexander Farmborow in his lifetime, who took the precaution to place it at such an altitude and also to embed it so securely in the masonry as to be out of harm's way. There is handed down to us from a seventeenth century transcript of "Francis Thyn's* Notes" in the Library of Hartwell House, a copy of a memento once existing in the chancel and bearing the ancient Aylesbury name of Ellys† (Ells, Ellis). Thyn describes it as "a buryall skochean in ye Chyrch of Ailesburgh":—

Ellys—
Argent a chevron verte between three estoiles [or mullets] gules.

Prior to the restoration of the Church the mural tablets were distributed in all parts of the building, but were mostly erected in the chancel and north transept.

On an oval mural tablet, formerly near the altar, but now in the clergy vestry:—

In memory of
Sir Francis Bernard, Bart.,(1)
Late Governor of Massachuset's Bay;
He married Amelia, daughter of Stephen Offley,
Esq., of Norton Hall, Derbyshire,
by whom he left issue,
Three sons, John, Thomas, and Scrope;
And four daughters,
Jane, Amelia, Frances Elizabeth, and Julia.
He died the XVI. day of June,
MDCCLXXIX.
In the LXVII. year of his age.

On a black marble tablet:—

HENRY,
The son of Mr. Henry Phillips,
Born September the 14th, 1640;
Baptized September the 19th;
Died November the 13th, 1714.

On another:—

Beneath this Stone lies interred the remains of
THE REV. WILLIAM LLOYD, D.D.,
Late Vicar of this Parish,
Who died on the 27th day of December, 1815,
In the 67th year of his age.

[This is now in the clergy vestry.]

* Francis Thyn, or Thynne, first Lancaster Herald under Queen Elizabeth, then Blance Lion, and subsequently, under James I., Lancaster Herald, was of the family of Sir John Thynne, Knt., to whom the proceeds of the Prebend of Thame Church were granted. Francis was the son of William le Thynne, first Clerk of the Kitchen, and afterwards Master of the Household to Henry VIII.—now represented by the Marquis of Bath. He was educated at Tonbridge School, and then went to Oxford. He was appointed Lancaster Herald by William, Lord Burleigh, and did much good and sound heraldic work, having visited many churches and copied the inscriptions on ancient monuments and in stained glass therein, at a period when the hand of the destroyer was often raised to demolish objects of value and importance. Camden wrote of him as "an excellent antiquary, and a gentleman painful and well-deserving of his office." His MS. Visitations and Notes of the Churches of Bucks and Oxon are amongst the Ashmolean MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Others are in the College of Arms. He wrote a book on "The Duties of Ambassadors," and another "On the Duty and Office of an Herald of Arms." He died A.D. 1608.

† The name of Ellys is met with as early as the 3rd of Henry VI. (1424), at which period Robert Ellys, clerk, was one of the incumbents of the chantry or brotherhood founded by John Singleton and John Baldwin, inhabitants of Aylesbury.

(1) Grandfather of Sir Thomas T. Bernard, Bart., of Lower Winchendon.

In the Chancel pavement was another slab, with this inscription :—

Here lye the bodys of
PAUL HEYWOOD,
Of this Parish, Mercer, and
MARTHA, HIS WIFE ;
She died Oct. ye 16th, aged 72 ;
He the 9th, aged 65.
They were buried on Sunday, ye 23rd, 1743.
ROBERT JEMMETT,(2)
Died June the 24th, 1779,
Aged 67 years.
This *vault* erected in their remembrance by
Robt. Jemmett,
Nephew of Martha Heywood.

Near this place lyes the body of
WILLIAM LYNDON,
Who departed this life March ye 27th, 1709,
Aged 48 years,
Leaving one Son, who caused this monument to be erected.

[This tablet was in the north transept, but is not now to be seen.]

Near this place are deposited the remains of
THOMAS WILLIAMS, APOTHECARY,
Who died July 30, 1732,
Aged 67.
THOMAS,
Son of Wilson and Mary Williams,
Who died Feb. 20, 1742,
Aged 22.
WILSON WILLIAMS, APOTHECARY,
The son of Thomas and Elizabeth Williams,
Who died April 27, 1758,
Aged 63.
ELIZABETH, WIDOW OF THOMAS WILLIAMS,
Who died June 20th, 1759,
Aged 90.
ELIZABETH,
Daughter of Wilson and Mary Williams,
Wife of John Smith, Mercer,
Who died April 9, 1764,
Aged 34.
JOHN SMITH,
Son of John and Elizabeth Smith,
Who died May 20, 1765,
Aged 7,
ARCHDALE WILLIAMS, APOTHECARY,
Son of Wilson and Mary Williams,
Who died June 22nd, 1766,
Aged 35.
MARY, WIDOW OF WILSON WILLIAMS,
Who died December 2nd, 1787,
Aged 84.

[This tablet is now in the Lady Chapel.]

A mural monument, now removed to the Lady Chapel —

In a vault near this spot lie interred
The remains of
WILLIAM RICKFORD, GENT.,(3)
Who departed this life on the 3d of May, 1803,
In the 74th year of his age.
Also,
Of two of his Grand-children, viz.,—
WILLIAM,
Son of William and Mary Rickford,
Who died 18th January, 1798,
Aged 5 years ;
And
ELIZABETH,
The daughter of Zachars. D. & E. H. Hunt,
Who died 27 Dec., 1804,
Aged 15 months.
ELIZABETH,
Widow of the above William Rickford,
Died 13 April, 1807,
Aged 73 years.
FANNY HUNT,
Born 14 June, 1805, Died 5 Nov., 1808.
JAMES RICKFORD,
Born 22 Feb., 1797, Died 24 January, 1809.

On a stone once in the floor of the north transept :—

MARY OVIATT(4)
Departed this life Nov. 22, 1792,
Aged 97.

On a small tablet affixed to the east wall of the north transept (now in the Lady Chapel) :—

In a vault near this place are deposited the remains of
HENRY HICKMAN,(5)
Surgeon of this Town,
Ob. Aug. 23, 1813, æt. 50.
Also
SARAH COWPER HICKMAN,
Daughter of the above,
And
ANN, HIS WIFE,
Obit. Nov. 6, 1819, æt. 23,
Suffocated by an abscess in the liver, bursting into the chest, while asleep.
Also
HENRY FRANCIS HICKMAN,
Obit. July 2nd, 1821,
Aged 31.
Also
ANN HICKMAN, WIDOW OF THE ABOVE,
Obit. January 4th, 1844,
Ætat. 84.

(2) This family had a London connection, who were wholesale tobacconists, and the manufacturers of a very popular snuff, formerly known as "Jemmett's" snuff.

(3) Father of Mr. Rickford, banker, who so long represented Aylesbury in Parliament, and the first of this family in the town.

(4) A very old Aylesbury name, long since extinct, not to be confounded with Ivatts, which is quite as ancient and still represented.

(5) Of the family of Thomas Hickman, the founder of the charity known as "Hickman's."

Within the altar rails was a stone inscribed:—

Here lieth all that was mortal of
MRS. ANN MEAD,
Wife of Mr. Robert Mead,(6)
Who lived most justly belov'd until the 8th of May, 1724,
In the 55th year of her age,
And then died, universally and worthily lamented.

On a marble tablet, formerly in the south transept, but now removed to the Lady Chapel:—

Near this place lie the bodies of
MATTHIAS DAGNALL,(7) BOOKSELLER,
And
SARAH, HIS WIFE.
She died Aug. 25, 1736, aged 76 years;
He died Sept. 26, 1736, aged 78 years.
And also their Sons,
MATTHIAS AND DEVERELL DAGNALL,
With
ALICE AND ELIZABETH, THEIR WIVES:
Matthias died April 6, 1773, aged 76;
Deverell died December 7, 1773, aged 74;
DEVERELL, HIS SON,
Died January 13, 1776, aged 29;
Elizabeth, wife of Deverell, died Aug. 18, 1784, aged 59;
Alice, wife of Matthias, died Oct. 18, 1786, aged 75;
Also
THOMAS DAGNALL, BOOKSELLER,
Son of Matthias and Alice;
He died Dec. 12, 1792, aged 46.
JOHN PARKER, GENT.,
Died December 31, 1811,
Aged 63 years.
ELIZABETH,
Daughter of Deverell and Elizabeth Dagnall,
Died June 1, 1817,
Aged 73 years.
ANN,
Widow, first of Thos. Dagnall, afterwards of John Parker,
Died March 22, 1819,
Aged 72 years.
MARY, WIFE OF A. P. MUDDIMAN,
And daughter of Deverell and Elizabeth Dagnall,
Died October 10th, 1834,
Aged 77 years.
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS MUDDIMAN,
Died Dec. 30th, 1835,
Aged 77 years.

In the north transept there was formerly a black slab, enclosed with rails, inscribed:

Here lies ye body of
ARTHUR HODSKIN, GENT.,(8)
Who departed this life December ye 10th, 1738,
Aged 53.
Here also lies ye body of
ELIZABETH,
Wife of ye above Arthur Hodskin,
Who departed this life December ye 19th, 1732,
Aged 52.
Here also lies ye body of
ELIZABETH,
Daughter of the above Arthur and Elizabeth Hodskin,
Who departed this life June ye 14, 1738,
Aged 13.

On another near (also now missing):—

In memory of
MARY,
Wife of John Marlow,(9)
Of Walton, in this Parish,
Who departed this life January 24th, 1808,
Aged 80.
Also
JOHN MARLOW,
Died 23rd May, 1820,
Aged 78 years.
Also of
ELIZABETH SEABORNE,
Niece of the above John and Mary Marlow,
Who departed this life December 23, 1808,
Aged 44.

There was a slab in the floor of the chancel, inscribed:—

MARIÆ,(10)
Plus Quam XLI. Annos
Conjug. suae carissim et
optime merenti
XVI. liberor. matri pientissim
Dei peries Christum Domino
str cultrici
simplici humil poenitenti
quae
Festo Sancti Bartholomaei
A.S. 1764,
nata postrid, festae
Sanct. Matthiae
A.S. MDCCCXXIV.
In pace requiescit
Joannes Morley Hujus
Eccles, Vicarius,
C. V. P.

(6) He was LL.D., and some time an attorney at Aylesbury; it is conjectured he may have been the grandfather of Mary, wife of John Wilkes.

(7) This family is still represented in the town by the Muddimans.

(8) There was at one time a charity distributed at Aylesbury known as "Hodskins;" in "Local Occurrences," under date December 22nd, 1780, is this entry:—"The minister and churchwardens met as usual to receive and distribute Mr. Arthur Hodskins' donation to the poor of this town, but it was refused them by order of Mr. Methirk, the executor."

(9) A Walton family, once of good standing, but now extinct in the male line.

(10) First wife of the Rev. John Morley, vicar of this parish.

On a slab in the floor of the Chancel (now missing)* :—

Here lieth the body of
HANNAH BARRET,
Wife of Thos. Barret, who lieth near this place;
She was daughter of William & Eleanor Bell,(11)
Of this parish;
She departed this life April 28th, 1770,
Aged 70 years.

On a white slab once on the north side of the chancel:—

Here lyes the body of
MARTHA HOWSE,
Wife of John Temple Howse,(12)
Who departed this life June ye 9th, 1762,
In ye 26th year of her age.
Also,
Here lies the body of
JOHN TEMPLE HOWSE, GENT.,
Husband to Martha Howse;
He departed this life September 20th, 1763,
In the 31st year of his age.

[This stone is not now to be seen.]

On a brown slab once near the entrance into the chancel:—

In memoriam,
CAROLI FILII THOMÆ DARBY,
Nuper de Almondbury in Com. Ebor. Gen.
Hunc lapidem sepulchralem posuit
Thomas Darby, Gen.
Ejus Frater amantissimus.
Obiit 29° Junii, Annoq, Dom. MDCCXXII.,
Ætat 32 suæ.

On a mural monument, still in its original position, on the west side of the south transept:—

WILLIAM BELL,
Son of Mr. Joseph Bell, and Celia his wife,
Died April the 15, 1745,
Aged 24,
On board His Majesty's ship the Medway,
at Batavia, in East India,
Where he went to serve his country with great
courage and cheerfulness.
To whose memory this monument is gratefully
and affectionately erected.

Arms—S. a fess Erm. between three bells Arg.
Crest on a wreath Arg. and S. an Eagle volant.
At the bottom, in bass relief, a ship under sail.

On another, surmounted by an urn, now in the Lady Chapel:—

To the memory of
ELIZABETH,
The amiable daughter of
Mr. Joseph and Celia Bell,
Who, after a painful illness, borne with uncommon
calmness and the most saint-like resignation,
inspired all around her for the first
time with sorrow on
February the 8th, 1751,
The day on which she died, inexpressibly lamented.

In the S.W. angle of the south transept, on an altar monument of white marble, with a pyramid of veined marble, between two sculptured urns:—

To the memory of
ANNE,
Wife of Hugh Barker Bell, Esq.(13)
This monument is erected
By a most disconsolate Husband,
In testimony
Of the greatest and most deserved affection
For the best of Wives;
Who, after having been a real blessing
To her husband near eleven years,
And through her whole life universally respected
By her neighbours and acquaintance,
Died
Much lamented by all,
On the 16th day of July, 1749,
Aged 33.

Arms—Bell impaling Arg. a chevron . . . . charged with three . . . between three roses proper.

On a mural tablet, formerly on the north side of the chancel, but now in the Lady Chapel, representing drapery affixed to an oval of black veined marble:—

Arms—Sable, a cross fleury Or.

To perpetuate the memory of
JOHN DELAFIELD,
Citizen of London, and of
MARTHA DELAFIELD, HIS WIFE,
Daughter of Jacob Dell,(14) of this Town;
He died 9th March, 1763,
Aged 43.
She died 26th November, 1761,
Aged 42.

* It is not to be understood that these missing slabs were destroyed or removed at the time of the restoration of the Church; as a rule they retain their original positions, but are lowered a trifle in order that the new pavement which is placed over them might be uniformly laid.

(11)The name of Bell is one of the oldest in the annals of the town; is met with under all dates, and is still in existence.

(12)A Bierton family.

(13)He was son of Hugh Barker Bell, Esq.; a Fellow of New College, Oxford; was registrar of the Archdeaconry of Bucks; became imbecile, and died a lunatic in 1792; his portrait is still to be met with; it exhibits him as an oddity.

(14)This ancient and for many years a leading family in the town is now extinct here in the male line, but is represented by the family of Mr. Joseph Parrott.

On another tablet, removed from the chancel into the Lady Chapel :—

Arms—Qy. 1 & 4 Arg. a bend Az. charged with 3 horse shoes Or. 2 & 3 a fess chequy Arg. and Az. between 6 cross crosslets Or.

In this chancel near this place lye the Bodyes of
THOMAS FARRER,
Late of this Town, Esq.,
Who dyed in ye 83d year of his age,
And was buried ye 14th of September, 1703,
And
HELEN, HIS WIFE,
Eldest daughter of Sir William Boteler,
Of Biddenham, in ye County of Bedford, Knt.,
By whom he had issue two daughters
and one son :
Helen, married to Edwd. Wright, of Lyde, in ye County of Hereford, Esq.,
And
Sybill, married to John Emes, of Parshore, in ye County of Worcester, Gent.,
Which Sibill, with her Mother, were buried here ye same day, which was ye 30th of June, 1696,
And William now living,
In memory of whom, and also of William, his Son, who is also here interred, ye said William Farrer and Mrs. Crysagon Coningsby, Executrix of ye said Mr. Emes,
Caused this Monument to be erected,
In the year of our Lord 1707.

On a mural monument, with pilasters, and shield of arms above, now over the clergy vestry door leading into the chancel :—

Az. A lion rampant. Arg.
H. M. S.
In memory of
HENRY PHILLIPS, OF LONDON, GENT.,
Who dyed the 13th day of November, 1714,
Aged 75.
He gave £5,000, to be laid out in lands, to be settled by his Executors on Trustees, for the enlargement of, and provision for the School in Aylesbury, the place of his Nativity, and

Wm. Mead,		Wm. Collett,	
Fra. Tyrringham,		Thos. Goodson	
Thos. Ingoldsby,	Esqs.	Edd. Martin,	Gents
Richd. Abell, &		Jon. Heales,	
Richd. Lamborne,		Wm. James,	

were appointed the first Trustees of Mr. Phillips's Charity,
by the said Wm. Meade, his surviving Executor, who also named Joseph Bell, of Aylesbury, Gent.,
one of the Trustees of the old Charity,
to be added to the Ten Trustees of the new

On a tablet once near the stairs to the belfry, under the tower, now removed into the Lady Chapel :—

To the memory of
WILLIAM HAYWARD,(15)
Who departed this life April 4th, 1800,
Aged 82.
Also of
ELIZABETH, HIS WIDOW,
Who departed this life March 13th, 1810,
Aged 83.

On a stone tablet in the Lady Chapel :—

In memory of
CATHERINE,
Wife of James James,
Who departed this life 15th April, 1796,
In the 27th year of her age.

On a small tablet, now in the Lady Chapel :—

Beneath are deposited the remains of
JAMES JAMES, GENTLEMAN,(16)
Who died the 7th of December, 1808,
Aged 39 years;
And of
JOHN, one of the sons of the said James James, by Catherine, his first wife,
Who died the 8th of August, 1800,
Aged 5 years and 7 months.
Also of
ELIZABETH, HIS WIDOW,
Who departed this life the 12th May, 1830,
Aged 63 years;
And of their son,
JOHN,
Who departed this life May 11th, 1815,
Aged 5 years and 10 months.

On a marble tablet, now in the same chapel :—

Near this place lye the bodies of
SARAH,
Wife of John West, of Aylesbury, Ironmonger,
Eldest daughter of Matthias Dagnall, Stationer,
Dyed October 5, 1729,
Aged 43;
And
THOMAS VEERE WEST,
Only son of the said John and Sarah;
He of the small-pox, June 28, 1742, aged 29.

On a corresponding tablet with that of Sir Francis Bernard, Bart. :—

In memory of
DAME AMELIA,
The wife of Sir Francis Bernard, Bart.
She died on the XXVI. of May, MDCCLXXVIII.,
In the LXI. year of her age.

(15) Was for many years the leading surgeon of the town; his son, William, and also his grandsons, William and Henry, succeeded him in the same profession; name now extinct here.

(16) Grandfather of the late Mr. James James, of Halton; family still represented in the town.

In the Lady Chapel :—

To the memory of
ROBERT READ,(17)
Late of this Town,
Who died the 2nd August, 1799,
And
MARY, HIS WIFE,
Who died March 20th, 1828,
Aged 89 years.

In the south transept, near the door, on a brass plate, on which is very neatly engraved a figure of a female kneeling, and inclosed in an ornamented stone frame :—

To the Glory of God, and in affectionate remembrance of FRANCES STUBBS, many years residing in Aylesbury. This tablet has been placed by a few attached friends and many of the poor amongst whom her kindly attention and charities will long be held in grateful recollection. She was born at Knaresborough, 30th March, 1836, and died at Ramsgate 16th June, 1877, and is buried there.

In the Church-yard, near the end of the Chancel, on a white marble tablet, affixed to an altar tomb, formerly inclosed with iron palisadoes :—

H. S. E.
Omne quod mortale erat
Josephi Bell de Aylesbury Com. Buck, Generosi
Archinatus de Bucks, plusquam triginta
annos Registrarius.
Nec non Uxoris ejus Celiæ Bell, Hugonis Barker
de Horwood Mag. Com. Bucks,
Armigeri Filiæ
Collegiarum Wiccamicorum Fundatoris
consanguiniae.
Quomodo
Viæ omni manere functi sunt
Quibus noti erant testentur omnes
Ignorantibus Dies ille supremus indicabit.
Obiit. { Illa / Ille } Anno Æt. { 51 / 60 } Sal. { 1738 / 1739 }
Hoc quale est Pietatis suæ Monumentum
Optimis Parentibus Liberi Mœrentes P.

Arms—A chevron Erm. between three bells, Bell; impaling three demi bears erased, in chief 3 Ogresses, Barker.

There is a tablet affixed to the brick wall between the Church-yard and the Prebendal, erected by Mr. Wilkes in 1754, to the memory of John Smart, his gardener, on which is inscribed :—

"Illum etiam lauri ; illum etiam flevere myricæ."

Now in the Clergy Vestry :—

In a vault beneath are the remains of
ANNE,
Daughter of Joseph Rose, Gent., & Louisa, his wife,
Who died on the 21st November, 1829,
In the 19th year of her age,
And of
SUSANNAH LOUISA,
Their eldest daughter,
Who died on the 17th October, 1831,
In the 29th year of her age,
And of
THE SAID LOUISA,
Wife of Joseph Rose,
Who died on the 29th February, 1832,
Aged 53 years,
And of
JANE,
The last surviving daughter of the said Joseph and Louisa Rose,
Who died on the 3rd July, 1833,
In the 26th year of her age.
In the same vault are also interred
WILLIAM JOSEPH,
Son of William Rose, Esq.
(Son of the above-named Joseph and Louisa),
Who died on the 21st February, 1844,
Aged 3 years and 8 months.

[This stone was removed from the south transept in 1851.]

On a tablet in the Clergy Vestry :—

JOHN MORLEY,
For 26 years Vicar of this Parish,
Died 29th September, 1842,
Aged 80 years,
MARY, HIS WIFE,
Died 25th February, 1824,
Aged 60 years.
FRANCES, THEIR DAUGHTER,
Died 14th December, 1848,
Aged 49.
SUSANNAH, THEIR DAUGHTER,
Died 23rd December, 1849,
Aged 61.

On a small tablet in the Lady Chapel :—

Sacred to the memory of
ROBERT DELL,
Of Mickleover, in the County of Durham,
And 44 years resident in this town ;
His remains are interred in the Church at
Mickleover,
Where he died July 18th, 1837,
Aged 82 years.
This tablet is erected by his affectionate children.

(17)Father of the late Mr. Joseph Read, of the Brickkiln ; family extinct in the town.

In the Lady Chapel :—

Sacred to the memory of
ROBERT LUDGATE, ESQUIRE,
Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of the County
of Buckingham,
Died at his house Sussex Place, Regent's Park,
May 8th, 1833,
Aged 59 years.

Now in the wall of the Clergy Vestry, removed from the south transept :—

HEARE × LYETH × THE × BODY × OF
ALEXANDER × FARMBOROW
WHO × LIEFED × YEARES × AND × DE-PARTED
LIFE × IN × THE × YEARE ×
THIS × STONE × ALEXANDER × FARMBOROW × LAID
1628.

"Whilst we pride ourselves on the rapid progress of the present generation, let us not undervalue the advancement of each preceding one. Let us look back with reverence on those early ancestors whom the ancient monuments commemorate. Let us venerate their memories. Let us cultivate feelings of gratitude towards them. Let us revere their slumbering relics. Let us view their monuments with interest, and preserve and protect them as memorials of those whom we ought to honour and revere, remembering that the achievements of past generations have been so many steps in England's glory ; and if we would advance or retain that glory, we should so pass our own career that future generations may contemplate our sepulchres with that veneration and regard, which we feel, or ought to feel, towards those ancient monuments of our forefathers."*

GENERAL RESTORATION OF THE CHURCH.

The Church had been under the process of what is called "churchwardening" for many years, and a considerable debt was incurred for this worse than useless patching. Roman cement and plaister of Paris had been used in abundance, whilst of pointing and roughcasting there was no end. The real work of restoration commenced as far back as the year 1842, during the churchwardenship of Mr. Fowler, sen., and Mr. Field ; they first tried their hands on the interior of the south transept, and, to their credit it must be said, their experiment remains to this day, a part of the whole work of restoration. For their services they received the thanks of a vestry, accompanied by a request that they would continue their labours. It was, however, found that the expenses attendant thereon would be very great, and it was hopeless to expect to raise anything like the sum required, by church-rates or appeals to the parishioners only. In the spring of 1843 the voluntary principle was resorted to, and subscriptions asked for from the county gentry, and public generally. To this appeal there was not an adequate response. The outlay already made on the restoration of the transept raised an alarm in the minds of some of the parishioners that great expenses were intended to be incurred and to be defrayed by means of church-rates. At the Easter vestry of 1843 Mr. Field, who had been parish churchwarden for the two previous years, was again put in nomination, with a view to carrying out the restoration. The economical party, however, were not satisfied, and Mr. Charles Ivatts was also nominated. A poll was taken, and the feeling of the parish was unmistakably evinced by the return of Mr.

* These are the piously expressed sentiments of the late Rev. William Hastings Kelke, who died at Little Missenden in April, 1865 ; he was a ripe and accomplished scholar and an indefatigable archæologist ; a man of simple unaffected piety ; specially charitable in his judgment of others, and esteemed by all who knew him. For twenty years he held the living of Drayton Beauchamp. The kindliness of his heart is exemplified in his outpourings of venerable regard towards those who have preceded us. As he has honoured their memories so we should honour his. We are indebted to him for a fund of local history which he accumulated and has handed down in the pages of the "Records of Buckinghamshire," and other archæological publications.

Ivatts as churchwarden, by a large majority. Mr. Ivatts was a Churchman, a Liberal in politics, and pledged to make no church-rate. The work of restoration was, consequent on Mr. Ivatts' election, a long time in abeyance.

Two actions were afterwards brought by Mr. Plowman, of Oxford, who had been consulted as architect ; one against Mr. Field, and the other against Mr. Tindal, as churchwardens, to recover the amount of his charges for plans, &c.

In November, 1848, the opinion of Mr. Gilbert Scott was sought on the state of the Church, and he made the report which has already been given. At a vestry held in 1849, this report was taken into consideration. Mr. Tindal, as Vicar's Churchwarden, had, he said, received a mandate from the Archdeacon to do the necessary repairs to the fabric, and that if they were not proceeded with forthwith, further difficulties would arise. The object of the vestry, therefore, was to sanction the borrowing of £3,000 for the purposes of repairs. This vestry was an exceedingly stormy one, the borrowing of the money being vehemently opposed by the leading Nonconformists. The vestry decided in favour of the plan, and a poll of the parish was demanded. The poll remained open two days, and ended in a majority of 231 in favour of the motion for obtaining the money by loan, and the work of reparation proceeded.

At the Easter vestry which followed soon after, Mr. Z. D. Hunt was chosen parish churchwarden, when he requested that "he might be allowed to state in what spirit he took office. It appeared to him that the grant of £3,000 should be laid out with the most scrupulous care, and only for those repairs which were necessary in furnishing the poor with religious instruction. Not one shilling of this money should be laid out in decorations or ornamental work of any kind. He was determined to carry out this principle. He believed this view of the case was not a peculiar one, as it was announced by the propounders of the scheme at the vestry ; and he had no doubt that the decorations needed in the Church would be done by subscription raised in another way." The borrowing difficulty was soon got over, and from this period good progress was made. Pews, galleries, partitions, and other impediments were swept away and sold, and contracts entered into, not only for necessary repairs, but also for the restoration of the interior. The Church was now was closed, and public worship held in the County Hall.

On Whitsun Day, 1851, the congregation again met in the Church for public worship, but the restoration was far from being complete. The seats had not been erected, and the worshippers were accommodated with chairs and other makeshifts. The restoration of the chancel had not yet been begun. In May, 1852, a vestry was convened by the churchwardens for considering the best mode of raising the necessary funds for re-seating the Church without having recourse to a church-rate, when Mr. Z. D. Hunt produced a plan and a scheme, which were adopted, and the principle that it should be effected by voluntary contributions was also approved.

It took a long time to finish even the raised platforms, on which the seats were to be fixed, and but slow progress was made. After the institution of Dr. Bickersteth to the Living, in the autumn of 1853, the work was revived in earnest, the only delay being caused by disputes raised by some few of the parishioners with regard to their supposed rights to seats, some demanding to occupy the same sites on which their old pews formerly stood. The seating was not completed until 1854, and the finishing touches were not yet given to the nave; still, opening services were held about this time. The chancel remained unfinished; the north side of it had been restored at the expense of the Pretyman family, but the remainder was left nearly untouched, and for a considerable time it was screened off from the rest of the Church. This restoration was at length carried out in its entirety at a cost of about £1,000, and the chancel was re-opened in 1855.

The interior of the Church had not long been finished when the idea of crowning the work by the restoration of the exterior was entertained. It was not however until 1865 this was set about in earnest. At a private meeting of the subscribers of the voluntary Church Service Fund, held at the Vestry-place on the 31st of March in that year, a report of Mr. Scott, dated November 7th, 1864, was read. In July following a public vestry was held for submitting Mr. Scott's estimate and report. The difficulty appeared to be the raising of the requisite funds. The question to be decided was the expediency of raising £1,500 by rate, and the remainder by voluntary contribution; the vestry drifted into a discussion on church-rates. Some Churchmen were in favour of making a rate, others were reluctant to launch into a parish squabble. At length Mr. Acton Tindal, who was churchwarden, stated that he accepted office upon the condition that he should not be called upon to levy a church-rate by any compulsory means, a statement which had considerable effect. A Restoration Committee was appointed. Finding the general feeling of the vestry to be opposed to a church-rate, the Committee depended entirely upon the voluntary principle for support, and their appeal for the necessary funds was well responded to.

By the following September £1,558 had been subscribed, and the first contract was entered into for the restoration of the west end, which was commenced in the spring of 1866, and as subscriptions came in liberally, it was determined to carry out the work in a more thorough manner than was at first contemplated. All the coverings of rough cast, with the ugly plinths of Roman cement, were removed, and a handsome wall facing of stone substituted; the buttresses were rebuilt on solid foundations reaching down to the rock, and good stone plinths added, following as nearly as possible the old lines. The foundations are now even more substantial than when the Church was first erected.

The exteriors of the west end and porch were treated as before described with regard to the walls; the windows on the north side of the nave re-arranged, and the modern

debased[1] windows replaced by Perpendicular[2] ones designed by the architect. New pinnacles were put up at the west gable, and in a niche over the window were placed sculptured figures of the Virgin and Child. It is supposed that there was a similar representation in the same niche in the olden time. The north and south transepts[3] were restored in a similar manner to the rest of the building, the modern window in the north transept taken out and an entirely new Decorated[4] one by Mr. Scott inserted. Formerly there was a Perpendicular window here, but it was removed and the debased one put in. The exterior portions of the chancel were restored and new stone buttresses were substituted for the old ones. The window frames were renewed, with their shafts and foliated capitals, all the original features traced in the walling being faithfully reproduced. The clerestory[5] was treated in the same manner as the other parts of the building, and the parapets reconstructed with the carved bosses according to the originals on the corners. The restoration of the tower formed one of the principal undertakings ; it was almost entirely rebuilt, the former modern embattlement being removed, and replaced by a very handsome perpendicular foliated and carved parapet, considered by the architect to be the original form of it. The spire was re-constructed and made upright ; when it came under the hands of the restorers it was found to be 15 inches out of the perpendicular. The lead was taken off and re-cast, and the spire re-covered ; the vane and weathercock regilt and corrected. The old lead waterpipes were taken away, and new ones of ancient pattern substituted. In the course of the restoration of the tower, an old door, which evidently opened into the triforium,[6] was found in the western side ; this door has been perfectly restored externally. The modern crosses were removed from the gables, and replaced by others more in harmony with the architecture of the Church. The surface of the Churchyard was lowered and levelled round the building, in some places to the extent of 3 feet. In the small clergy chapel, between the Lady chapel and the chancel, a new, bold lean-to roof, designed by Mr. Scott, was placed, which completed the work of the external restoration. It was decided not to remove at present the old piece of tiled roof on the north-east end of the Church, and it was left; it looks out of all harmony with the rest of the building, but doubtless there were satisfactory reasons for leaving it.

(1) Debased.—Not within the prescribed rules of any order of architecture.

(2) Perpendicular.—The last of the styles of Gothic architecture which flourished in this country. The name is derived from the arrangement of the tracery, which consists of perpendicular lines and forms one of its most striking features.

(3) Transept.—The division of a church running north and south, forming the arms of a cross, the upright part of which is represented by the nave and chancel.

(4) Decorated.—A style of architecture most readily distinguished by its large windows, which have pointed arches divided by mullions, and the tracery forming circles, arches and other figures not running perpendicularly.

(5) Clerestory.—The upper tier or storey of windows in churches above the roof of the aisles, and internally above the pier arches, and the triforium where the latter exists.

(6) Triforium.—A gallery or arcade in the wall over the pier arches which separate the body from the aisles of the church ; the arcade is not in general carried entirely through the wall, but there is most commonly a passage way behind it, which is in some cases continued in the thickness of the wall round the entire building.

A description of the Church after restoration will strangely contrast with its former condition. Taking the entrances first—At the west end is a beautiful Early English doorway, with receding mouldings, supported by four cylindrical columns on each side. The south porch has a series of Early English arcades, with slender stone shafts resting on stone sedilia; the inner doorway has clustered columns, and is deeply recessed. There is another entrance beneath the large window in the south transept, of the late Perpendicular period, with a spandril, and canopied niches on each side, in which are statues of St. Peter and St. James, to whom the former Churches of Quarrendon and Bierton were respectively dedicated. Viewed from the exterior, this doorway and window are perfect specimens of their order.

The chancel is of considerable extent and very handsome. The screen is of oak, panelled and dwarfed; the lower panels are 2 feet in height; the upper ones, ornamented and pierced, are but 10 inches square; the screen is surmounted by a neat foliated trellis of metal; the whole height is but 4 feet. The entrance to the chancel is by a pair of swing gates of the same character as the screen. The floor is paved with tiles of neat patterns. Stone steps lead up to the Holy Table, and there is a light ornamental altar-rail. There are some ancient return stalls[7] of massive oak, which are used by a portion of the choir, and the necessary desks for the remainder. These stalls were originally provided for the members of the chantry: the seats are made to turn up, and underneath are small ledges surrounded by quaint carvings. The clergy stalls are formed from some in use in the pre-Reformation times. On a blank arch in the choir (below which is the door leading to the vestry) is an illuminated inscription, in bold characters, "Let Thy Priests be clothed with righteousness, and let Thy Saints sing with joyfulness." The roof is of timber, of a shape commonly called "a waggon roof." The altar cloth is of crimson velvet. The reredos[8] is of diaper pattern in gold and colours, with the text running along its whole width, "Come unto me all ye that labour," &c. There are sedilia[9] of carved oak, and an ancient double aumbry.[10] On the north side is a recess, supposed to have been used as an Easter sepulchre. The altar lights are two handsome standards of brass, of nine lights each.

The magnificent arches of the chancel, nave, and aisles, which are supported by handsome clustered columns, are now seen in all the beauty of their proportions, and so is also the triforium, which was restored to view by the removal of the unsightly

(7) Stalls.—In a Cathedral or Collegiate Church certain seats, constructed for the clergy and dignitaries of the Church, and intended for their exclusive use. These stalls are placed in the choir. The same word is also used to signify any benefice, which gives the person holding it a seat, or stall with the chapter, in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church.

(8) Reredos.—A screen of wood or stone work behind the altar; sometimes formed of a hanging of rich tapestry.

(9) Sedilia.—Seats for the priests and deacons during the Eucharist service. They vary in number from one to five, three being the usual number. They are generally found in the south side of the chancel, very rarely in the north.

(10) Aumbry.—A niche or cupboard beside the altar to contain the utensils belonging thereto.

galleries, the belfry and singing loft. The four great piers which support the tower are of substantial Derbyshire stone, having been rebuilt (together with the pillars of the nave and the clerestory windows and walls) during the first restoration. The transepts and side chapels communicate by pointed arches. There are now two arches in the south aisle, the larger one having been added from the design of Mr. Scott.

The main body of the building, together with the south transept and south chapel, is seated with handsome open benches of oak, with carved ends; is lighted with gas be means of upright standards of wood and brass, the burners being ornamented with passion flower foliage. The flooring is of red and black Staffordshire tiles. The pulpit, which is hexagonal in shape, is of oak, elaborately carved and ornamented, resting on a richly sculptured base of Caen stone. The steps are stone, with tasteful handrailings wrought in iron and embellished with brass scroll-work. The prayer desks are of oak, handsomely carved. The lectern was presented to the Church at Easter, 1879, by Mr. and Mrs. H. A. P. Cooper; it is of the well-known Eagle pattern, and of bold design, its pillar resting on gilt lions; round the base runs the inscription denoting the donors and the intention of the gift:—"Ad majorem Dei gloriam, et in pia memoria Arabellæ Carolinæ et Elizæ Goodall, Quae Dintonienses natae hanc Ecclesiam diu colebant hoc p.p. Herbertus et Carolina Cooper, dies Pachalis 1879.

The north transept is lighted by eight windows, six of which are in the clerestory, square headed and mullioned. The north window is divided into five compartments or lights, by stone mullions, the upper part consisting of rich tracery. Near the Lee monument in this transept are two piscinæ[11] of early date and singular character, resting upon an upright clustered shaft with carved foliage. In the eastern wall of the south transept are two arches corresponding in design with those opening into the south chapel. One is filled, and has an indented cross in the wall, and a square-headed window, and by the other a view is obtained of the Lady Chapel,[12] which is separated from the transept by a modern screen.

One of the most interesting portions of the restoration is that of the Lady Chapel, a beautiful erection of the fourteenth century. In this chapel an old sedilia was found in the wall in its proper position, being the only remains except a few fragments of carving. From these Mr. Scott produced sedilia with canopies,* and also a piscinæ, resembling as nearly as can be imagined the old designs. In excavating for the new buttresses and plinth foundations of this building the workmen came across some old arches of a very rude type, which led to further excavations within the Chapel, and thus

(11) Piscinæ.—A perforation in the wall of a Church, through which the water is poured away with which the chalice is rinsed, after the celebration of the Eucharist. In old churches it assumes the appearance of a highly ornamented niche; and usually has a fenestella or little shelf.

(12) Chapel.—The name is derived from the Latin capella, the little cape with which the shrines of relics were anciently covered. These relics were at first deposited in churches, but in time were removed to small buildings, either contiguous to or separate from the Church, and the name capella was transferred to these buildings.

* The Sedilia and Canopies were restored at the cost of the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth.

the remains of an ancient crypt were revealed, probably of an old Saxon Church, which may have existed as early as the ninth or tenth century.

Only one section of the edifice remains untouched in the work of restoration, that is the ancient sacristy[13] at the rear of the present organ chamber; this to appearances is the oldest part of the building. It contains an oaken wardrobe, probably more than 400 years old, in which is an ingeniously contrived swinging horse, on which the priest's vestments were hung; there is also a strong locker, in which, it is supposed, the sacred vessels were deposited. Above is the "priest's chamber." The walls of this ancient and interesting corner of the building are of immense strength, and the door is a very massive and remarkable one of the fifteenth century; on it is still remaining, quite perfect, a curious old lock, which secures the door by a winch key turning an enormous iron bar.[14]

THE CRYPT.

The word "Crypt" is derived from the Greek, and signifies a place hidden from view, and is applied to a vault under a Church, either entirely or in part underground. Crypts do not generally extend beyond the limits of the choir or chancel, and they are frequently of much smaller dimensions. Crypts were formerly used as chapels, and provided with altars and other furniture requisite for the celebration of religious services; and they were also very frequently used as places of sepulture. In some instances we find that a later Church has been erected over the crypt belonging to an older edifice. Crypts seem to have originated in the customs of the early Christian ages. The burial places of martyrs were resorted to as places of worship; Churches were built above them. The chamber under the Lady Chapel was evidently the crypt of a much older building; and as the traditions of the place inform us that Aylesbury possessed a Church in very early times, it is not impossible that it may have been the very site of the Saxon building where St. Osyth is said to have been buried in the ninth century. There is one prominent arch in it, which those competent to decide have unhesitatingly pronounced to be Saxon. It was bricked up when found. Probably in troublous times this subterraneous chamber was used for worship, but later as a Charnel House, piles upon piles of human bones being found in it. These were removed and re-interred in the churchyard. Two of the arches form, in point of fact, the support of the Lady Chapel, and one on the south side is immediately underneath the piscinæ and sedilia of the chapel. The ancient stone steps leading from the Church were found in the west end of the crypt, and were uncovered as far as possible without encroaching on the south transept. The whole was carefully preserved.

(13) Sacristy.—The place in which the sacred vessels and the vestments, &c., were kept.

(14) An accurate and detailed ground plan of the Church, after restoration, was executed by Mr. James Copcutt, of Aylesbury, in 1876, a reduced photograph of which was published, and it forms an excellent key to the interior of the building.

Ecclesiastical architecture may be divided into the following styles:—Saxon or Anglo-Saxon, A.D. 600 to 1050; Norman, 1050 to 1170; Semi-Norman or Transition, 1170 to 1210; Early English, 1210 to 1300; Decorated, 1300 to 1400; Florid or Perpendicular, 1400 to 1540.

THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS.

About the commencement of the fifteenth century, coloured glass windows, long previously used in Churches, began to be applied to memorial purposes. As to material, this was an entirely new mode of commemorating the departed, and it afforded the happiest facilities, not only for the rich exhibition of the various devices already in use, but also for depicting, beautifully and distinctly in natural colours, historic and other scenes which could not be shown, except imperfectly and obscurely, if at all, on any previous description of sepulchral record. In some instances small and simple devices, resembling those on the plainer kind of monumental stalls, were introduced into windows as the sole memorial. In other examples these windows were of a most costly and magnificent description. The whole window was richly emblazoned in various colours, illustrating some appropriate Scriptural event, accompanied with scrolls, labels, and the usual monumental emblems and embellishments. These windows suffered more than any other memorials during the Great Rebellion. They were easily destroyed, and were specially offensive as containing "pyctures supersticious." It has been before observed that in Aylesbury Church there are no seventeenth century monuments, and that it did not, at the time of its restoration, contain a single particle of ancient coloured glass; it is to be feared that an extensive demolition of both must have taken place in the Civil War of the 17th century.

On the restoration of the chancel, the style of the east window was altered; it is now a triple-lancet; the centre compartment is carried somewhat higher than the others; it has tooth-like mouldings on the interior columns; and it may be classed as appertaining to the Early English period. The centre light contains medallions, in which are represented our Saviour in His infancy, in His manhood, and on the Cross. In the side lights are medallions containing figures of the four Evangelists. All other parts of the window are effectively filled with stained glass; it is by Willement. The window is uniform with the other windows of the chancel. In the chancel gable is a small quartrefoil light of the Decorated period: this is also filled with stained glass.

The first window on the north side of the chancel represents the Baptism and the Temptation of our Lord, and was presented by Archdeacon and Mrs. Bickersteth. It is inscribed thus:—"In honorem Dei nec sine animo memori in Johannem Radclyffe Pretyman A.M. et Ameliam uxorem ejus vitreas tabulas pictas in hanc fenestram immittendas curaverunt Edvardus Bickersteth A.M. et Martha Maria Anna uxor ejus A.S, 1857."

The second window contains representations of the Sermon on the Mount and the Raising of Lazarus. It was presented by Mr. and Mrs. Richard Rose, and is inscribed —"In gloriam Dei promovendam nec non memoriam fratris carissimi posteris tradendam Gulielmi Rose, Juris Consulti, qui de vita decessit pridie cal. mai. A.S. MDCCCLVII. annos XLIV. natus has tabulas figendas curaverunt Ricardus Rose et Frances ejusdem conjux."

The third window, which exhibits the Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, and the

Agony in the Garden, was given by the family of the late Mr. John Gurney. The inscription is :—"To the glory of God and to the beloved memory of John Gurney, who died September 12th, 1857, aged 61 years. Erected by his bereaved children as an affectionate memorial of their deeply lamented parent."

The first window on the south side has the Entombment and the Resurrection of Our Redeemer, and is the gift of the family of the late Mr. Fowler. Inscription :—"To the glory of God and to the dear memory of John and Elizabeth Kersley Fowler. She died March 19th, 1835. He died March 24th, 1853. Quorum filii filiæque superstites hoc pietatis et desiderii monimentum mœrentes posuerunt."

The second window represents Christ appearing to Mary and to the Two Disciples at Emmaus. The window is the gift of Mr. Oliphant, the artist, and bears the following inscription :—"In gloriam Dei Franciscus Wilson Oliphant, tabulis vitreis illis ab ipso pictis hanc sextam adjecit, et Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ in Aylesbury Deo dedicandam donavit, A.S, MDCCCLVIII."

The third window on the south side pourtraying the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, was presented by the Misses de Veulle. The inscription is as follows :—"In gloriam Dei celebrandam et dulcissimam recordationem posteris tradendam viri carrissimi Johannis De Veulle Equitis Aurati, Cæsareæ Insulæ nuper Ballivi, et Annæ Elizæ conjugis filiæ natu maximæ Thomæ Tindal Armigeri ab Aylesbury. Mortuus est Ascensionis festo die Cal. Jun. A.S. MDCCCXLVIII. Mortua est XI. cal. mart. SS. MDCCCLI."

The west window was filled by the late Acton Tindal, Esq., and his brothers and sisters, as a memorial to their parents. The glass was designed and executed by the Messrs. O'Connor. The window which received this beautiful glass is of the latest period of Perpendicular architecture, and is both massive and elaborate in its details. It seems evidently to have been intended for painted glass, and may not improbably have been so filled about the time of its erection (A.D. 1500). The subjects of this window are entirely from the Old Testament. In the upper lights are four figures representing the patriarchs, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David. Below these, in two groups of two each, are the four greater prophets. Underneath these, in a series running across the window, are the twelve minor prophets. The small and variously sized openings in the centre of the upper portion of the window are filled with the Dove, representing the Holy Spirit in His sevenfold gifts spreading His influences over the writers and the events of the Old Testament History. The six large lights in the lower part of the window contain representations respectively of the Temptation of Adam and Eve, and the Expulsion from Eden, the Passage of the Red Sea, and the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Passover, and the Lifting up of the Brazen Serpent. Classifying these in groups of two each, the two on the left illustrate the Fall of Man, the two on the right the Restoration of Man, while the two middle subjects, the Passage of the Red Sea and the Offering of Isaac, prefiguring Baptism and the Holy Communion, represent

together the means of grace in the two Sacraments. The effect of the reflected ruby light upon the four upper figures is very effective; and in the Offering of Isaac the attitude of Abraham is grand and striking; indeed the whole treatment of this subject is eminently successful. Previously to its erection in the Church, the window was placed in the International Exhibition, where it obtained a prize medal. A brass plate at the base contains the following inscription:—"To the memory of Thomas Tindal, late of the Prebendal House, Aylesbury, formerly Clerk of the Peace for this County, who died 26th July, 1850, aged 67 years. Also of Anne, his first wife, who died 23rd May, 1812, daughter of Acton Chaplin, Esq., of the same town. And of Mary Anne, his second wife, who died 11th March, 1826, daughter of Henry Uhthoff, Clerk, Rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk. This window is dedicated by their children."

The two smaller windows adjoining, are to the memories of Henry Chaplin de Veulle and Laura Blanche de Veulle, grandchildren of the late T. Tindal, Esq.

The lancet window in the south aisle was contributed by Mr. Field; it contains a figure of St. Peter, and has this inscription on brass inserted in the splay, "To the glory of God and the dear memory of Thomas White Field and Ann his wife. He died March 2nd, 1832, aged 59; she died June 23rd, 1832, aged 58. Erected by their affectionate son A.D. 1858."

A window also in the south aisle is erected to the memory of Thomas Bigg, a member of a very old Aylesbury family. This window is by Gibbs, and represents Christ blessing little children.

A window in the north chapel is erected to the memory of Z. D. Hunt, Esq. In the central compartment Moses is represented as striking the rock. The action is illustrated by the text from St. Paul in 1 Cor., x., 4—"And did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them." The brass plate below the window records the decease of Mr. Hunt, and his term of service as warden during the restoration of the Church.

Two other windows in this chapel are by Walker. One depicts our Lord, with the Apostles St. Paul and St. John beneath canopies, and bears this inscription—"In memory of William Rickford, Esq., some time Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, who, in faith and hope, departed this life on the 14th of June, 1854, and of Mary his wife, daughter of John Vanderhelm, of the city of Amsterdam. This window was erected by Dame Elizabeth Harriett Cooper, wife of Sir Astley Cooper, of Gadebridge, in the county of Hertford, Baronet, in reverence to her deceased parents, and to the honour of God and His Church of St. Mary, Aylesbury, in the year of grace, 1855."

The adjoining window, presented by the late Z. D. Hunt, Esq., contains a figure of St. John the Baptist, with the device of the Lamb, bearing the banner and cross; and a scroll inscribed "Behold the Lamb of God," &c.

The window in the west end of this chapel was erected by the late Mr. T. Perrin, of

London, a native of Aylesbury; the subject is Our Lord's First Miracle in Cana of Galilee; it occupies the three lights of the window. Beneath are the lines of St. Ambrose on the Festival of the Epiphany. The window is of the early Perpendicular, and the coloring of the glass, which characterizes the fifteenth century, is so faithfully imitated that it might be easily taken for an ancient window. On the brass plate at the base of the window is the following inscription :—"In honorem Dei nec sine animo memori in Ecclesiam S. Mariæ in Aylesbury has tabulas figendas curavit Thomas Perrin, qui hic natus necnon ineunte ætate hic quondam commoratus est, A.S. MDCCCLXX."

The centre window in the south chapel was contributed by Mr. and the late Mrs. J. H. Ceely, to the memory of their only son, Mr. Arthur James Ceely. It represents the Healing of the Centurion's Servant. Underneath the subjects treated are the following texts :—Synagogam Ipse ædificavit nobis; Domini noli vexari; Dic verbo et sanabitur puer meus; Nec in Israhel tantam fidem inveni. On a brass plate at the base—"To the glory of God and the dear memory of Arthur James Ceely, of the 42nd Royal Regiment (the Black Watch), only son of James Henry and Elizabeth Parker Ceely. He died on shipboard, on his homeward passage from India, Dec. 29th, 1866, aged 32 years; and was buried at Point de Galle, Ceylon."

Another window in this chapel was erected by Miss Hatten, to the memory of her parents. The subject is the mission of Abraham's servant to obtain a wife for Isaac. Beneath the window is a brass plate, inscribed, "To the Glory of God, and to the dear and grateful memory of Henry Hatten, who died May 10th, 1863, and of Rebecca, his wife, who died January 25th, 1841, this window is dedicated by their first-born child, A.D. 1873. Glory be to thee, O Lord."

The south chapel also contains a window inserted by the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, formerly vicar of Aylesbury, to the memory of his son. The subject is Saint Peter going on the water to meet Jesus. Beneath the window is a brass plate with this inscription, "In Honorem Dei, necnon in memoriam filii dilectissimi Edwardi Joannis Pretyman, hoc in oppido oriundi, vitreas hasce tabulas pictas, mœrens pater, hujus ecclesiæ olim vicarius, figendas curavit. Qui quum in classe regia apud Jamaicam insulam mereret, infelici casu oppressus, quinto post die animam efflavit spem omnem in Dei charitate positam testatus. Obiit die vigesimo Februarii, anno Salutis, MDCCCLXXI, ætatis suæ vigesimo quarto; Sepultus est in Jamaica juxta Portum Regium. Vale anima alacris et erecta."

The window in the east end of the Lady Chapel is the work of Messrs. Burlison and Grylls and was placed in the year 1868; it was the gift of more than one donor. The subject is the "Three Mary's;" the central compartment was presented by Mrs. Jordan, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, widow, to the memory of her grandmother, Mrs. Alice Ivatts, of Aylesbury, and Mrs. Jordan, her late husband's mother. The other portions of this window were the gift of Dr. Bickersteth, and the late Mrs. Bickersteth. A brass plate is not as usual placed beneath the window, but is inserted in the north wall

contiguous to it. It bears this inscription—"To the glory of God, and to the dear memory of Alice Ivatts. Born January 8th, 1775 ; died May 1st, 1835." The two windows on the south side were also the gift of the late Mrs. Bickersteth ; they are of very tasteful design, but contain no figures.

The stained glass windows throughout the Church have been added in connection with or subsequent to the restoration ; their acquisition may be looked upon as a *finale* to the noble work achieved—a work of which the parishioners of Aylesbury may well be proud, as they now possess a Church which in elegance and fair proportions will compare with any other in the district; and the present generation will have the satisfaction of handing down the sacred edifice to their successors, in a much more beautiful and substantial state than it ever was before.

The completion of the work of restoration was celebrated with thanksgiving services on the 28th of September, 1869, on which occasion Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely, now of Winchester (a native of the town), preached the special sermons. The proceedings of the day were more than usually of an imposing character ; the Church was handsomely and extensively decorated, and the bells rang merrily ; between the services a public luncheon was held in the Corn Exchange, which was largely attended. The sum of £300 was subscribed at the celebration of the re-opening, leaving little or nothing remaining, to clear off the whole of the liabilities of the restoration, which, from first to last, amounted to a sum approaching £16,000.

Chapter V.—THE CHURCHYARD.

Feasts or Wakes in Churchyards—what they led to—Miracle plays—they are interdicted Desecrations of Churchyards—Church Ales—objects of them—ordered to be discontinued—Elections in Aylesbury Churchyard—Original burial places—Burials in Churches not allowed—rule relaxed—The yew tree—The north side or behind Church—burials there—The Churchyard Cross—where it stood—Crosses generally—Cattle in the Churchyard—more care taken of it—Footpaths through it—several closed—Church houses—Ancient area probably encroached upon—Human remains found in the vicinity—Churchyard closed for interments.

IN the early ages of Christianity the people were accustomed to meet at the dedication of Churches, a ceremony performed on the day of the Saint in whose name the Church was dedicated, for which purpose they were directed to erect booths and tents with boughs of trees, adjoining the Churches, and in them to celebrate the feast with thanksgiving and prayer. In process of time the people assembled on the vigil or evening preceding the saint's day, and went in procession to the Church, with lights burning, where they would watch and pray all night, and this was called waking. By degrees, in consequence of greater numbers attending, less devotion and reverence were observed, songs and dances introduced, accompanied with excessive eating and drinking, which constituted the feast or revel, as it was in some places called. The concourse of people on these occasions encouraged hawkers and pedlars to attend with their wares for sale, and at length merchants came and set up stalls and booths in the churchyard for vending their merchandise, and hence the origin of fairs. Thus, wakes, feasts, revels, and fairs are all derived from the abuse of a religious observance, founded upon the superstitious reverence of a reputed saint. These meetings were held in the night, till the excesses which took place at them gave so much offence that the priests were forced to interfere, and they obliged the people to fast in the evening, though they could not prevent them from meeting on the following day and holding regular fairs and festivals. Nor did the evil stop here, for as it often happened that the saints' days fell in the harvest time, which made it very inconvenient for the farmers, the wake or feast was in such cases ordered to be kept on the following Sunday, and thus, under a religious pretext, that holy day was violated.

In the twelfth century, theatrical exhibitions were called miracle plays, because they consisted of sacred subjects or representations of the miracles wrought by holy confessors. Such subjects were properly chosen, as the Church or Churchyard was usually the theatre wherein these pious dramas were performed, and the actors were the ecclesiastics or their scholars. The first of these plays is recorded as having

been performed at Dunstable by an abbot of St. Albans, who borrowed from the sacrist of that Abbey some of the ecclesiastical vestments to adorn the actors. In the sixteenth century these plays in Churches were much declaimed against, and Bonner, Bishop of London, in 1542, issued a proclamation to his clergy, prohibiting all manner of common plays in their Churches or Chapels.

In an article of enquiry at an ordinary visitation in 1638 this question was asked, "Have any playes, feasts, banquets, suppers, Church ales, drinkings, dancings, football, or the like, or any profane usage been suffered in your Church, Chapel, or Churchyard?" Church ales led to the desecration of Churchyards; they were called Easter ales, also Whitsun ales, from their being held on those festivals; they were a kind of wake or feast. The churchwardens and other officers observing wakes to be more popular than any other holidays, conceived that by establishing other institutions somewhat similar, they might draw together a large company of people and annually collect from them, gratuitously as it were, such sums of money for the support and repairs of the Church, as would be a great easement to the parish rates. By way of enticement they brewed a certain quantity of strong ale to be ready on the day appointed, and most of the better sort of visitors, in addition to their drink, contributed something towards the collection. In some parishes young men were chosen to make collections amongst the parishioners of whatever provisions it pleased them to bestow; this they employed in brewing and bakings against Whitsuntide, upon which holiday the neighbours met in the Church houses, and there merely fed on their own provisions, contributing some portion of the stock. When the feast was over the Churchwardens yielded up their accounts, and such money as exceeded the disbursements was laid up to defray any extraordinary charges arising in the parish. Church ales have long been discontinued. At a visitation held in 1637, the Churchwardens of Brill were returned as having under their care eight pewter dishes, three diaper cloths, and two brass pots used for the Whitsun ales.

Tradition tells us that Aylesbury Churchyard was formerly the rendezvous for the idle and dissolute characters of the town; that all manners of sports and games were carried on there; cock-shying and the like; soldiers are reported to have been flogged there. No proofs now exist of such proceedings, but it is not at all improbable they occurred. Even as late as at the commencement of the present century it was usual to hold the Borough Elections in the Churchyard. The candidates, their nominators and seconders one after another mounted an old tomb, (now removed), to address the constituents. When no contest followed, the proceedings ended here, but in the case of a poll an adjournment was made to the County Hall, where the subsequent proceedings were held. The nominations at the contested election of 1802 were made on this old tomb; this was the last occasion, as after the addition of the Hundreds in 1804, the election no longer being a town matter only, all the proceedings were transferred to the County Hall.

Burials anciently took place in and about the highways. The earliest Churches had no part of the adjacent ground allotted for the interment of the dead; but in some cases a place for this purpose was appointed at a short distance from the Church. This practice continued until the time of Gregory the Great, when the monks and priests procured leave, for their greater ease and profit, that a liberty of sepulture might be in Churches or places adjoining them. Afterwards this custom of sepulture in Churches was restrained, and no such liberty allowed unless the person was a priest or some holy man, who, by the merits of his past life, might deserve such peculiar favour; this rule was subsequently much relaxed, and burials in Churches were allowed upon the payment of additional fees. At a vestry held at Aylesbury in 1758, it was resolved—"That the fees paid for burials in the Church, with a vault, should be £1 17s. 0d.; no vault, £1 2s. 6d.; in the Chancel, £1 11s. 8d.; in the Churchyard, 3s. 0d." This system of charging by scale gave rise to this pungent epitaph:—

"Here I lie behind the door,
Here I lie because I'm poor;
The further in the more to pay,
But here I lie as good as they."

In 1756 a charge appears in the Aylesbury Churchwardens' book "For setting the yew tree in the Churchyard, 3s. 0d." It is not very clearly shown why the yew tree should be universally chosen as the occupant of the Churchyard. Old writers have explained its cultivation as necessary for the purpose of keeping up a stock of bows for archers; others, that it was planted to screen the Churches from the effects of storms and tempests; neither could be the object of the Aylesbury Churchwardens at so late a period as 1756. The yew tree was probably chosen as being an evergreen, and thus ornamental at all seasons. The tree here charged for does not appear to have thriven, as it has altogether disappeared; had it thrived, it ought, at this day, to be in the prime of its youth, and a green young plant, when compared with the age yew trees generally attain. The yew has long been associated with death, and the custom of planting it in a Churchyard may derive its origin from ancient funereal rites, its perpetual verdure being an emblem of the resurrection. The longevity of these trees is astonishing; many of great age may be met with in various parts. At Iffley, Oxon, was one supposed to be coeval with the Church of that village, erected in the twelfth century, and there are some exceedingly aged and noted yews at Wraysbury in our own county. There stood one in the yard of the Old Church at Stoke Mandeville; of its age no one could form any conception; in 1854 it bowed its ancient head to the ground, and fell entirely from natural decay; after having withstood the storms and tempests of centuries, it succumbed at last to the levelling hand of time in the midst of a perfect calm.

It may have escaped general observation that there are no ancient memorials on the north side of the Aylesbury Churchyard; or, as some would describe it

"behind Church." In White's "History of Selborne," the author, speaking of the Churchyard, says :—

"All wish to be buried on the south side. At the east end are few graves, yet none till very lately on the north side ; but two or three families of repute having begun to bury in that quarter, prejudice may wear out by degrees, and their example followed by the rest of the neighbourhood."

In the "Cambrian Register" is a note respecting Churchyards in Wales —

"In country churchyards, the relations of the deceased crowd them into that part which is south of the Church, the north side, in their opinion, being unhallowed ground, fit only to be dormitory of wayfarers, suicides, and the like."

These descriptions exactly correspond with the state of Aylesbury Churchyard. Whilst there are no ancient memorials on the north side, there is ample proof that the south side was so crowded with interments that further burials in that part were impossible; and, there being no other parish burial place, it was imperative to make use of the unpopular portion which had been avoided by former generations. The victims of the law at Aylesbury who met with ignominious deaths at the hands of the hangman, and whose bodies escaped the experiments of the anatomist, or were not given over to their friends for interment, were buried "behind Church," without Christian burial, and so were the bodies of suicides and wayfarers.

On the north of the Church were buried
The dead of a hapless fame ;
A cross and a wail for pity,
But never a date or name.

Referring to the place in the Churchyard where the town elections were formerly held, a thought arises as to why they took place on that particular spot. Considering that it was in the part of the Churchyard where the cross at one time probably stood, it may be assumed that the Churchyard cross was the usual and ancient place of meetings for transacting town business, and notwithstanding that the cross had disappeared, either through age or ill-treatment, old associations led to the continuance of the custom for the inhabitants to assemble there, as in the days of their forefathers. The spot may be more accurately described as being about midway between the south porch and the south doorway ; it was not on the public footway, but some little distance southward, and within the portion at present inclosed by the wire fence. Crosses in early ages were abundant, usually erected where the people assembled for prayer and instruction, and were anterior to Churches ; the places on which they stood were mostly inclosed. Churches were often built within these inclosures, which thus became Churchyards, and the cross became a Churchyard cross, though both may have existed prior to the Church. Wherever Churches were built, their yards and surrounding inclosures were consecrated, and crosses erected. The object of these crosses was to inspire reverence for the place, and it was a practice for many to kneel before the cross, and offer a short prayer preparatory to entering the Church for worship. Occasionally, the priest, standing on the steps of the

cross, would address his parishioners therefrom. Crosses also appear to have been used as places of resort for holding secular meetings, and for the general assemblage of the parishioners. When large and momentous public matters occasioned the inhabitants to be called together, they would meet at the cross, and this bears out the supposition that the Aylesbury electors at the nomination of their candidates were summoned to meet at that place. We must recollect that in ancient days there were but few public buildings suitable for holding large assemblies; and important meetings were, from necessity, held in the open air. Probably the earliest use of upright crosses, as tokens of religion, was to mark the spot where people assembled for worship; where the earliest preachers declared the glad tidings of salvation. At these crosses, as may be supposed, mendicants were accustomed to station themselves to beg for alms. Crosses were endowed with the privilege of sanctuary. It was decreed by the council of Clermont, in 1093, that if any person should flee to a cross on the road while pursued by his enemies, he should be unmolested, as if in a Church, and according to an ancient custom in Normandy, any escaped convict taking refuge in a Church, Cemetery, or holy place, or by a cross fixed in the earth, should be left in peace by the privilege of the Church. Not a vestige of the Aylesbury Churchyard cross has existed within memory, but Buckinghamshire still possesses several of these remains of antiquity in the Churchyards of Hillesden, Wing, Boarstall, Linslade, Stone, Bledlow, Mursley, and Dinton. Buckingham also has fragments of its cross which were rescued by the late Rev. H. Roundell, who discovered the ancient relics in a garden in the town, and restored them to their proper position in the old Churchyard. There is a very interesting specimen of a village or market-cross at Quainton. Stone pillars and crosses were also used as boundary marks of lordships, parishes, &c., or were erected in memory of some remarkable event, near the spot where a battle had been fought, or over the buried, slain in battle; there were wayside crosses for the assistance of travellers, also praying crosses. Praying crosses were often to be found in companionship with holy wells; there were formerly a cross and well in Chetwode Churchyard. Sir Walter Scott, in his last canto of "Marmion," thus alludes to the inscription on the cross and well where the Lady Clare went for water to bathe the head of Marmion after his wound:—

Behold her mark
A little fountain cell,
Where water, clear as diamond spark,
In a stone basin fell.
Above, some half-worn letters say—
Drink, weary pilgrim, drink; and pray
For the kind soul of Sybil Gray,
Who built this cross and well.

We find in the Aylesbury Churchwardens' records of 1779, it was ordered "that no hog, sow, or pig be suffered to go about the Churchyard; if so, they shall be pounded, and one shilling for each hog, sow, or pig shall be paid when so pounded, and this order shall be defended and supported by the whole parish." It may be assumed, from this stringent regulation, that, previous to this order, any hog, sow, or

pig, might roam the Churchyard at pleasure; but now a better course of management was about to commence, and a resolution agreed to, to keep "God's Acre" decent. However strictly this regulation was intended to be enforced against the swinish multitude, it must be observed that it did not affect any other animal; many years subsequent to that date, the parson's horse might be seen gambolling over the graves in the Churchyard, playing sad havoc with the newly made mounds; the herbage also for the keep of sheep was at the service of the highest bidder. Until within the last half century but little care was exercised over Churchyards generally. Aylesbury Churchyard was intersected by several useless public footways, now stopped up; an entrance existed at the western corner, from which a public path ran parallel with the Prebendal wall to the west end of the Church; another path from the same entrance led to the south door. There was a public way in a line with Parson's Fee into Church Row, and an open path from Church Row to the Church. There was also an unauthorised straggling path eastward of the chancel; there was no outside fence, nor did anything like the present palisade exist; a decayed post and rail ran round on the north side, but it was so dilapidated as to be useless. The Churchyard was "an open sepulchre;" the boys of the Grammar School, indeed the boys of the town generally, made a playground of it, till the damage done was so considerable that an old parish beadle was appointed to concentrate his energies in keeping order in the burial place. Aylesbury must not be considered to have been singular in regard to these shortcomings, as they were general in bygone years. In 1540, in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, the following presentment was made:—

"The parson mysusith the Churchyard, for hogis do wrote up graves and besse (beasts) lie in the porche, and there the pavements be broke up and soyle the porche; and there is so mych catell yt usithe the Churchyarde, yt is more like a pasture than a halowed place; moreover he is note able to keep the cure, for there be divers yt hathe died wtoute housile (the Sacrament) or shrift (Absolution) throwe his defaute, for he is slake and slowe." A presentment is also made in the same Archdeaconry against hanging up linen in a Church to dry. At Hogston, in 1637, the fences round the Churchyard were presented as "nought, and the hogs came in and rooted up the graves."

In villages and outlying districts, where land is of comparatively small value, Churchyards have retained their original dimensions; in towns and populous places it probably is not so. The demand for space has in many cases led to encroachments being made on the ancient burial places. It is suspected that Aylesbury Churchyard has, in remote times, been somewhat shorn of its area. It is averred that the public street known as Parson's Fee once formed a portion of the Churchyard; that the greensward reached to the thresholds of the residences in that street. There is a doubt if the now public thoroughfare of Parson's Fee is an ancient one; a footway may have existed for a very long period as a right to the various properties situate there, but it has been suggested that the carriage road to the Prebendal House was formerly by Castle Street only. The idea of this encroachment, if entertained at all, must be extended not only to include the "Fee," but also the site of the houses, together

with the site of Hickman's Charity houses, and other properties to the southward. There is a somewhat curious break in the building line in Church Street, between the residences of Mr. Horwood and Mr. Gibbs, which of itself would not be noticeable, but it has been also observed that a similar break occurs on the opposite side of the street, between the properties of Mr. Ceely and the Endowed School buildings; to carry the research still further, there will also be found a break at the rear of these properties in Church Row; across Church Row, at the N.E. corner of the Churchyard, is property formerly occupied as the parish workhouse. The original endowment of the Grammar School was a very limited one, and the premises used as a school consisted of two small mean houses, which were once Church houses. The limited income of the school may have been met by a gratuitous occupation of these houses. The present school buildings were erected on the site of these old places, and it is very likely that in laying out a foundation for enlarged accommodation, a good slice was taken out of the Churchyard. There is also every reason to believe that the ancient parish workhouse was originally Church property, occupied by aged and impotent people dependent upon the Church charities for support; houses of this class generally stood contiguous to Churches. In the course of years, these Church paupers became parish paupers, and their domiciles drifted from the control of the churchwardens into that of the overseers, and thus Church houses became parish houses. Under the provisions of the new Poor Law Act, overseers were empowered to dispose of these houses, the Act giving such properties a good title, which probably was not previously attached to them; thus Church property, by one or two removes, passed into the possession of private individuals. It may be surmised, without much stretch of imagination, that the area here pointed out, that is the whole range from the present Parsonage to and including the old parish workhouse, was at some very early date within the boundaries of the Churchyard, and that the original entrance to it was at the break in the building line in Church Street which has just been described.

Some proof that encroachments have been made, or that a separate burial ground at one time existed, is in the fact that human remains are found in the immediate vicinity of the Churchyard. In disturbing the surface of the ground on premises adjoining Church Street, remains have several times been discovered; these are found so placed as to intimate a formal burial and the existence of an acknowledged cemetery. Such have also been found in Church Row. Some years ago, in breaking a piece of ground, in Hog Lane, for occupation as a garden, a large quantity of human bones was unearthed, and to such an extent as to imply that the spot had been used as a public cemetery; all had been interred in systematic order. As late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the majority of persons were buried without coffins, in lieu of which long winding sheets were folded again and again round the corpse. This system of burial explains that fragments of wood or other material are so seldom found when ancient burial places are disturbed.

As a burial place Aylesbury Churchyard was much overcrowded ; and it was with difficulty that grave space could be found for an interment, without disturbing the remains of a pre-occupant. It was found imperative to close it, and it was closed at the end of the year 1857 ; the Cemetery in the Tring Road was then consecrated and opened. Occasionally interments take place in the Churchyard.

When families become extinct in a town, by deaths or removals, the old memorial stones in the Churchyard, the tokens of the resting places of their ancestors, are apt to fall into neglect and decay, and ultimately to disappear. In the south-western part of Aylesbury Churchyard this is apparent ; a large space once crowded by gravestones is now comparatively vacant, and the surface has been levelled ; still many old names are yet recorded. In the western corner is an altar tomb, marking the burial place of the family of Terry, of Walton. Ranged in a line with the Prebendal wall are stones bearing the old Aylesbury names of Hitchcock, Turvey, Woodman (surgeon), Ludgate (surgeon), Edmunds (M.D.), Neal, Gurney (John), Turpin, Osborn, Dawney, Markham, Dell (brewery), and Jackson (Jasper). In the open part of this division, Hill, Gurney (Walton), Todd, Bailey, George, Bromley, Payne, Wootton, Fell, Jenkins, Deacon, Hatten, Rickford, White, Brooks, Capell Enser, Ray, England, North, Morgan, Perrin (several), Peck, Miles, Shelton, Berry, Stockins (curate), Neale (several), Ward, Wheeler (sextons), Salmons, Hilliard (schoolmaster), Homeyer, Collins, &c., are names still observable. In the south-eastern division, opposite the Free Grammar School, stones exist on which are inscribed the names of Edden, Mitchell, Todd (several), Jackson, Speed, Woodward, Bunce, Attkins, Miles, Rawbone (schoolmaster), Hester, Stanbridge (Workhouse), Farr, Cross (constable), Brill, De Fraine, (schoolmaster), Hogg, Wootton, Dawney, (nursery), Welch, and Kirby. In the north-western part of the Churchyard the gravestones are in better condition, being of a later erection ; here are marked the resting places of the families of King, Currie, Cox, Farmbrough, Curtis, Goss, Jenkins, Clewley, Field, Turpin, Loggin, Landon, Terry, Eagles, Fowler (White Hart), Holland, Provost, Heyward (schoolmaster), McMorland, Howard, Tindal, Wells, Stedman, Nunn, Seymour, Wyatt, Bowler, Margesson, Deverell, Neale, Hyriott, Eagles (Walton), Fell, Sharp, Grace (Putlowes), Rainsford, Fryer, and Rickford. In the eastern portion are railed tombs on which are inscriptions relating to the members of the families of Hayward (surgeon), Dell (wine merchant) Prowett, Thorp, Churchill, and White ; there are also stones inscribed Nicholls, Collins, Ball, Ivatts, Holland, Gough, Miles, How, Bell, Fisher, Attkins, Bunce, Todd, (several), Bigg (several), Grace, Sherriff, Hill, Hicks, Smith, Durham, Stone, Ball, Gurney, Stone (A. C.), Higgins, Paten, Wheeler (grocer), Turner, Read, Oliver, Laytt, Prickett, Dukes, Wells, Lovell, Hill, Hunt, Thomas, and Barker (brewer). Of the ugly wooden grave rails which were once so conspicuous, and generally inscribed with the name, date, &c., and on the reverse a piece of doggrel rhyme, only two remain ; in consequence of their decayed condition the inscriptions on them cannot now be deciphered.

Chapter VI.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Early Ecclesiastical History—Leland's account—Aylesbury a Prebend—Prebendaries from 1092 *to* 1842*—scheme for the maintenance of preaching ministers—Aylesbury a peculiar—The Cathedral Act of* 1839*—Aylesbury a vicarage—Vicars of Aylesbury from* 1271 *to* 1882*—Change of Diocese from Lincoln to Oxford—other changes—present Bishop of the Diocese—Archdeacons—The Prebendal House—The Rural Deanery, &c., &c.*

THE PREBEND.

THE early ecclesiastical history of Aylesbury is confused and difficult to unravel. The Church was a Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, annexed to it, as some accounts state, "at the first erection of the Deanery with which it was originally held; but more certainly granted by William the Conqueror." Leland remarks—"It is sayd that a Bishop of Lincolne, desired by a Pope, gave the Personage of Alesbury to a stranger, a kinsman of his, found means to make it a Prebende, and to impropriate it to Lincolne Chirche; at which time also the Personage of Tame was impropriate and made a Prebende in Lincolne. Soe that the care of both the Chirches, with a right bare living, be reject unto the Vicars." This account by Leland evidently relates to the time of Ottobon and Pope Innocent IV., who, in the reign of Edward III., severed Aylesbury Church from the Deanery of Lincoln, and made it a separate stall in that Cathedral, of which the ancient Deans previously held possession, probably from the time of Bishop Remigius. The Prebendaries appointed the Vicars. The term Prebend, in its common acceptation, signifies an allowance or provision of any kind, but in a religious sense an endowment given to a cathedral for the maintenance *(in præbendum)* of a secular priest. It will be seen that the Prebend of Aylesbury was attached to the See of Lincoln as early as 1092.

PREBENDARIES OF AYLESBURY.

Ralph, appointed Dean of Lincoln in 1092.

Simon Bloet, 1110, supposed to have died in exile.

Nigel, between 1123 and 1138.

Philip de Harcourt, 1141; then promoted to be Bishop of Bayonne.

Adelmus, or Ascelinus, 1145; died Feb., 1162, called "egregius Decanus quarto," though certainly the fifth according to this list; being succeeded by—

Hamelinus about 1164, towards the close of Bishop Robert Chesney's time. He

was founder of a Gilbertine Priory at Alvingham, Lincoln, but omitted in Le Neve's catalogue of Deans, being perhaps the same person who is otherwise called Ascelinus.

Geoffry Kirtling, 1169, or, according to Le Neve, 1176.

Richard FitzNeal, 1184. In 1189 he was advanced to the See of London, and died September 1198, having been a liberal benefactor to his Church.

Hanes, 1189; died in 1195.

Roger de Rolveston, 1195; died 1223, being succeeded by—

William de Tournay, who was suspended in 1239; and—

Roger de Wesenham having succeeded him, Grostête, then Bishop of Lincoln, upon Wesenham, who was called "Dean of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln and Rector of Aylesbury," being elected to the Bishopric of Chester, having long desired to sever the Church of Aylesbury from the Deanery, believing it to have been unjustly taken from the See, immediately erected it into a separate dignity, not without, as some said, great prejudice to the Church, its annexation to the Deanery having been immemorial. Wenesham died in 1257, Bishop of Lichfield; and at the head of the list of distinct Prebendaries of Aylesbury is placed the name of—

Robert de Marish, who was also Archdeacon of Oxford in 1248, and in 1259 succeeded Richard de Gravesend in the Deanery. Willis seems to have passed over Robert de Marish in his History of Lincoln Cathedral; for he presumes that the first Prebendary, after it was a separate dignity in 1245, was—

William de Shirewood, who, in 1259, was Chancellor of the Church of Lincoln, and whose name occurs as "Master William de Shirewode, Rector of the Prebendal Church of Eylesbury," in a patent of Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, for the annexation of the chapels of Burton, Querendon, Stokes, and Buckland, to the Prebend of Ailesbury, dated at Buckden, October, 1266, recited in a patent of King Edward, referred to in letters patent of Henry VIII. He is also mentioned in 1267, as Treasurer of Lincoln, but had previously vacated this Prebend.

John de Sharrested was collated by Bishop Gravesend about 1265, but was succeeded by—

Percival de Lavinia, who was clearly that foreigner before mentioned, who (whenever he came in) held it in 1285, from which period the succession of Prebendaries is more accurately preserved, and many of Willis's additions to his former list have been carefully noted by Cole. Lavinia was also Archdeacon of Buckingham in 1270 (and brother to Ottobon, Legate from Pope Innocent, and afterwards himself Pope), and died Prebendary of Weighton, in York Cathedral, in 1290. In his time the Dean and Chapter were called upon by quo warranto to show their right to the ancient privileges and exemptions claimed in respect of this Prebend; and a suit was protracted for some time, until it appears to have been terminated by the death of the Dean.

Richard de Hederington, collated July, 1290. Upon a complaint of the insufficient endowment of the Vicarage he augmented it with two parts out of three of the tithes of all his mills in the parish; and in his time Milton, in Oxfordshire, previously a member of this Prebend, was severed from it, and erected into a distinct stall.

Richard de Havering, installed August, 1309, and called "Dublin electus," because he had been chosen Archbishop of Dublin (and is said to have held that See about twelve months), but vacated it in consequence of a dream, and took this Prebend. He was in 1321 Archdeacon of Chester (which dignity, with the Prebend of Bolton-le-Moor annexed, then belonged to the Church of Lincoln); and on his promotion was succeeded by—

Robert de Baldock, August, 1320, who had been Archdeacon of Middlesex, in St. Paul's Cathedral, from 1314; but, being deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments in the wars of Edward II., was, in 1326, imprisoned by the populace in Newgate, and died there, May, 1327.

Robert de Stratford occurs in 1329. He was also Rector of Stratford-on-Avon, Canon of Lincoln, and in 1381 Vicar-General of Winchester.

Simon de Islip, collated 1329. He was in 1331 Archdeacon of Stow, by exchange for the Rectory of Eston, near Stamford (?), and about 1337 exchanged this Prebend for Welton-Bicknell or Beckall (also in Lincoln Cathedral). He was of Merton College, Oxon, Prebendary of St. Paul's; in 1343, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and, successively, Dean of the Court of Arches, Secretary of State, Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and, by a Papal Bull dated at Avignon, October, 1349 (published in the Chapter House at Canterbury), created Archbishop of Avignon, and consecrated by the Bishop of London and others in St. Paul's Cathedral. It is not extraordinary that, thus loaded with preferments, he should have been called "proud and lofty," but he was also a munificent prelate. He died in 1366.

Edmund Bereford, collated 1337, by exchange with his predecessor from the Prebend of Welton-Beckall. He was Prebendary of Aylesbury in 1348.

According to the taxation called the ninths (15th Edward III.) the return from the Chapel Prebendal of Aylesbury, rated at 105 marks, amounted to 39 marks on the presentation of Wm. Woolny, Wm. Aulmuth, John FitzThomas, Robert FitzRichard, Edmund atte Hyde, John de Chalfonte, Walter Craunford, Will. le Chapman, Robert Edolph, William le Taverner, Thos. Dymesant, and Richard of Woodstock, valued at £26, and no more, because the offerings, altarage and small tithe annually received were worth only £24, the rents of assize only £8, tithe hay, and one acre of meadow belonging to the Rectory £8. Item, fees in one court, with view of frank pledge and jurisdiction ecclesiastical, 60s. per annum. Item, twenty-six acres in demense belonging to the Church, worth 20s. Of all these no advantage accrued to the ninths, so that its value was only £26. The taxation of the moveable goods, merchandise, and chattels, liable to the fourteenths,

valued at 30 marks. And in the same year, John Fitz Thomas, Robert Fitz Richard, Edmund atte Hyde, Elis de Pyrie, John de Northfolk, Robert le Roper, Robert Edolph, Robert Hammond, Walter Granasted, and John de Chalfonte returned the amount of the fifteenths, chargeable on the moveable goods of merchants, cattle dealers, and other traders of Aylesbury, for the products of their lands, and store of wool, &c., at 39s. 8d., and no more.

William or Philip Beauchamp occurs in 1361, and was succeeded by—

John Flive, who was admitted November, 1371.

Peter de Yeverino, or Vernhio, a Roman Cardinal by Papal provision, 1376. He held this Prebend in 1378, then valued at 80 marks. He was also Archdeacon of Exeter.

Richard de Holland, installed February, 1389, but in 1395 exchanged with—

Thomas More, who in the same year quitted this Prebend, was in 1398 made Archdeacon of Colchester in St. Paul's, promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln in 1406, died December, 1421, and was buried in the Cloister there.

John Lincoln, admitted July, 1395. He was Rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, Provost or Dean of Caergroby College, in Wales, and Prebendary of Sarum and Wells.

Thomas Walton, LL.B., collated October, 1415 ; and on his resignation—

Robert Fitz-Hugh, A.M., was collated August, 1419, in which year he was also Archdeacon of Northampton (then belonging to Lincoln), and was sent twice Ambassador to Germany, and once to the Pope ; consecrated September, 1431, Bishop of London, attended at the Council of Basil in 1434, by command of King Henry VI., and soon after his return was elected Bishop of Ely, but died suddenly before translation, January, 1435, at St. Osyth, in Essex, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, where there is a monument to his memory.

Richard Cawdrey, circ. 1431. He had been previously Prebendary of Bedford Major, and Archdeacon of Bedford, in Lincoln Cathedral, from 1423, collated October, 1431 to the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, thereupon vacating his Archdeaconry of Bedford and this Prebend, but held the Archdeaconry of Lincoln till his death in 1455 according to Willis, or 1458 according to Le Neve.

John Urrey, collated October, 1431, died in 1434 ; and was succeeded by—

Thomas Chicheley, installed June, 1434. He was a kinsman of the Archbishop. In February, 1432 he had been made Prebendary of Caddington-Minor in St. Paul's ; collated to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, December, 1433 ; licensed by writ of Privy Seal to hold the office of Prothonotary to the Pope. He was also Master of St. Thomas' Hospital, Canterbury, and Provost of Wingham College, Kent. He died January, 1466, and was buried at Wingham.

John Forster, collated in 1438.

John Beverley occurs in 1448 and 1453; resigned in 1458, being collated to the Prebend of Caistor. He died in 1473, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral, where an inscription on brass describes him as "Magister Johannes Beverley, Sacræ Paginæ Professor, quondam Canonicus Residens, qui obiit 21 Junii A.D. 1473."

William Ingram, LL.D., collated and installed January, 1463. He resigned and was collated to the Archdeaconry of Oxford (then still in Lincoln), July, 1467, and died in 1472; being succeeded by—

John Marshall, S.T.P., who was collated July, 1467, and in the next year promoted to the See of Llandaff. He is stated to have been a generous benefactor to the Church, and bequeathed a legacy to Aylesbury. He died in 1459, and was buried in Llandaff Cathedral.

Ralph Scroope, installed December, 1478. He was Rector of Hambleden in 1489, Archdeacon of Northumberland in the Cathedral of Durham, February, 1493; died in 1516, and was buried at Hambleden.

Richard Maudeley, B.D., installed March, 1516. He had been Prebendary of Stow, which he quitted for Heyder-cum-Walton; was installed May, 1518, Archdeacon of Leicester, made also Prebendary of Thame, and of All Saints, all in Lincoln, but soon resigned the latter, keeping his other preferments until his death. By his will, dated March, 1530, he directed a priest to sing for his soul in his Prebendal Church of Thame, where he desired to be buried; and Browne Willis mentions a gravestone in the chancel there, despoiled of its brasses, which he supposed to cover his remains.

Thomas Swaine, installed June, 1518. He had been successively Prebendary of Heydor, Corringham, and Stow. He was a Bachelor of Sacred Theology, and Chaplain to William Atwater, Bishop of Lincoln. He died at the Episcopal Palace at Wooburn, September 13th, 1519, and was buried in Wooburn Church, where there is a brass to his memory in the Chancel. He is represented habited in processional vestments, according to his office as Chaplain. He wears an albe, stole, a very elaborately embroidered cope, and almuce. His interment at Wooburn led Willis to suppose that he was Vicar of that parish, but such was not the case. The next Prebendary mentioned by Le Neve is—

John Talbot, S.T.P. and M.D., collated 1519. He exchanged for the Sub-Deanery of Lincoln, in which he was installed July, 1523, and resigned in 1535, and was succeeded in this Prebend of Aylesbury by—

Brian Higden, LL.D., who was collated June, 1523. He had been, in 1505, presented by the Abbot and Convent of Oseney to the Rectory of Bucknell, Oxon, having been educated at Broadgate Hall (since Pembroke College), Oxon, In 1511 he was installed Sub-Dean of Lincoln, but resigned on obtaining this Prebend. He was Prebendary of Neasden, in St. Paul's, and admitted to the Archdeaconry of York, May, 1515; advanced to the Deanery and the Prebend of Ulleskelf in June, 1516, and made Vicar-General of York; died, June, 1539. In his time the Prebend of Aylesbury was valued

at £36 per annum, clear and exclusive of £5 for tenths and £2 pension payable to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, but was liable to the payment of £5 per annum for his Prebend.

Henry Mallet, B.D., installed August, 1539, held this Prebend in 1561, but intermediately; at the Reformation the advowson of the Prebend of Aylesbury was conveyed, by the Bishop of Lincoln, to the Earl of Warwick. According to the Patent Roll at Westminster, by a writ of Privy Council, dated August, 1547, "a License was issued to Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, to grant to John Dudley, K.G., Earl of Warwick and Great Chamberlain, and to Sir Edward North, Knight, the messuage called Lincoln Place, Holborn, London, and also the Prebend of Aylesburye, Bucks, and Leighton Manor, Hunts, the premises, &c., to be held in socage to the use of the said Earl, his heirs, &c., and the said advowson of Aylesburye to the use of the said Sir Edward North, his heirs, &c."

John Chandler, LL.B., was installed in April, 1578, being also Rector of Great Horwood and Prebendary of Winchester. He had also held the Vicarage of Aylesbury, on his own collation, between 1570 and 1572, and died in 1594, being succeeded by—

William Swaddon, S.T.P., May, 1595. He was also Rector of Great Horwood; Archdeacon of Worcester, 1610; dying August, 1623, was buried in the Cathedral there.

John Hackett, B.D., installed December, 1623. He was born in the Strand, Middlesex; entered at Westminster in 1608, and from thence to Trinity College, Cambridge. Having become a Fellow of that Society, he was, in 1618, appointed Chaplain to Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and in 1623 was made Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn, through the interest of Dr. Williams, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who had been his predecessor in the Rectory of Cheam, Surrey, to which the same Prelate obtained his presentation. Dr. Launcelot Andrews, Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Ely and subsequently of Winchester, had been his early friend and patron. He was made S.T.P., and October, 1631, Archdeacon of Bedford, and, besides being Chaplain to King James, was Prebendary of St. Paul's. At the breaking out of the Civil War, he was chosen by the clergy as their advocate against the Bill proposed for taking away Church Government, and pleaded so powerfully that the Bill was lost by a great majority. He was afterwards accused before the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and made no defence; but, by the advice of Selden, retired to Cheam, and there remained unmolested for some time; but about 1639, having obtained a subscription to repair St. Andrew's Church, the money was seized by Parliament, and applied towards the expenses of the forces raised against the King. He was one of the Committee named for the Reformation of the Liturgy; and when the act for suppressing Episcopacy had passed, he was silenced, and prevented preaching at St. Andrew's, and then, removing to Cheam, notwithstanding, continued to use the Liturgy in his Church there, till the Earl of Essex, with his army, passing that way, he was made a prisoner, and great offers proposed to

induce him to change his principles, but without effect. On being liberated afterwards, he continued to use the Liturgy till enjoined to forbear by the Surrey Committee, when he omitted some of those portions most offensive to the Government. Still holding Cheam, at the Restoration of Charles II. he obtained re-instatement in his other preferments; and in 1660 the See of Gloucester was offered him, which he refused, but in 1661 was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and early in the next year began to re-build his Cathedral, which had been nearly demolished in the war. Upon this great work the Bishop expended £20,000, the Chapter having contributed £1,000, and the residue being made up by this Prelate and his friends. He consecrated the Church in 1669, and made a magnificent feast for three days. The old Palace having been entirely destroyed, he laid out £1,000 upon the Prebendal House in which he resided, and it afterwards became the Palace of his successors. Dying in October, 1670, he was buried in the Cathedral. When at College he had written a Latin comedy called "Loiola," which was acted before King James in 1616, subsequently printed; after his death appeared "A Century of Sermons," preached by the Bishop, with his life prefixed.

Whilst Hackett held this Prebend a decree was obtained against John White and other feoffees of certain impropriation, under which a lease for lives of the Prebend, Rectory, and Parsonage of Aylesbury (*inter alia*), purchased for the maintenance of preaching ministers, was ordered to be conveyed by them to the King, which was accordingly done; and afterward William Juxon, Bishop of London, Thomas Turner, D.D., and John Juxon, Esq., by lease under the Privy Seal and the authority of the Lords of the Treasury, received divers rents, which by writ of Privy Seal were to be laid out in the purchase of lands for the endowment of certain churches, of which one was the Church of Chepping Wycombe; but on an appeal to the House of Lords (1643) that decree was reversed, and the persons above mentioned were ordered to pay these rents, &c., to John White, Sam. Browne, and other surviving feoffees, for the purposes of which they were originally designed. The scheme was in the hands of the Puritans, and although well thought of by the body of the people, and aided by large pecuniary contributions, was, for very obvious reasons, extremely distasteful to Archbishop Laud. Being determined to suppress the design, he pursued his usual course. He procured the trustees to be sued in the Exchequer by the Attorney-General. By a judgment deemed harsh, if not unjust, the design was declared to be illegal, and all the property which the feoffees had become possessed of was pronounced to be forfeited to the King. The following petition was addressed to Laud in 1636. It explains one case in which the feoffees had interfered evidently with a good intention, and has the attraction of being signed by Edmund Waller:—

"*Mayor and Townsmen of High Wycombe to Archbishop Laud.*

"To the most revered Father in God, William, Lord Archishop of Canterbury, Primate of all En(g)land and Metropolitane.

"Whereas sundrie of your petitioners whose names are hereunder written did

heretofore give unto the late feoffees of impropriation sundrie summes of money, amounting in all to 260*li.* upon their undertakeing to add unto the revenues of the church of Wickham, for the maintenance of the perpetuall viccar there, and his successors, 40*li.* a yeare for ever, and for some yeares they did there uppon allow the present viccar that proportion, and did lay out those monies on the purchase of the rectorie of Aylesburie or some other impropriation bought by them, all which are now by the said feoffees conveyed to his majestie, and the said guifte of your petitioners, and undertaking of the said feoffees for the good of the said church, like to be frustrated, unless by your grace's mediation to his majestie some course be taken to the contrarie,

"Your petitioners, in the behalfe of the said church, which is nowe to remaine in the disposition of his majestie, most humblie beseech your grace, of your just and pious disposition and zeale for the good of the church, to be a meanes to procure from his majestie some direction to his majesties attorney generall, or such other as your wisedome shall seeme meete, that out of the proffitts of Aylesburie, or some other impropriation purchased as aforesaid, such somme of money may be raysed as shall be necessary, and employed for the purchase of some revenue of 40*li.* a yeare to be added to the said Church for the maintenance of the viccar there; and your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

"Signed,

"Richard Nellsson, maior		"William Sanders, Jun.
"John Gybbons		"William Sanders, Sen.
"Mathew Patafars		"John Field
"Edward Winch		"Stephen Bates
"John Eles		"James Weedon
"Thomas Bedder		"Frauncis Kempe
"John Collins		"J. Ric. Archedale
"William Cary	Baylefes	"Edm. Waller
"Samuell Harris		"Will. Walmer
"John Harding		"William Frber."

Abraham Cole, installed March, 1662. He was Rector of Offord-Cluny, Huntingdon, and died in 1664, being succeeded by—

Thomas Laney, D.D., installed April, 1664. He was made Precentor of Lincoln November, 1667, and Prebendary in the sixth stall of Peterborough November, 1662, both of which he held, with this Prebend of Aylesbury, until his death in 1669; he was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

Francis Drape, B.D., collated February, 1669, died September, 1671, and was buried at Cumner, Berks, of which Church he had been Vicar.

John Hammond, A.M., installed May, 1672. He had been Prebendary of Brampton, but resigned May, 1670, and was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon Sept., 1673, when he vacated this Prebend; but was afterwards Canon in the fourth stall at Christ Church, Oxon, July, 1679, and D.D.; also Rector of Chalfont St. Giles from 1701 until his death, at a great age, and was buried at Christ Church.

Walter Bronscombe, or Bromesgrove, installed May, 1673, was also Rector of St. Peter's Arches in Lincoln, and buried in the chancel there December, 1689.

George Williams, installed February, 1689. He died November, 1723, being also Rector of Kingston, near Cambridge, where he was buried, and was succeeded by—

John Dudley, A.M., collated December, 1723, and installed July, 1724. He was of Jesus College, Cambridge, A.B. 1715, A.M. 1719 ; in 1729 he was Vicar of Watford, Northamptonshire, and collated to the Vicarage of Aylesbury. He died in 1735, being succeeded in this Prebend by—

Edmund Castle, B.D., whom Cole calls his "worthy friend," and "the very worthy master of Benet College, Cambridge." He was of Christ Church College, Cambridge, A.B. 1719, A.M. 1723, S.T.B. Com. Reg. 1728, and Adm. 1745. He was also a Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, Rector of Barley, Herts, December, 1731, vacated by Dr. Hemming (afterwards Archbishop of York), on his being made Dean of Rochester, and Dean of Hereford March, 1748. He died at Bath in 1750, and was buried at Barley, being succeeded in this Prebend by—

John Taylor, LL.D., collated 1750. He was of St. John's College, Cambridge, A.B. 1724, A.M. 1728, Fellow of St. John's 1730, Librarian to the University of Cambridge 1732, Registrar S.T.B. 1738, LL.D. 1741, Chancellor of Lincoln, April, 1744, Rector of Lawford, Essex, 1751, Archdeacon of Bucks June, 1753, Canon Resident of St. Paul's July, 1757, and Prebendary of Ealdland, Commissary of Lincoln and Stow, and also Prolocutor to the Lower House of Convocation, F.R. and A.S. S.T.P., 1760 ; ob. April, 1766, buried in St. Paul's Cathedral ; and was succeeded by—

George Gordon, B.D., collated April 1766, to this Prebend and the Archdeaconry of Bucks. He was Chaplain to Dr. Green, Bishop of Lincoln, and, being made Precentor of that Cathedral in 1769, resigned the Archdeaconry; and at his death, in 1793, was succeeded in this Prebend by—

John Pretyman, D.D. 1793. He was a younger son of Robert Pretyman, Esq., of Lincoln, and brother of George Pretyman, D.D., successively Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester. He was of Pembroke College, Cambridge, A.B. 1778, A.M. 1781, D.D., Prebendary of Norwich and Biggleswade 1786, Rector of Shotley, Suffolk, Precentor and Archdeacon of Lincoln 1793, and died in 1817, having, upon being presented to the Vicarage of Chiswick, Middlesex, in 1809, resigned this Prebend of Aylesbury to his son,—

John Pretyman, A.M., installed 1809, instituted 1811 to the Rectory of Sherrington, Bucks. In 1836 he was Official of the Archdeaconry of Lincoln.

After the death of Dr. Pretyman, in 1842, an Honorary Canon, for such is the new name, was appointed in his stead. The Cathedral Act of 1839 vested in the Ecclesiastical Commission the property attached to the Prebendal Stalls, and under authority of that Act the Commissioners refused the renewal of lives under which leases of that property were held. They were at the same time empowered to buy out remaining leaseholders. This they did in the case of the Aylesbury Prebendal Estate, about the year 1872, when two of the three lives of the then leaseholders were existing. The rentals of the Prebendal Lands are now paid over direct to the representative of the Bishop of the Diocese.

THE PREBENDAL HOUSE.

The Prebendal House has been occupied by various families. The Mead's resided there. By his marriage with Miss Mead, John Wilkes, Esq., obtained an interest in it and made it his residence during his connection with the town. It was subsequently in the occupation of Sir Francis Bernard, Bart. Wilkes sold his interest in it to Sir William Lee, Bart., of Hartwell House. The fee simple was at length disposed of under an Act of Parliament for the redemption of the Land Tax on the estate, the purchaser being Colonel Robert Browne. Eventually the Marquis of Buckingham became the owner, by whom it was conveyed to the late Thomas Tindal, Esq., who resided there for many years. It then passed into the proprietorship of Dr. Bickersteth, who occupied it so long as he held the Archdeaconry of Buckingham in connection with the Vicarage of Aylesbury. The Ven. Archdeacon Purey-Cust, on becoming Vicar of Aylesbury, purchased the residence, and is the present proprietor.

THE VICARAGE.

The Benefice of Aylesbury is a discharged Vicarage, rated in the "Liber Regis" at £24 8s. 1d. The office of Vicar originated with the appropriation of benefices to monasteries, and other ancient religious houses. The monks at first supplied these benefices by members of their own body; eventually the Bishops arranged the services of priests; these priests were the curates or deputies of the appropriators, and were termed vicars. In course of time, Acts were passed endowing the Vicars with portions of the tithes and making their offices perpetual. The prebendaries formerly appointed vicars to the Benefice of Aylesbury, but the living is now in the gift of the Bishop of Oxford.

VICARS OF AYLESBURY.

ADAM, died in 1271; and was succeeded by—

ROBERT, presented 1271, by the Procurator of Percival de Lavinia, Prebendary of Aylesbury, in Lincoln Cathedral. His name occurs in a fine passed in 1277 with Roger de Fylebroc of a messuage in Aylesbury, declared to be the right of Robert, Vicar of the Church of Aylesbury. In 1292 Andrew Croke recovered in the King's Court at Newport Pagnell against Robert, Vicar of Aylesbury, and others, certain lands in Stoke and Halling. On his death—

ADAM DE RODEBROKE was presented, in 1312, by Richard de Havering, Prebendary. He resigned, and was succeeded by

WILLIAM DE UFFINGTON, in May, 1315.

RALPH DE LUTTERWORTH, in 1315, exchanged for Ashby Magna, Leicester, with—

WILLIAM DE GRUTTLEWORTH, 1324.

JOHN DE WINCHCOMBE was presented in July, 1325.

ROBERT DE STANLEY, resigned 1348.

William fil. Hugonis de Lundenton, presented 1348 by Edmund Beresford, Prebendary.

Robert Randolph, succeeded November, 1361, on the death of the last Vicar, and was himself succeeded by—

William Theed, who, in 1412, exchanged for Wennington, in Essex, with—

John Rede, 1414; he exchanged for Morden, in Surrey, with—

John Swell in 1415, who was succeeded by—

William Bode, who exchanged for the Vicarage of Croxton, Norfolk, with—

Thomas Rogers, in 1421, who was presented by Robert FitzHugh, Prebendary.

John Ufflete, in 1448, was presented by John Beverley, Prebendary; on his decease—

John Younge, A.M., was presented in 1463, by John Marshall, Prebendary.

John Golafre was presented in 1472 by the same, and was succeeded by—

John Breforten, who died 1482.

Richard Frere, presented 1482 by Ralph Scroope, Prebendary; he died 1500.

Richard Harom, A.M., presented 1500 by Ralph Scroope. He resigned.

John Aslabe, S.T.B., presented 1506 by the same.

Nicholas Mylys succeeded in 1511, on the resignation of Aslabe, and, himself resigning, was succeeded by—

John Losche, or Lusshe, S.T.P., in 1529, on the presentation of Brian Higden, Prebendary; he was a fellow of Eton College, and was, at his death, succeeded by—

John Penwyn, in 1545.

Robert Downing, 1555. He died, and was buried at Aylesbury in 1564.

Francis Purefoy, 1565. He was also Rector of Hulcot, which living with this vicarage he resigned about 1570.

John Chandler, LL.B., Prebendary of Aylesbury; he resigned in 1572, and was succeeded by—

John Hitchcock, 1572, presented by the lessee tenant under the Prebendary.

John Price, B.D., presented 1597, by Sir Henry Lee, the Prebendary's lessee tenant. He resigned, and

Robert Bell was presented in 1598. He was buried here in 1618, and was succeeded by—

James Colly, who died the same year, and was buried July 18th, 1618.

John Barton, 1618. He was fellow of New College, Oxford; and being by the Commissioners and Visitors appointed to purify the Church in the Protectorship of

Cromwell, was returned amongst "scandalous ministers" and voted to be expelled. On the 8th July, 1642, information in writing having been given to the House of Commons, that Mr. Barton had spoken against the Parliament, he was sent for as a delinquent, in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and not denying the words, was committed to the Gatehouse on the 18th, but discharged on the 26th of the same month. At length he was driven from the Vicarage, about 1645, and taken into Mr. Grenville's house at Wotton, in the capacity of Chaplain, and in 1651 was made perpetual curate of Wotton.

In August, 1662, the Act of Uniformity came into operation. By its provisions every minister was to be forthwith expelled from his charge if he did not publicly and solemnly declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer and the forms of Ordination; every minister who, during the period of the Commonwealth, had been unable to obtain episcopal ordination, was commanded now to obtain that kind of sanction; all were to take an oath of canonical obedience; all were to give up the theory on which the "Solemn League and Covenant" had been based; and all were to accept the doctrine of the King's supremacy over the Church. The result was that upwards of twelve hundred ministers signalised St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, by giving up their livings rather than conform to the Act.

At this period JOHN LUFF was in possession of the Vicarage, who is recorded to have intruded. He was ejected under the Act of Uniformity, and the old Incumbent, John Barton, who, as stated, had been thrust out, had possession again; but being very old, he seldom preached, and Mr. Luff afterwards supplied the place. Mr. Luff removed to Southwark; he was a man of considerable abilities, of ready elocution, and a very good scholar. At the death of Barton—

JOHN DALTON was instituted, in 1655.

ISAAC LODDINGTON, instituted 1688, and died Vicar, being succeeded by—

JOHN DUDLEY, who was collated by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1729 by lapse, being the Prebendary of Aylesbury in Lincoln Cathedral.

DECIMUS REYNOLDS, A.M. In 1735 he had a dispensation to hold the Rectory of Chalfont St. Giles with this Vicarage. He was of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, A.B. and A.M.; at his death in 1755, he was succeeded by—

JOHN STEVENS, D.D.; he was master of the Grammar School in 1744; died about 1761, and was buried at Aylesbury, being succeeded by—

THOMAS LLOYD, A.M.; he was of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; in 1795 he vacated this living on being presented by Christ's Hospital, London, where he was educated, to the Rectory of Albrighton, Salop, which he held until his death in 1817, being succeeded here by his brother—

WILLIAM LLOYD, D.D., of Jesus College, Oxon; he was also perpetual curate of Nether Winchendon, and died in 1816.

The Rev. John Morley, inducted April, 1816, on the presentation of the Prebendary of Aylesbury ; he had previously been curate of Hampton-Lucy and Charlecott ; in 1792, Vicar of Wasperton, Warwick, and in 1819 Rector of Bradfield-Combust, Norfolk, on the presentation of Thomas Howard, and likewise curate of St. Clements-with-Helens, in Ipswich ; he was author of "Doctrinal Discourses," and other works ; he died at Aylesbury in 1842.

The Rev. John Radclyffe Pretyman, son of the late Rev. John Pretyman, Rector of Sherrington and Prebend of Aylesbury, succeeded in 1842 ; is of Trinity College, Oxford, at which he was a Blount Exhibitioner, B.A. 1838, M.A. 1843 ; was ordained deacon in 1838, when he became curate of Trowbridge, Wilts. In 1841, he held, with sole charge, the curacy of Winwick, Northants, and in the following year was appointed to the Vicarage of Aylesbury, which he resigned in 1853, since which period he has accepted no further preferment.

The Rev. Edward Bickersteth, D.D., second son of the late Rev. John Bickersteth, M.A., and nephew of the first Lord Langdale, was born at Acton, Suffolk, in 1814. He entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832, and graduated B.A., at Sidney Sussex College, 1836, when he was 24th Senior Optime. He had previously obtained the Taylor's Mathematical Exhibition. He afterwards entered as a Student in Theology at Durham University, where he gained the first prize for a Theological Essay in 1837. He was ordained deacon at the end of that year, and priest in January, 1839. He served as curate to the late Archdeacon Vickers, at Chetton, Shropshire, during 1838 and part of 1839, when he was appointed to the curacy, with sole charge, of the Abbey, Shrewsbury. Having occupied this position for nine years, he was promoted by the Earl Howe, in 1848, to the Incumbency of Penn Street. He was appointed Rural Dean of Amersham, by the Bishop of Oxford, the same year, Vicar of Aylesbury and Archdeacon of Buckingham, in 1853 ; and on being promoted to the Deanery of Lichfield was succeeded by—

The Rev. Arthur Percival Purey Cust, who graduated B.A. at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1850, M.A. 1854. He was ordained deacon in 1851 and priest in 1852 ; was Rector of Cheddington from 1853 to 1861, when he received the appointment of the Incumbency of St. Mary's, Reading, which is in the patronage of the Bishop of Oxford. He was appointed Rural Dean in 1858 ; was formerly fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford ; Archdeacon of Buckingham, June, 1875, and installed Vicar of Aylesbury in the same year ; appointed to the Deanery of York in 1880, and was succeeded in this Vicarage by—

The Rev. Arthur Thomas Lloyd, B.A. at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, 1868, M.A. 1870, deacon 1868, and priest 1869, curate of Cholsey, Berks, five years, whence he was removed by the Bishop of Oxford to the sole charge of Watlington, Oxon, which he held from 1873 to 1876, and resigned it on his presentation by the Bishop to this Vicarage, of which he is now the Incumbent.

THE PECULIAR.

Aylesbury, as has been before stated, was a Peculiar, that is a particular church or parish having jurisdiction within itself and power of granting administration or probate of wills, &c., exempt from the Ordinary or Bishop's Court in the Diocese in which it is situate. By an Order in Council based upon an Act passed in 1837, all Peculiars in the Diocese of Oxford were made subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of that Diocese, and constituted a part thereof. Aylesbury is thus no longer a Peculiar.

A MOTHER CHURCH.

In a patent of Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, dated at Buckden, in November, 1266, the chapels of Burton (Bierton), Querendon (Quarrendon), Stokes (Stoke Mandeville), and Bukland (Buckland), were annexed to the Prebend of Aylesbury. Bierton thus became a chapel of ease to Aylesbury, and its revenues were annexed to that Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral with those of the chapels of Quarrendon, Stoke Mandeville, and Buckland. This patent was confirmed in 1274, and again in 1524 by King Henry VIII. to John Longland, then Bishop of Lincoln.

Old chroniclers speak of Quarrendon as an integral part of Aylesbury. Leland describes it as a hamlet belonging to Aylesbury. Quarrendon Chapel is now a ruin—a desolation ; nothing remains of it but the bare walls—not an atom of woodwork, not a door or window now exists. Within the present century its demolition has been rapid, and in the course of a few years it will probably disappear altogether. The following description of it was written in the year 1817, at which period it retained something of the character of a place of worship :—

"The construction of Quarrendon Chapel throughout is indeed excellent ; the masonry regular, and the windows and south door well finished ; its plan is uniform, having a centre and aisles, which are opened to each other through elegant pointed arches resting upon octagonal capitals and columns. The roof is handsome, having at its main beams, flat arches, which combine numerous mouldings, and stretch across between the windows, resting upon stone brackets, sculptured with human heads, grotesque animals, leaves, &c.; the intermediate spaces are filled with purlings and rafters ; but, though the whole is constructed of excellent and substantial Irish oak, the neglect of the external roof has dilapidated some portions of them towards the west end, which is rapidly increasing, and will ere long, unless some means of preservation are adopted, demolish the whole. The pews, pulpit, &c., have been wholly removed, and very little of the regular stone pavement remains. A plain arch connects the body of the chapel with the chancel, the latter being very small, and nearly filled with the monuments, which gives it more the character of a sepulchral chapel, than the service part of the building. It is a remarkable instance of the preference which appears to have been always given by the founders and benefactors for these situations of interment : except a few instances in some larger edifices, but the greater number are otherwise ; and the unadorned arched recess to be seen in the chancel walls of many old Churches, doubtless once contained the plain uninscribed gravestone, the ornamented cross, the statue of the founder, or the brass figure."—Dr. Lipscomb.

"A ruined edifice, of whatever description, is an interesting object. But of all ruined buildings a Church in ruin is the most interesting—the most affecting—the

most incentive to serious and varied reflection. There is something in Gothic architecture which renders such a ruin singularly striking, and imparts to it a peculiar beauty that belongs to no other kind of dilapidated structure. A Church in ruin claims attention chiefly by the deep and plaintive notes of its associations. It carries back the mind to other days and other scenes. It leads one to think of the benevolence of its pious founder—of the holy devotions once offered within its walls—of the Christian dead entrusted to its hallowed keeping—above all, of the sacred act of its consecration, which, in the most solemn manner, conveyed it to Almighty God, devoutly presenting it to Him, as a free will offering, to be perpetually devoted to His service. While these considerations flash into the mind, the scene of desolation before us fills us with wonder, indignation, and woe."—Rev. W. H. Kelke.

Quarrendon Chapel was denominated a sister to Bierton, whilst the four Churches were daughters of Aylesbury, that being the mother Church. The Old Church of Stoke Mandeville is not now used for public worship, it being superseded by a new erection in the central part of the village; the old edifice being unoccupied and situate in a lonely situation, will probably before many years suffer a like fate to that of its sister at Quarrendon. Buckland was appendant to Bierton, and the ministration of divine ordinances there were usually performed by the Vicars of Bierton or their substitutes; no such connection now exists. All these places have long been entirely severed from the Living of Aylesbury, and have nothing in common with it. Quarrendon is still appendant to Bierton, although public service has not been held there for many years. The Livings of Bierton, Stoke Mandeville, and Buckland were separated in 1858, and are now distinct and independent Incumbencies.

THE DIOCESE.

Buckinghamshire is in the Province of Canterbury. With the exception of ten parishes it formed an Archdeaconry in the Diocese of Lincoln; but by virtue of an Order in Council of the 19th of July, 1837, under the Act 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 77, the whole county was annexed and united to the Diocese of Oxford, and the union took effect on the next avoidance of the See of Oxford, namely, on the 30th of November, 1845.

The present Bishop of the Diocese is the Rev. Dr. Mackarness, who succeeded Dr. Wilberforce in the year 1869. The Rev. John Mackarness, D.D., was born in 1820. In 1831 he was elected upon the foundation at Eton and entered there. In 1840 he obtained a scholarship at Merton College, Oxford. In 1843 he took his B.A. degree, and was placed by the examiners in the second class. Shortly afterwards his elegant scholarship gained for him an open fellowship at Exeter College. In 1845 he was instituted to the living of Tardiebigge, in the diocese of Worcester, on the nomination of Baroness Windsor. His labours in that parish were recognised by the Bishop, who presented him to an honorary Canonry in Worcester Cathedral. In the year 1855, the Rectory of Honiton fell vacant, and he was presented to that living by the Earl of Devon. In a pecuniary point of view the Rectory of Honiton was not better than the Rectory of Tardiebigge, but it was accepted

as affording a more important sphere of labour. His great abilities, his unflagging energy, his power of organisation, and his accurate business habits soon raised him to a commanding position in that portion of the diocese in which Honiton is situated. The Head Mastership of the Grammar School at Honiton falling vacant about the time when he was first appointed Rector, Dr. Mackarness accepted the post. In 1858, Dr. Mackarness was nominated one of the Prebendaries of Exeter Cathedral, and there, as elsewhere, his preaching has never failed to attract large and attentive congregations. When the Rev. P. L. D. Acland resigned the office of Proctor in Convocation, Dr. Mackarness was solicited by a large and influential body of the clergy to allow himself to be put in nomination; he was unanimously elected to the post which he continued to hold until his elevation to the Bishopric of Oxford in 1870.

Buckinghamshire was at first included in the Diocese of Dorchester, founded by S. Birinus in 634. In 660 it was incorporated with Winchester; but the see was revived in 764, and in 780 united with those of Leicester and Sidnacaster. The see was transferred to Lincoln in 1072 by Remigius, the Norman Prelate, who succeeded Wolfway, the last Saxon Bishop of Dorchester. Buckinghamshire remained a portion of the Diocese of Lincoln till 1545, when, with Oxfordshire and Berkshire, it was formed into the Diocese of Oxford. Robert King was the first Bishop; Dr. Mackarness is the 33rd. Population, 574,309; acres, 1,385,779; deaneries, 31; benefices, 644; Church sittings, 217,415. The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is co-extensive with the Diocese, which consists almost entirely of the counties of Bucks, Berks, and Oxon. The Arms of the See are—Sable, a fesse argent, in chief three ladies heads crowned or, arrayed and veiled of the second: in van, an ox, of the last passant over a ford proper.

The Bishop's Registrar is T. M. Davenport, Esq., of Oxford.

THE ARCHDEACONRY.

On the acceptance of the Deanery of York by the Ven. A. P. Purey Cust, the Rev. James Leslie Randall, M.A., was appointed Archdeacon of Buckingham; the Ven. Archdeacon has also become Rector of Mixbury, a village near Brackley, where he resides. The title of Archdeacon is derived from the fact that this officer was at one time chosen from the order of deacons; he is now selected from the order of priests. An Archdeacon is a very ancient officer in the Church; for we find that Anastasius, in the life of Pope Sixtus II., called one Laurentius, Archdeacon of Rome, who suffered in the year 260. St. Jerome, in his epistle to Evagrius, tells us that the deacons chose one of the most eminent amongst them, whom they called Archdeacon, so that it is plain there were such officers about the end of the fourth century; they then attended the Bishop at Ordinations and other public solemnities in the Cathedrals. When the annual Visitations of Bishops came to be inconvenient, because of the grandeur and charge of their attendance and retinue, and when the Norman Bishops, by reason of their baronies, had

to attend the Kings in their Parliaments; then Dioceses were divided into Archdeaconries, and the Bishops sent Archdeacons in their room, who visited when they did not. An Archdeacon has jurisdiction in certain cases, so for the better exercising the same he has power to keep a court, which is called the Court of the Archdeacon, or his Commissary; and this he may hold in any place within his Archdeaconry, and there he may determine spiritual causes; but such judgment is not final, for there lies an appeal from his sentence to the Bishop of the Diocese and not to the Arches, because the Archdeacon's power is derived from the Bishop, and therefore his acts must be subordinate to him.

There is an officer attached to this Court, termed a Registrar, who manages the general affairs of the Archdeaconry. The office of the Archdeaconry is at Aylesbury, and the Registrar is Thomas Horwood, Esq. The Archdeaconry of Buckingham was founded by Bishop Remigius, in 1092.

THE RURAL DEANERY.

The Rural Deanery of Aylesbury comprises Aston Sandford, Aylesbury-with-Walton, Bledlow, Cuddington, Dinton, Haddenham, Great Hampden, Hartwell-with-Little Hampden, Horsendon-with-Ilmer, Hulcot, Great Kimble, Little Kimble, Kingsey, Lacey Green, Prestwood, Monks Risborough, Princes Risborough, Sanderton, Stone-with-Bishopstone, and Towersey.

The Rural Dean is the Rev. Canon Evetts, of Monks Risborough.

Chapter VII.—THE FRANCISCAN OR GREY FRIARS' MONASTERY.

Description of Monasteries — Monastic life — Monks and Friars — the Grey Friars Monastery at Aylesbury—its founder—date of foundation—its Church—interments there—relic of the house and its occupants—extent of grounds—St. Francis—Franciscan, Grey and Minor Friars—Dissolution of Monasteries—Dr. London visits Aylesbury—his report—he defaces the Conventual Church—Surrender of the Monastery, partially demolished—distribution of the property—the house subsequently occupied by the Baldwyns—entirely destroyed in the Civil Wars—its site—remains discovered in 1842—*foundations discovered in* 1881.

A MONASTERY is an establishment for the reception of those who have adopted a religious life, whether it be Abbey, Priory, Nunnery, or the like. The term Monastery is applied to the houses of Monks, Mendicant Friars, and Nuns; others are more properly called religious houses. The original institution of a monastic life was to relinquish the things of this world, and wholly to live up to the rules and precepts of our Saviour; but it was never intended to distinguish men by particular orders, or by living under certain rules, for Paulus Thebeus, who fled into the Wilderness from the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, and from this was commonly called Paul the Hermit, was the first who lived after this manner; he and his followers continued in the Wilderness for the space of fifty years and upwards, till peace was restored to the Church by Constantine the Great; a little before that time; St. Antony likewise became a hermit in the wilderness in Egypt.

This solitary mode of living spread itself into Syria, Pontus, and Asia Minor; the Hermits or Monks of Egypt acknowledged St. Antony to be their founder; others took the name of St. Basil about the beginning of the fourth century. Not long afterwards, St. Athanasius went to Rome, where he published the life of St. Antony, and many of that place adopted monastic lives, looking to St. Antony as their founder and patron saint.

The most remarkable English Monastery was that of Bangor; there were 2,000 members in that establishment, and when any of them in this or other religious house was found capable of undertaking holy orders by his superiors, he was ordained not by the Abbot but by the Bishop.

On the first institution of Monasteries in England and in other countries, the monks were generally obliged to labour, and take their turns in the cultivation of the grounds attached to their monasteries. Learning was then a very rare accomplishment, and the intervals between their devotional acts could not have been better utilised than

in the business of husbandry. Most monks, according to the accounts of historians, were employed in works of this kind. While a part of their fraternity was engaged in the management of their grounds, the remainder was attending on the offices of the Church. Similar regulations probably took place in other societies of this kind, in their early existence. In after-ages, when their acquisitions were sufficient to maintain them without labour, they spent their revenues in decorating their buildings, or in hospitality and luxury. In the last instance they followed the example of the nobility and gentry ; in others they excelled them. The learning and knowledge of the early times, scanty and trifling as they may appear, fell chiefly to their share ; and, if we doubt the legendary tales of their saints and founders, we are nevertheless indebted to them for transmitting and preserving many valuable writings of ancient authors, which no other order of men thought worthy of regard. In erecting their buildings, as well as ornamenting their churches and shrines, they generally were their own handicraftsmen, or employed the most skilful workmen that were to be found in Europe, and taught and preserved many arts, which, although simple, were extremely useful, and which, without their care, would have been entirely lost to us. The frequent visits which the clergy and monks made to the Court of Rome, on account of business, or through a spirit of superstition, might have been the means of importing useful arts. Italy, though ravaged by the northern barbarians, still maintained a superiority in all the arts of civilized life, and gave some useful instructions in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture to the rude inhabitants of the western parts of Europe.

The Franciscan, Grey, or Minor Friars were also called Mendicants, from their practice of begging, being destitute of fixed possessions. They obtained the first name of Franciscans from St. Francis, their founder, the name of Grey from their wearing grey clothing, and their title of Minor from their assumed humility. St. Francis was born at Assisi, in Umbria, in the year 1182. He was at first a young man of dissolute habits, but in consequence of a fit of sickness he became strongly affected with religious zeal, and devoted himself to solitude, joyfully undergoing every species of penance and mortification. Thinking his extravagance proceeded from insanity, his father had him closely confined and at length taken before the Bishop of Assisi, in order for him formally to resign all claim to his paternal estate ; he not only assented to do so, but literally stripped himself. He was now looked upon as a saint ; and great numbers joining him in his vow of poverty, he drew up rules for their use, which were sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. The order of Franciscans was established in 1209 ; so rapidly did they increase that in 1219 a chapter was held which was attended by 5,000 friars. The life of St. Francis, according to some historians, abounded in absurdities. It is reported of him that he used to sleep on ice and snow ; that he would plunge naked into a great heap of snow ; that he made large snowballs and addressed them as men and women. The account of his preaching to fishes is well known ; he was on terms of intimacy with song birds, and he had such an affection for all kinds of vermin that he would not

allow the most filthy of them to be destroyed. Attacked once by a wolf, with the only sign manual of a cross, he held a long dialogue with his rabid assailant till the wolf, meek as a lap dog, followed him wherever he went. He never allowed any of his followers to touch money. St. Francis died in 1226 and was canonized by Pope Gregory, and the 4th of October, the day on which he died, is marked as his festival in the Calendar of Saints. The Franciscans soon surpassed all other orders not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success of their novelties, their reputation quickly arose to an amazing height. The Popes allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions without reserve or restriction; and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest veneration and esteem throughout all the countries of Europe. The Franciscans came into England during the reign of Henry III.; at Oxford they had a flourishing monastery. The most learned scholars in the Universities there were Franciscans, and long after this period these friars appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that University. The most famous amongst them was Roger Bacon, the discoverer of the art of making gunpowder.

The Monastery of St. Francis at Aylesbury, being one of the five more modern foundations, was probably included with Bedford Monastery, under the wardenship of a religious house of the same order at Oxford; the superior of which was called the *custos* of the district. Their rule was to observe obedience to the See of Rome, to make a vow of chastity, to distribute upon entrance into the order the whole of their goods amongst the poor; the habit of probation was to consist of two tunics (without a hood), a girdle, with breeches, and cloak to the waist; at the end of one year to be received to obedience, promising never to forsake the order afterwards, to have a tunic with a hood; all the brothers to wear mean habits, which they might "blessedly mend with sacks and other pieces," but not to censure other men on account of their "gay garments, delicate meats, and drinks." The friars were to use the Roman Breviary, and the lay brethren to write every day for their office seventy-six paternosters; the lay brothers to say twenty-five paternosters for their matins, five for their lands, twelve for vespers, and to pray for the dead; to fast from All Saints until the Nativity; voluntarily from Epiphany through Lent till Easter; at other times, on Fridays only, unless in cases of manifest necessity. They were exhorted to be "meek, peaceable, modest, mild, and humble;" not to ride, unless in cases of necessity and infirmity; enjoined on no account to receive money; those to whom "the Lord gave the grace of working," to work faithfully and devoutly; so that banishing "idleness, which is an enemy to the soul, they do not extinguish the holy spirit of prayer and devotion, to

which all other temporal things are to be subservient." For their hire and labour they were to receive "necessaries for the body for themselves and their brethren, always excepting money," being constantly followers of "most holy poverty;" that they were not to make anything their own "house nor place," but go "confidently to beg alms, like pilgrims and strangers in the world, serving the Lord with poverty and humility." They were pledged not to preach in the diocese of any Bishop when forbidden by him, and when allowed to preach it should be with "short discourse;" to visit and admonish their brethren humbly; that "the ministers be servants to all the brothers," taking heed (the brothers) "of all pride, vain-glory, envy, covetousness, worldly care and solicitude, detraction and muttering;" and that those who had not learning should "not run about to get literature," but "to pray for a pure heart—to be humble and patient in persecution and sickness, and to love those who persecute—reprove and correct them;" "to avoid suspicious company or familiarity with females," "not to go into the Monasteries of Nuns without Apostolical license," nor to "become gossips of men or women, lest upon this account there arise scandal," to the end that they might be "established in the Catholic faith, and observe poverty and the Holy Gospel."

The Monastery at Aylesbury was founded by James Botelier, the third Earl of Ormonde, in 1386; he was Lord of the town at that time, and was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1392 and 1403; he died at Gowran Castle, September 7th, 1405. The "stone man," to which reference has already been made, and which has been deposited in the Church, so long, is supposed to be his effigy, and ought to be carefully preserved, as it is the only known relic existing of the Conventual Church attached to the monastery. Notwithstanding the vow to avoid gossips and scandals, one of the friars minor of the Aylesbury Monastery found himself in trouble through meddling with secular affairs, as we learn from one of the old English chronicles:—

"Richard II. was supposed to be still alive; and a frere minor of ye covent of Aylesbury came to ye kyng, and acusid a frere of ye same hous, a prest; and saide that he was glad of kyng Richardes life, and he was brought to ye kyng, and he saide to him, 'Thou hast herd yat king Richard is alive, and art glad yereof?' Ye frere answerde: 'I am as glad as a man is glad of ye liff of his friende, for I am holden.' . . . Ye kyng saide: 'Thou hast noised and told openli yat he livith, and so thou hast excited and stirid the peple agens me.' Ye frere saide, 'Nay.' Thanne said ye kyng: 'Tell me trouth, as it is in thi herte, yf thou sawest kyng Richard and me in ye feld fighting togedir, wit whom woldest thou holde?' 'Forsoth,' saide ye frere, 'with him; for I am more beholde to him.' Thanne saide the kyng: 'Thou woldest yat I and alle ye lordis of my reme were ded?' Ye frere saide, 'Nay.' 'What woldest thou do with me,' saide ye kyng; 'yf thou haddest ye victory ovyer me?' Ye frere saide: 'I wolde make you duke of Lancaster.' 'Thou art not my friend,' saide ye kyng; 'and yerefor thou shalt lese thin hed.' And thanne he was dampned. He was executed at Tyburn."

Agreeably to the spirit of their order, the Franciscans were content with the meanest accommodation for themselves; their principal care seems to have been to erect a house of prayer suitable to the religion they professed. Grants of ground were made to the Grey Friars of Reading, with a permission to build and dwell there so long as

they should continue without acquiring any property of their own. The deed recites—"If at any time, by any accident, or by any means, it should come to pass that the friers minors should have any property, or anything of their own, they have agreed for themselves and their successors for ever, that it shall be lawful for us and our successors, by our own authority, to expel them from any part of our land, without the hindrance of any contradiction or appeal." A subsequent deed restrained them from interring in their cemetery, church, or any other place, the bodies of the parishioners of Reading or elsewhere without special license.

None of the registers, or records of any kind, relating to the Grey Friars at Aylesbury are known to exist. The libraries of the order were exceedingly scant; Leland tells us that "in the libraries of the Franciscans nothing was observable but dust and cobwebs, for whatever others may boast, they had not one learned treatise in their possession, for I myself carefully examined every shelf in the library, though much against the will of all the brethren."

It is uncertain when the idea of dissolving the monasteries was first entertained; but Wolsey obtained grants for suppressing some smaller monasteries in order to found a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, which he considered would be of more use to the Church. The zealous Catholics were alarmed by this measure, and justly regarded it as an example which would not fail to lead to a more general demolition of the religious houses. Some of the abbots attempted to avert the danger by offering sums of money for scholastic foundations instead of the abbey lands. In some districts there were tumultuous outbreaks of popular dissatisfaction on the subject of the dissolutions. The quarrel between King Henry VIII. and the Pope of Rome respecting the King's divorce from Catherine of Arragon was one circumstance which led to the dissolution of the monasteries. The Franciscans were violently opposed to the divorce. Pope Clement VII. pronounced the marriage legal, and eventually Henry was excommunicated. The Monks consequently employed all their influence to inflame the people against the King and his Government. Another circumstance hastened the great revolution. This was the affair of Elizabeth Barton, so celebrated as the Maid of Kent; she was originally a servant, and being subject to strange epileptic fits, was chosen by a violent party as an instrument of deception. She was taught to pretend to have visions and revelations, and many were either deceived by, or gave great encouragement to, this pious fraud. This holy maid was eventually seized, and, having confessed to the conspiracy, was, with some of her accomplices, executed at Tyburn in 1534. Her visions, the substance of which were published, were all levelled against the divorcement of the Queen, the King's proposed new marriage, and his quarrel with the Pope. A description of one of the Holy Maid's visions is given:—"Fyrst an angyl appeared and bad her go into the Kyng, that infydell Prince of Ingland, and saye that I command hym to amend his lyve, and that he leve iij things which he purposyth uppon; that is, that he take none of the Pope's rights nor patrymony from hym; the second that he destroye all these new ffolkes of

opynyon, and the worke of there new lernyng; the thyrde that yf he maryed and tok An, to wyffe, the vengeance of God shuld plage hym." In another vision she stated she saw "in spyryt, the Kyng, the Quene (Anne), and the Yerle of Wylshere standyng in a gardeyn together, and that the dyd devyze how to bryng the matter to passe, and by no meanys it would not be, but at last a lyttell devyll stode besydes the Quene and put in hur mynd to say thus—'Yow shall send my father unto themprowre, and let hym shew the emprowre your mynd and conscience, and gyve hym these manny thowsand docates to have his good wyll, and thus it wulbe browght to passe.' Go and fere not to shew the kyng this taylle and prevy tokyn, and byd hym take his owyld wyff ayen, or elles, etc. It is so nowghty a mattur that my hand shakyth to write it, and some thynges better unwritten then written." "An" here spoken of is Anne Boleyn, and the "Yerle of Wylshere," her father. The discourse described was probably on the matter of the King's intended marriage.

The Earl of Wiltshire was Lord of the "Towne of Ailesburie." His father was Sir William Bullen, who was the son of Sir Geoffrey Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, 37th Henry VI. The Earl of Wiltshire's first title was Sir Thos. Bullen; afterwards he was made Lord Ormonde, Baron Rochford, Viscount Rochford, and in 1529 Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire; he inherited Aylesbury through his mother, who was a daughter of Thos. Boteler. The marriage of his daughter with the King brought his family to a most disastrous end. The records of the conduct of Henry VIII. towards his Queens are subjects we could well afford to blot out from the pages of our nation's history. No woman was ever more grossly maligned by her enemies than Anne Boleyn, and, assuming her innocent of the gross charges made against her, no one was ever more cruelly treated.

"If we are to hold Anne Boleyn entirely free from fault, we place not the King only, but the Privy Council, the Judges, the Lords and Commons, and the two Houses of Convocation in a position fatal to their honour and degrading to ordinary humanity; we cannot without enquiry acquiesce in so painful a conclusion. The English nation also, as well as she, deserves justice at our hands; and it must not be thought uncharitable if we look with some scrutiny at the career of a person who, except for the catastrophe with which it was closed, would not so readily have obtained forgiveness for having admitted the addresses of the King, or for having received the homage of the Court as its future sovereign, while the King's wife, her mistress, as yet, resided under the same roof, with the title and the position of Queen, and while the question was still undecided of the validity of the first marriage."—FROUDE'S "HISTORY OF ENGLAND."

This "fair maid of Aylesbury" is described as having been "of that singular beautie and towardnesse, that her parents took all care possible for her good education: therefore, besides the ordinary parts of virtuous instructions, wherewith shee was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing, and dancing, insomuch, that when she composed her hands to play, and voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetnesse of countenance, that three harmonies concurred: likewisse, when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion." These accomplishments, improved by the ease and self-possession

she had acquired at the Court of France, captivated, but could not secure, the affections of the salacious Henry, who, having conceived a passion for Jane Seymour, caused his queen to be tried for adultery. This abominable charge rested on no other grounds than some slight indiscretions, which her "simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow." No proof of innocence, however, could avail with the King; she was condemned to die, and she expired on the scaffold. In one of the affecting protestations she sent to her unfeeling persecutor, she thus expressed herself, "From a private station you have raised me to that of countess; from a countess you have made me queen; you now can only raise me one step higher, to be a saint in heaven." Anne Boleyn, when in the plentitude of her power, was a distinguished promoter of the Reformation. The Earl of Wiltshire* sold Aylesbury to Lord Chief Justice Baldwyn.

The King, finding the societies of monks irreconcilable with his ideas, determined to destroy them. Secretary Cromwell had been appointed Vicar-General, by which the King's supremacy or absolute power over the Church was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, and others as commissioners, who carried on everywhere a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. As it was known that it was the King's intention to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. In the Parliament which met in February, 1536, the King gave direction to go no farther than the suppression of the lesser monasteries, those which possessed revenues below £200 a year. By this Act 376 monasteries, including the Grey Friars', at Aylesbury, were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to £32,000 a year, granted to the King; their goods, chattels, and plate were computed at £100,000 more. The suppression of the greater monasteries followed two years after, and, on the whole, the King suppressed 645 monasteries, of which 28 had abbots who enjoyed seats in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished; 2,374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals, the revenues of which amounted to £161,100 annually.

Dr. John London was one of the most active of the commissioners in the destruction of monasteries in this district; he began his progress in the midland counties. We first find him at Oxford, which city seems to have been the centre of his operations. He not only visited Aylesbury, but from his report he also made calls at North Marston and Notley Abbey. In a letter to Thomas Cromwell, dated from Oxford in August, 1538, he says—"At Merston Mr. Johan Schorn standith blessing a bote, whereunto they do say he conveyd the devill. He is much sowht for the agow (ague). If it be youre Lordeschips pleasur, I shall set that botyd ymage in a nother place, and so do with other in other parties wher lyke seking is." This Master John Schorn, or Shorne, was

* He was poor; in a letter to Cromwell he says—"The truth is, when I married my wife, I had but fifty pounds to live on for me and my wife so long as my father lived, and yet she brought me a child every year."

Rector of North Marston. He is also called Sir Johan and Saint John; he became renowned far and near for his uncommon piety and miraculous powers. The principal achievement of his faith was the imprisoning the devil in a boot. There was formerly in the chancel window of North Marston a representation of this remarkable feat. The report of Dr. London refers to a statue of John Schorn in North Marston Church, which is reported to have been thickly coated with silver, and consequently of value. Pilgrimages were made to his shrine at North Marston, and the value of the offerings presented to it became an object of such importance that the Bishop of Salisbury, who was appointed Dean of Windsor in 1478, obtained a license to remove it wheresoever he pleased, and accordingly it is reported he removed it from North Marston to St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

Again, in writing to Cromwell from Reading, in the following month, Dr. London refers to Notley. In speaking of the cell at Caversham he reports—"Thys chappell dydde belong to Notley Abbey, and ther always wasse a chanon of that monastery wiche was called the Warden of Caversham, and he songe in this chapell and hadde the offeringes for his lyving. He wasse acostomyed to shew many prety relykes, amongst the wiche wer the holy dager that kylled Kinge Henry and the holy knyfe that kylled seynt Edwarde. All thees, with many other, with the cotes of thys image, her cappe and here, my servant shall bring unto your Lordeschippe thys wek, with the surrender of the Freers under the Convent seale, and ther seale also. I have sent the chanon home agen to Notleye."

A few days after, he reports to Sir Richard Rich, dating from Reading:—

"Right worshipfull, in my most hartie maner I have me commendyd unto yow, I have pullyd down the image of oure lady at Caversham, with all trynkettes abowt the same, as schrowdes, candels, images of wexe, crowches, and browchys, and have thorowly defacyd that chapell in exchuyng of any farther resortt, ffor even at my being ther com in nott so few as a dosyn with imagies of wexe. The image ys thorowly platyed over with sylver. I have putt her in a chest fast lockyd and naylede, and by the next bardge that comythe uppe it schall be browgt to my lorde, with her cootes, cappe, and here, withe dyuers relykes, as the blessyd knyfe that kylled seynt Edward, the dagger that kylled kinge Henry, schethe and all; and I myssed no thing here butt oonly a peece of the holy halter Judas wasse hangyd withall. Here song a chanon of Notley, whiche hadde conveyd home to hys master as great a relik as any of thees befor I com; butt I wyll have hym, and schall send yt to my lorde. And thys wek folowing I will send uppe Mr. Johan Schorn, and so as many as I fynde. I have occasion for my colledg besynes to go by Aylisbery and Bedford thys next wek, and as I suppose by Northampton. In all thees places be howsys of ffryers. If it be my lordes pleasur I will dispache them quyckly, ffor seying they wold fayne be abrode yt wer pytie to stay them. And in dyvers of thees howsys moche ydolytrie have be usyd, and the people sore abusyd. I besek yow remembre Mr. Knygtes mater I have movyd yow in; and if by your gudnes it be browzt to passe, I know well yow will hereafter moche rejoyse yow dydd ytt. My servant schall be with yow thys wek to bring uppe the Fryers surrendre, with the relykes of Caversham, and schall also bring you a tokyn in parchement undre the covent seale from the abbott and covent here. He desyrethe oonly your favour, and no other thinge; and I know so moche that my lord schall fynde hym as conformable a man as

any in thys realme, as more at lardge I will tell yow at the begynyng of the terme, by the grace of Godd, who with increse or moche worschippe longe preserve yow. At Reding, xvij° Septembris. [1538.]

"Your most bounden oratour,
"JOHAN LONDON."

On the following day he informs Cromwell what the great relic referred to consisted of—"I have sent uppe the principall relik of idolytrie within this realme, an anngell with oon (one), wyng that brougt to Caversham the spere hedde that percyd our Saviour is syde upon the crosse. It was conveyed home to Notley but I sent my servant purposley for ytt." Again referring to Notley he reports—"The plate at Notley, M. Williams being in commission with me ther hath browgt uppe and at the Crowche Fryers besyd Newbery wass no more but a power (poor) chalys." The Notley Abbey here mentioned was in the parish of Long Crendon; it was founded in 1162 for Austin canons by Walter Gyffard, second Earl of Buckingham. The last abbot was Richard Ridge. There are still a few remains of the monastic edifice. The property is now occupied as a farm and buildings by Mr. Reynolds, the proprietor.

In writing from Godstow in the following November Dr. London informs Cromwell that—"In dyvers of the fryers suppresyd they hadde no convent sealys ffor my lord of Dover took them away, as they saye and badd them lyve upon their stock and plate, and so did they as apperithe. I have taken wher the King's grace ys not founder, a feofment also beside the surrender made to me to the Kinge's use, I dydd it by my lord Bawdwyns counsell at Aylisbury." His report as to the Aylesbury Monastery is very concise; he says he found them poor, and in debt, their ornaments very coarse, and there was very little stuff in household there; he left the house whole, and only defaced the church there. The whole church was well covered with lead and it had a good roof. The house is stated to have been a large building, and was inhabited by upwards of sixty monks, but at the time of the Reformation there were only seven or eight, and the statement made by Dr. London that they were exceedingly poor is probably correct. The chapel was richly decorated from the gifts which were from time to time bequeathed to deliver the souls of the donors from purgatory; it is stated to have been the burial place of almost all the Lords of the town.

The church, like all the Houses of the Friars, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; it was utterly destroyed. Its demolition was the precursor of further evil days, as the destruction of the whole buildings eventually followed. The precise situation of the church is unknown; the spot on which it stood cannot now be pointed out—

Yet if at Thine altar one holy thought
In man's deep spirit of old has wrought,
If peace to the mourner hath here been given,
Or prayer, from a chastened heart, to Heaven,
Be the spot still hallowed, whilst Time shall reign,
Who hath made thee Nature's own again.—MRS. HEMANS.

There is direct testimony of interments having taken place in the Church of the

Monastery. Earl Ormonde, the founder, was buried there, so was Sir Robert de Luton, one of the Knights of the Shire for Bucks in the Parliaments of 1387 and 1390; he held the Manor of Hartwell, which went to his only daughter Eleanor, who married Thomas de Stoke. Stoke had issue one daughter only; she became the wife of Sir Thomas Singleton, and he held Hartwell in her right. Sir Thomas was High Sheriff for the county of Bucks in 1443 and Knight of the Shire in 1450. He was buried in the Church of the Grey Friars; and he was one of the founders of a chantry there.

No record of the discovery of any burial place connected with the monastery exists. Friars were not buried in coffins; the body, merely shrouded, was conveyed to the grave on an open bier, and there interred. When stone coffins were used, as was the case on the interment of the founders or superiors of the Convent, a similar course was doubtless pursued. The coffin was placed in the grave previously to the funeral; and the body, habited in the richest dresses of the deceased, and perhaps embalmed, for only persons of rank could afford stone coffins, was carried to the grave and deposited therein. Monarchs, in this way, were buried in their royal robes, with the ensigns of royalty. Bishops, Abbots, and other ecclesiastics of rank were dressed in their episcopal and pontifical robes, generally with the pastoral staff and ring, and sometimes with the chalice and paten. Other ecclesiastics were buried in their sacerdotal vestments, and monks in the habits of their several orders.

The deed of surrender of the Aylesbury Monastery is dated the 1st of October, in the 30th year of the reign of Henry VIII., and runs as follows:—

"Forasmooche as wee, the Warden and freers of the house of Saynte Frauncis of Ailsburie, commonly called the Grey Freers, in Ailesburie, in the countie of Buckingham, do profoundly consider, that the perfection of Christian livinge dothe notte conciste in dome ceremonies, waring of a grie coote, disgesinge ourselves after straunge fashions dokynge and beckynge in gurdynge ourselves with a gurdle, full of knotts, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein wee have been moost principally practiced and mislet in times paste; but the verie true waye to please Godd, and to live a true Christian man, withoute all ypocrisie and fayned dissimulation is sincerely declarid unto us by our Master Christe, his evangelists and apostolls, being mynded hereafter to followe the same, conforming ourselfe unto the will and pleasure of our Supreme Hedde unto Godde in erthe, the Kynges Majestie, and notte to followe henceforth the supersticious tradicions of ony forincicall potentat or poore; with mutual assent and consent do submit ourselves unto the mercie of our saide Soverayne Lorde, and with like mutual assent and consent do surrendre and yelde up into the hands of the same, all our saide howse of Saint Frauncis, in Ailesburie, commonly callid the Gray Freers, with all lands, tenements, &c., and moost humbly beseeching his moost noble grace to dispose of us, and of the same, as best shall stond with his moost gracious pleasure; and further freely to graunte unto every one of us his licence, under wrytinge and scealle, to chaunge our abytts into secular fassion, and to receive such manner of livinge as other secular prists comonly be preferred into. And we all faithfully shall praye unto Almightie Godde long to preserve his moost noble Grace wyth increase of moche felicitie and honor; and in witness of all and singular the premises, wee the said warden and convent of Grey Freers in Ailesburie, to these presents have

putte our convent sceall the first day of October, in the thirtyth yere of the rayne of our most gracious Soverayne Lord, King Henry the Eighthe.*

"Per me, HENRICUM MARTYNE, Gardianum.
"Per me, GULIELMUM MAY, Vice Gardianum."
(And five others).

As the account here given of the Aylesbury Monastery, from want of existing records, is so meagre, a general description of the buildings appertaining to the order of Grey Friars must suffice. These buildings, according to Wharton in his "History of English Poetry," especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches, and for these and other purposes they did not want address to procure multitudes of patrons, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. Persons of the highest rank bequeathed their bodies to be buried in the Friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments.

In the noble Church of the Grey Friars in London, completed in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained until the dissolution. These interments in churches brought large sums of money into the mendicant societies. It is probable they derived more benefit from casual charity than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty.

It was customary to leave legacies to churches and religious houses. John Barton, of Buckingham, by his will dated June 5th, 1431, gave £16 13s. 4d., amongst other legacies, for 4,000 masses to be said immediately after his death and to celebrate mass for his soul; for the souls of his father and mother, his benefactors and friends, he left to the friars of Aylesbury the sum of 20s. In the will of Sir Ralph Verney, dated 1478, this item is found—"I biquith to the hous of freres at Ailesbury, in the county of Bucks, they to have my soule and the other soules aforsaid specially recommended to Almyghty God in their devoute prairers, vis. viijd." In 1524, Thomas Richardson, parson of Oving, left by his will, amongst other gifts, a bushel of wheat and a bushel of malt to the brotherhood of Aylesbury, 4s. 4d. for mass and dirge at his funeral, and the like to several other places. Dr. F. G. Lee, in his "Church under Queen Elizabeth," tells us that when poor and humble folks died, they seldom

* From the obsequiousness observable in this surrender, and the apparent submissive conduct of the guardians, amounting to abject servility, it would be supposed they were anxious to be relieved of their charge of the monastery. Such was not so; the document does not represent their feelings; the terms and words of the surrender, without doubt, being ready prepared, and their signatures procured, under pressure, from Dr. London, or some other arbitrary Commissioner. Three years previously, several contumacious friars of the Charter House, London, and twenty-five other persons, had been executed for their opposition to the King's measures; this example of tyranny had its effect on other friars.

forgot the Church or its needs, but by testamentary disposition directly evinced their faith and charity. The husbandman often bequeathed something towards maintaining the lamp before the rood,[A] over and above his own mortuary mass[B] and months' mind.[C] Those in the ranks of yeomen or merchants often gave, in addition, 6s. 8d., or 13s. 4d. for the church, a suit of vestments or silver pax[D] for some special altar, twelve or twenty pounds of wax for the choir lights or Paschal taper. The rich from the moated mansion or crestellated castle gave in proportion to their abundance.

By the end of the year 1540 all the Abbeys, with few exceptions, were totally dismantled. Mosaic pavements were torn up, libraries destroyed, Church bells gambled for and sold to Russia and other countries, painted windows were smashed, and innumerable works of art destroyed, whilst the landed properties belonging to the monasteries were divided amongst courtiers and parasites. These properties were let at low rents, and on leases under conditions highly favourable to the tenants ; consequently those who obtained them took care to renew their leases. Secretary Cromwell was beset by gentlemen and nobles of the Court, who eagerly sought to obtain a share of the spoils consequent upon the suppression of the religious establishments.

No complete return of the total revenues of the religious houses has ever been given. Of 388 there are no estimates of income. Many of the chantries, hospitals for the entertainment of pilgrims, and gilds of lay brethren were not seized till the next reign. The total number of religious houses has been stated at 1041. If the revenues of the houses not returned were in proportion to those for which returns were made, and the relative value of money considered, we must be convinced of the vast wealth of the monastic orders. But these returns of income were only the reserved rents, without including the tithes of appropriations, fines, heriots, renewals, deodands, &c., which probably amounted to twice as much. Upon good authority, it has been stated that the clergy were proprietors of seven-tenths of the whole kingdon, and out of the three remaining tenths then left to the King, Lords, and Commons, were the four orders of mendicants to be maintained, against whom no gate could

(A) Rood—A cross or crucifix, usually with images of the Virgin and St. John on either side, all facing westward exhibited in the rood loft, which was the gallery over the chancel screen, from which the Gospel, was read at the chief morning service.

(B) Mortuary Mass—A mass for the dead, said either for a single departed soul or for many. This was commonly celebrated on the day of sepulture ; then again at the monthly anniversary when the office for the dead, extra service of psalms, Scriptures, and collects was likewise recited, and sometimes, on the yearly return of the day on which the person commemorated passed away, both mass and "office" were repeated. Such services were held every year for all the faithful departed on All Soul's Day (November 2nd), and likewise at the "obit" of the benefactors of the Church.

(C) Months' Mind—The monthly anniversary of any death, when the survivors "had in mind" their departed friend and prayed for his soul, both at mass and during the office for the dead. The months' mind fee was a payment made to the priest for such intercessory prayers offered for the repose of the soul of a deceased person at the period in question.

(D) Pax—A small engraved tablet of silver or some fit material having the figure of our Saviour on it. It was used for giving the kiss of peace in the mass, which was regarded as a token of joyful peace and brotherly good will which should be betwixt all Christian people.

be shut, to whom no provision could be denied, and from whom no secret could be concealed.

Modern buildings and other changes have entirely obliterated all the landmarks and boundaries of the precincts of the Grey Friars' Monastery at Aylesbury. The formation of the present mill stream, which is artificial and comparatively modern, is an innovation which has materially altered the appearance of the locality. The grounds were well adapted to the purposes for which they were required, the situation being good and the aspect delightful. The monastery proper was granted to Sir John Baldwin; in 1540 (32 Henry VIII.) the King, for £729 8s. 4d., paid into the Exchequer, for the following and other lands, granted to John Baldwin, "all that house and site of the Grey Friars in Aylesbury, with the appurtenances, a close of six acres, a pond called the Mote, and all waters and ponds in the said close ; a cottage and garden, close of pasture of four acres, &c., a close of pasture of two acres near the 'Broke,' another of pasture, or meadow of two acres, a meadow of two acres, and eleven gardens, *cum pert*, in Aylesbury, and two acres of land there, and a garden and all rents whatsoever, parcel of the possessions of the said House of Grey Friars, to hold, &c." The same year the monastery was surrendered, the King, for the good and faithful services performed by John Josselyn, granted to the said John and Anne, his wife, all that tenement, or messuage, with all lands belonging thereto, in the parish of Aylesbury and lordship of Walton, then in the King's hands, by reason of the dissolution of the monastery of Grey Friars in Aylesbury, to hold to John Palmer and Anne, his wife, for life, and to the survivor, by fealty only, and the rent "of one red rose annually on St. John Baptist's day, to be paid if askt for."

In 1553 the King granted to Edward Cooper and Valentine Fayrweather certain lands at Aylesbury, in the occupation of John Bryckett, also lands at Heydon's Hill, one acre in Wilcott's land, one garden in Castle Fee, in Aylesbury, a meadow in the occupation of W. Woodlef, a messuage called the Plough in the occupation of Walter Oliff, also a barn beside the Temple the lands, &c., occupied by Elstow, a garden abutting on the Churchyard occupied by Thomas Speed, a barn occupied by William Hales, and tenements occupied by William Ballard ; also to William Sackville, Esq., certain tenements between the bridges at Aylesbury in the occupation of John Woodlef, tenements of John Bryckett and William Gibbett, a triangular tenement called the Old Gaol, also in Aylesbury, occupied by Richard Fryer, for certain services performed by the said William Sackville. In 1554 the Queen granted to William Walton and Jeremy Hally, at a rent of 2d. and services, parcel of the possessions of the fraternity of Aylesbury, issuant out of the Crown Inn, Aylesbury, also rents arising out of lands occupied by Lord Baldwyn, a meadow called St. John's Mead in Aylesbury Field, and a tenement known as "Paginton's Barnes," in Aylesbury. In 1571 the Queen further granted to Richard Hill, at a rent of 4d., a tenement lately belonging to the guild of the Blessed Mary at Aylesbury, also a house in Aylesbury, occupied by John Newers. In

1577 the Queen granted to John Farnham, Esq., a ruinous tenement at Aylesbury, late occupied by Lane, then by Barlow, between Verney's and David Williams'; also a tenement called the Paved Hall, *alias* the George; also a close near the Crown Inn, once in the occupation of Eggleton, then of Richard Cockman. These were stated to be part of the possessions of the fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Aylesbury. In 1585 the Queen granted to Charles Bagshott and Bartholomew Yardley a messuage and 15 of land in Walton, in the occupation of Andrew Johnson, *alias* Fysher, at a rent of 6s. 8d. In 1590 the Queen granted to John Fish and John Clarke, *inter al*, a cottage in Church Lane, at the annual rent of 1s., to hold the same by fealty. In the same year, the Queen, on the surrender of certain lands by Walter Coppinger and Thomas Butler, granted, in exchange and satisfaction for the same, *inter al*, a cottage in Castle Street, Aylesbury, in the occupation of John Hance. The former possessors of the lands passing by these last named grants are not specified.

The Baldwyn family made the monastery their country seat; it passed from them by marriage to the Pakingtons. James I. and his court were sumptuously entertained by Sir John Pakington at his house here; the Royal visitors, with their courtiers, numbered over one hundred. Sir John Pakington, M.P. for Aylesbury, occupied the house during the commotion in the reign of Charles I. Sir John was a zealous Loyalist, and consequently received no quarter from the Parliamentary army then in possession of the town. The old building was found to be an obstacle in carrying out the warlike arrangements of the contending armies, and, being so much damaged by the soldiery as to become unfit for occupation, it was demolished.

So complete was the destruction of the Monastic buildings that for a long period it was a conjectural point as to the spot on which they stood. The Great Western Railway Passenger Station, with its appurtenances, now occupies a considerable portion of what some years ago was a meadow known as "Cook's Close." Those who knew this close in its entirety will not fail to recollect its undulations, its elevations, its remains of mounds, dykes, moats, and trenches, and its every appearance of having at some early period been occupied by extensive buildings. These inequalities in the surface of the meadow led to the supposition that the monastery stood there. Such was an error; this question as to its situation is now cleared up. It was situate much nearer the town than was supposed; indeed, in close proximity to it, the spot being proved to be that now occupied by the residence of H. A. P. Cooper, Esq., and the houses and grounds adjacent, situate at the junction of Bourbon Street with Oxford Road, or at the base of Rickford's Hill.

About forty years ago, portions of a stone window frame were found buried in this vicinity; they were Early English in character and may fairly be supposed to have been the remains of the Conventual Church. Some years later, when the ground was disturbed for drainage purposes, formidable foundations were met with, not merely in irregular masses of stone, but well formed masonry. The supposed effigy of the founder was not

discovered on the site of the buildings, but at a considerable distance from it, and the position in which it was found would lead to the supposition that it had been placed there either for secretion or for its intended destruction.

In the year 1880 the site was sold by auction in building plots. By those of an antiquarian taste the breaking of the ground was watched with some interest, but the present purposes for which most of the plots were required necessitated a mere levelling, and no excavations were made. The "finds" have consequently been few and valueless, consisting only of a number of small clay tobacco pipes, known at Aylesbury as "soldiers' pipes," a minute dessert knife, much corroded, and a copper coin of Charles I., dated 1625; these were thrown up in the portion of the grounds purchased by Mr. Thomas Field, and may all be considered as seventeenth century deposits. Old foundations were also uncovered; rough pit stones, pieces of ashlar, two pieces of masonry in a corbel and buttress, judged to be Early English, also a set of stone steps.

The foundations left were in their original position; the account handed down to us, that the buildings were demolished and did not fall from natural decay, may be accepted. The foundations removed seem to have been dug out to such a depth as, and no deeper than, would repay the expense of excavating them. Portions of walls and buildings in the immediate neighbourhood are undoubtedly formed of materials from the conventual buildings. The most enduring memento of the Grey Friars of Aylesbury will be the well known name of "the Friarage," for generations attached to the public footway, which doubtless once led to the grounds of the Monastery. It may also be noted that the surnames of Bishop, Friar, Nun, Monk, and St. Mary's, Abbots Hill, and other ecclesiastical terms, still exist in the local nomenclature of the neighbourhood.

Chapter VIII.—LEGENDARY HISTORY.

Legends—The Legend of St. Osyth—born at Quarendon—drowned—restored to life—her betrothal—takes the veil—decapitated by the Danes—buried at Chich—removed to Aylesbury—translated to Chich—Nunnery founded there—St. Osyth's well—other holy wells—The legend of Radulphus Ruebairn—The legend of Walter de Whyteford—The legend of Ulfric the Anchorite.

ANCIENT religionists were fond of legends, and before colleges were established in the monasteries, where the schools were held, the Professors in rhetoric frequently gave the scholars the life of some saint for a trial of their talent at amplification. The students, being constantly at a loss to furnish from their pages, invented these wonderful adventures. Jortin says that the Christians used to collect out of Ovid, Livy, and other Pagan poets and historians the miracles and portents to be found there, and accommodate them to their own monks and saints. The good fathers of that age, whose simplicity was not inferior to their devotion, were so delighted with these flowers of rhetoric, that they were induced to make a collection of these miraculous compositions; not imagining that, at some distant period, they would become matters of faith. Yet when Voraginus and others wrote the "Lives of the Saints," they sought for their materials in the libraries of the monasteries, and, awakening from the dust these manuscripts of amplification, imagined they had made an invaluable present to the world, by laying before it these voluminous absurdities; and the people received these pious fictions with all imaginable simplicity.

Amongst others is the once popular legend of the Seven Sleepers, whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius and the Conquest of Africa by the Vandals. When the Emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern on the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave the orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of stones. The youths immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones to supply materials for some rustic edifice. The light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the seven sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought, of a few hours, they were pressed with the calls of hunger, and resolved that one of their number should secretly return to the city to purchase bread for their companions. The youth, if we may still apply the appellation, could no longer recognise

the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. The emperor's dress and obsolete language confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius, as a current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the discovery of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual surprise produced the amazing discovery that two centuries had elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of the Pagan tyrant. The Bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, it is said, the Emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers, who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired.

THE LEGEND OF ST. OSYTH.

St. Edburg and her sister Edith were two holy virgins, relatives of Fredwald or Frithwald, an East Anglian prince, who was "Lord of this Country." Aylesbury derived great fame from these holy maidens, who were said to have been born at Quarendon. There is great difficulty caused by their fame being confused with that of their more celebrated niece St. Osyth, and what is the more perplexing in the history of St. Edburg is that there are at least seven or eight English saints of the same name. There are St. Edburg of Winchester, St. Edburg of Kent, St. Edburg of Peterborough, St. Edburg of Gloucester, St. Edburg of Aylesbury, St. Edburg of Bicester, St. Edburg, daughter of King Edward the elder, and St. Edburg of Brosser. Accordingly many religious foundations claimed an interest in the works ascribed to St. Edburg, whom Kemble supposes to have been the object of veneration at Brosser, and Hamilton Jones, to whom a sanctorous fountain there was dedicated, as the same St. Edburg so renowned at Aylesbury. St. Edburg also gives the name to Ellesborough, at which village, according to Leland's account, St. Osyth was brought up by her aunt, St. Edburg. Speed confounds Osyth with Edith, and says Aylesbury was much frequented on account of her holiness, and that the town was allotted for her dowry; but that she bade the world adieu and her husband farewell in taking the veil of devotion, and in that fanatical age of saints became greatly renowned as far as to the working of miracles. Here probably St. Osyth is mistaken for her aunt; St. Edith became possessed of Aylesbury by the gift of her father, and she founded a nunnery there, of which she was probably the first superioress. St. Osyth's body having been removed shortly has led to the confusion between her and Edith. Speed is partly right only. Edith is the Aylesbury saint, but what Speed says about her marriage and vow of chastity refers to Osyth, as Edith was not married. Osyth was buried at Chich, Edith at Aylesbury, Edburg is said to have imparted her name to Ellesborough; it is conjectured that her remains were interred there, or subsequently translated thither. Others affirm that St. Edburg was buried at Quarendon. All legendary history must be accepted at its worth; the confusion in the history of the maiden aunts and their niece must still be left unravelled.

St. Osyth was a Saxon saint. There are several histories or notices of her life in the older books. There is one in the tract called "Purgatory proved by Miracles," another in Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints;" another was written by Alberic de Vere, a Canon of St. Osyth, at Chich, about the year 1160. Another is among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, and there is a short notice of her life in Leland's "Itinerary." All these histories give the main incidents of the saint's life, but they differ considerably in the dates and details. This is not surprising, for strict accuracy, either in chronology or fact, is not to be expected in the lives of the saints, more especially of the Saxon ones. The most voluminous life of St. Osyth is in Latin, in the "Nova Legenda Angliae," by Capgrave, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. There is another volume, also printed by De Worde in 1519, which contains a translation of most of the lives in the "Nova Legenda," but not that of St. Osyth.

According to these accounts St. Osyth was born at Quarendon. Capgrave's account of her is that she was the daughter of Frithwald, or Redwald, the first Christian king of the East Angles, and of Wilburga, his wife, daughter of Penda, King of the Mercians. She was, when very young, entrusted to the care of St. Modwen at Polesworth, in Warwickshire. Whilst there she was sent with a book from St. Eaditha, her aunt, to St. Modwen, when she fell off a bridge into a river and was drowned. She remained in the water three days, and was afterwards restored to life by the prayers of St. Modwen. St. Osyth, having returned to her parents, was betrothed by them to Sighere, King of Essex; but before the marriage was consummated she took the veil, and Sighere gave her the village of Chich, near Colchester, where a nunnery was built, of which she was abbess. A band of Danes, under Inguar and Hubba, landed in the neighbourhood of Chich, and ravaged the country. St. Osyth, being ordered to worship their gods, refused, and the leader of the Danes commanded her head to be cut off. This was done, upon which the saint took up her head in her hands, and proceeded to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, about half a mile away. Stopping at the door of the Church, which was closed, she struck it with her blood-stained hand and at the moment fell prostrate. On the spot where the saint suffered, a fountain forthwith gushed out, the waters of which were said to be a cure for all diseases. There is no reason to doubt the legend, which is confirmed by Essex tradition, that the scene of St. Osyth's martyrdom was in the Nun's Wood, and that the old fountain which still remains there, and takes its name from the murdered nun, is the stream which ran in the days of the Heptarchy, and is probably destined to flow on to the end of time.

The body of St. Osyth was at first buried in the Church of Chich, which was founded by her, but was soon removed by her father and mother to Aylesbury. Many miracles were performed at her shrine at Aylesbury. After 46 years, by miraculous interposition, the body was translated to Chich, and deposited in the Church there with great solemnity. In an account of the burial places of English saints, transcribed by

Hicks from an old Saxon MS., is the following :—"Next resteth St. Osith at Cice, near the see, in St. Peter's Minster." A long account of the miracles performed at the shrine of the saint or through her interposition is given in her life in the "Legenda."

The nunnery founded by St. Osyth is supposed to have been the most ancient monastic establishment in Essex. It was no doubt destroyed by the Danes at the time of St. Osyth's death, for no trace of it appears in the records extant before the Conquest or in Domesday Book. The Church founded at Chich by St. Osyth in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul was on the site of the Church now standing. A religious house of the order of the Maturines, or the Holy Trinity, appears to have been founded at Aylesbury in honour of St. Osyth, many years after her martyrdom. It was near where the Parsonage now stands, but it was not in existence at the dissolution of monasteries.

St. Osyth was held in great veneration. Matthew de Paris has a story how a certain husbandman named Thurcillus, who lived at Tidstude, a village in Essex, in the reign of King John, A.D. 1206, was taken into purgatory, hell, and paradise ; he saw St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Osyth.

In those days, says Aubrey, when people went to bed "they did rake up the fire, make a cross in the ashes, and pray to God and St. Sythe (Osyth) to deliver them from fire and from water, and from all misadventure." Size Lane, London, is so called from a Church of St. Sithe, which formerly stood in it. According to a local tradition, on one night in every year St. Osyth revisits the scene of her martyrdom, walking with her head in her hands. This legend probably gave rise to the sign of the "Good Woman" at Widford, in Essex, of whom it used to be said that she was the only good woman in that county. The following prayer to St. Osyth is preserved among the Cole MSS. in the British Museum. It is said to have been copied from a MS. of the time of Edward IV. :—"Sancte Osithe virginis et martyris tue, Dne quis supplicationibus tribue nos foveri ut cujus venabilem solemnitatem celebramus, ejus intercessionibus commendemur et meritis."

Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," gives this account of St. Osyth :—

"She was born at Quarrendon, and was daughter of Frewald, a Mercian prince, and niece to Eaditha, to whom belonged the town and manor of Ailesbury, where she was brought up with her pious aunt. Osith was married young, to a king of the East Angles ; but the same day obtained his consent to live always a virgin. That king, confirming her in her religious purpose, bestowed on her the manor of Chick, in which she built a monastery. She had governed this house many years with great sanctity, when she was crowned with martyrdom in the inroads of Hinguar and Hubba, the barbarous Danish leaders, being beheaded for her constancy in her faith and virtue, about the year 870 ; for fear of the Danish pirates her body, after some time, was removed to Ailesbury, and remained there forty-six years ; after which it was brought back to Chick or Chich, in Essex, near Colchester, which place was for some time called St. Osithe's, as Camden, takes notice."

St. Osyth is sculptured on one of the corbels on the north side of the nave of Thame Church ; there was a special office for her in Lincoln missal, and she was

likewise invoked in the Litany of the Saints of the Lincoln use or rite. Richard de Beames, Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1108, built a religious house of regular canons of St. Augustine at Chich, in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Osyth, and caused the arms of St. Osyth to be translated to that Church with great solemnity, in the presence of William de Corboil, the first prior of the house, and other Bishops, remitting 20 days' penance to all that came to worship, and relaxing every year seven days' penance to all who should devoutly come thither to celebrate her festival, which was held on the 7th of October in each year.

William de Corboil was born at Corboil, a town in Normandy. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1123. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he was a canon, not a prior, of St. Osyth. The priory was rebuilt in 1118 for canons of the Augustine order.

St. Osyth, like most other saints, had her "holy well," which Leland describes as being "at Querendune, betwyxte Æilesbury and Querendune, a good myle from Æilesbyry." Unfortunately no such well can now be traced in the immediate neighbourhood of or between Aylesbury and Quarendon.* If, however, we substitute Bierton for Aylesbury, which village has long been and still is associated with Quarendon, there would be a greater probability of discovering St. Osyth's well. Between these places there is, at Dunsham Farm-house, a remarkable spring or fountain. It gushes out of higher ground into the garden, and, after passing through the dairy, wanders into the Thame stream. It is the kind of spring to have excited admiration and reverence in superstitious days, and would consequently be reverenced, blessed, and endowed with miraculous healing powers. Its supply of water is unceasing, it never having been known to fail, and has doubtless performed its duties from the days of St. Osyth. This may have been the saint's well at which such marvellous cures of diseases were said to have been effected through the sanctity of its patron. Within one other "good myle" is another ancient well; the one near the Church at Bierton, which in its day has probably been owned by some saint and duly honoured; indeed, it has been claimed as the original well of St. Osyth, but nothing exists to identify it with her or any other saint, nor is anything definitely known of its history. There is another beautiful spring at St. Edburg's own village of Ellesborough, which has given an unceasing supply from time immemorial. St. Edburg also had her holy well at Bicester; it was near King's End, and until the restraint of well worship, by the order of a Council, in the time of Edgar, was frequented by great multitudes of lame and blind persons, who brought to it votive offerings. Kennett says:—"St. Edburg's well, by long neglect, was stopt up, 'till in the year 1666, being a dry summer, by the advice and care of Mr. John Coker, of Bicester, Gent., the head of it was opened and cleans'd, at which time it gave such a suddain and great supply of water, that had the old adorers now lived this should have been esteem'd another miracle."

* Variously spelt Querendune, Querdone, Quarndon, Quarendon, Quarrendon.

St. Rumbald's holy well was at Buckingham, and the memory of that infant saint is perpetuated there in the names of Well Street and St. Rumbald's Lane. The well of Sir John Schorne is still existing at North Marston; there were several ancient wells in London, the names of which still remain. The well of Sir John Schorne was supposed to be a specific for the "agow" (ague), and its miraculous cures attracted such numbers of invalids that houses had to be built near it for their accommodation; a guide post once stood on the Oving road, directing travellers and invalids to Sir John Schorne's well.

Notwithstanding their sanctity, these wells were not so efficacious in curing diseases as the royal touch was, as is shewn in the case of one Wulwin, a Saxon, son of Wulmar of Nutegarshall (Ludgershall), who, after hard labouring in cutting down fuel in the wood at Brill, fell into a sleep, and by a settlement of blood in his eyes lost his sight for seventeen years; and then upon the strength of a dream he went round to eighty-seven churches to beg relief from their respective saints, and at last came blind to the King's Court at Windsor, where he was immediately cured by a touch of the King's hand.

Various rites were performed at these wells, particularly on Holy Thursday, such as decorating them with boughs of trees, garlands of tulips, and other flowers in various devices. In some places it was the custom, after prayers for the day, at church, for the clergyman and singers to play and sing psalms at the wells. Well worship was a Romish custom. In the antiquities of the Ancient Rome, *Fontinalia* was a religious feast, celebrated on the 13th of October, in honour of the nymphs of wells and fountains. The ceremony consisted in throwing nosegays into the fountains and putting crowns of flowers upon the wells. Our British topography abounds with accounts of holy wells, or such as had assigned them, by ancient superstition, most extraordinary properties. Sick persons were forewarned; if in dipping a garment into the water it swam, they would recover; if it sank death was looked for. Distempers of all kinds were cured on the festival of the saint whose name the well bore; for the cure of sore eyes the waters were supposed to be infallible. To show the gratitude to the saint, and that he might be propitious to continue the virtues of the waters, some oblation was required to be put into the wells, presents not indeed of any great value, or such as could have been of the least service to the saint if he had stood in need, but such as the visitors conceived the good and merciful apostle, who did not delight in costly oblations, could not fail to accept. Visitors to these wells did not escape the attacks of the satirist; they, amongst other works, are burlesqued in the "Irish Hudibras":—

> Have you beheld—when people pray
> At St. John's well on patron's day,
> By charms of priest and miracle
> To cure diseases at this well,
> The valley's filled with blind and lame,
> Who *go* as limping as they *came*!

Bartolomeus Clanville relates the legend of Radulphus Ruebairn amongst the many superstitions that were current among the monks. This may be thought

extravagant, even for that period, but it is nothing in comparison with some of the stories related by Matthew Paris:* as for instance, that of the monk, who was entranced by the melody of a strange bird, and slept for a period of three hundred years, and, on his waking, found things much altered (as well he might) from what they appeared to him but as yesterday, and the story of the knight who descended into purgatory, and restored the soul of a loved one.

THE LEGEND OF RADULPHUS RUEBAIRN.

There came to pass a circumstance of so remarkable a nature at the good and holy town Ægliesburie (Aylesbury), in the monastery of that place, that I cannot forbear to make mention of it. It seems that one of the holy brothers, by name Radulphus Ruebairn, had obtained some of the holy writings, and being thereat filled with joy, he retired to one of the unoccupied cells of the monastery, that he might without interruption read them the more carefully; so, shutting himself in, he set his lamp in a niche of the wall and sat himself down to peruse them, but they being very long and written in an almost illegible hand, he went on very slowly, and was so deeply interested in the contents, that he soon became unconscious of aught around him, or where he was, or anything of this world. He continued reading without interruption till he came to the end, not thinking of, or regarding any single thing. But when he turned his eyes off the holy writings, he felt a dizziness of the head and found himself in utter darkness. He did not remember where he was or how long he had been there, nor could he see anything whatever; so, groping about with his hands for a long time, he at length found the door, and, unfastening it, he advanced into the monastery (remembering by this time where he had been, but not knowing how long), when one of the holy brotherhood, meeting him, started back and, seeming very much frightened, exclaimed, "Father Radulphus is restored again;" but he, Radulphus, not understanding the meaning of these words, attempted to lay hands on the monk, but he eluded him, and hastened into the body of the monastery, where, declaring that he had seen the holy brother Radulphus, the whole of the fathers came in a body to meet him. But when they saw him they appeared very much terrified, but after he had spoken, they at length had courage to approach him, and were filled with joy at his return; not knowing, they asked him to relate where he had been, which he did. It appeared that he had been in the cell three days and nights so intent on the sacred writings that he had not felt the necessary calls of nature, and that his lamp could only have given light for four and twenty hours, so that he must have read two days without any light of this world. But he now began to feel the necessities of nature very strongly; he was taken to the refectory and regaled himself after so long a fast. This made a great noise at the time, nor is it likely that the story of Radulphus, and of his being shut up without food or drink for three days, will be soon forgotten in the neighbourhood.

* He was a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, a mathematician, poet, divine, historian; a man of rare accomplishments; he died 1259.

The following legends of Ulfric and Whyteforde are from Matthew Paris:—

THE LEGEND OF ULFRIC, THE ANCHORITE.

In the year 1190 at Aylesbury, the blessed and solitary anchorite, Ulfric, departed to the Lord, having for twenty-nine years contended with the enemies of the human race, and gained a final victory. The blessed man, Ulfric, sprung from Saxon parentage of the middle rank, was born at Compton, a village eight miles distant from Bristol, and there brought up and educated, and for some years he exercised there the office of priest, which he is supposed to have taken upon him in his youth, rather from want of reflection than from any worthy motive, inasmuch as he yet knew not God, but was guided rather by the flesh than by the spirit. For as he was very fond of hunting and hawking, while, once on a time, he was sedulously carrying his diversion in this sort, on a sudden a man approached him, having the countenance and appearance of a beggar, who entreated him for some of the new coin by way of alms. (At that time, to wit, in the days of Henry I., certain new money had lately been coined, but which was yet rare by reason of its recent issue.) Ulfric answered him by saying that he knew not that he had any of the new coin about him; whereupon the stranger replied, "Look into thy purse, and there thou will find two pieces and a half." Astonished at this answer, he looked, and there finding what had been told him, he piously gave what was required. But when the man had received the alms, he said, "Let him repay thee for whose love thou hast done this. And in his name I declare to thee, that in a short time thou shalt pass from this place to another, and thence retiring elsewhere, thou shalt at length find rest; and so persevering to the last in the service of God, thou shalt after a season be admitted into the company of the saints." After this, for a short time, he attached himself, like a poor priest, to William, the Lord of the village in which he was born, and ate his daily bread at his table. There, also, girding his loins with strength, he completely renounced the use of flesh for food; but as with all his heart he ever wished for solitude, the holy man at length departed from the house of his lord, the knight aforesaid, and went to another town, by name Haselbergam (Aylesbury), which is thirty miles to the eastward of Oxford, being led thither, as is believed, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and there, in a cell of the neighbouring church, he prepared himself for Christ, with much labour and great mortification both of flesh and spirit. For he so wasted his limbs while above ground, with fasting and abstinence, that in a short time, his skin just hanging from his bones, he showed no longer as one of flesh, but rather as a spiritual being clad in the semblance of a human body. He was content, by way of clothing, with a single vest of hair cloth, made close to his skin, which when he had worn till by usage it had ceased to be irksome to him, he then began to affect the use of a cuirass; which his lord (the knight aforesaid) hearing of, sent this man of God his own cuirass, by way of present, thus consecrating the instrument of mortal strife to the purposes of celestial warfare. In the night time he was wont to plunge himself naked into a tub of cold water, and while there to sing the Psalms of David unto the Lord, thus, by habitual practice, mortifying the lusts of the flesh, to

which he was grievously subject. He was humble towards all men in his discourse, and his speeches savoured of somewhat like celestial harmony to his hearers, although he never spoke to men except through a closed window. At length Ulfric, the man of God, who had hitherto been known to Him alone, came to the knowledge of men suddenly for their salvation.

In the northern parts of England there was a certain miserable wretch, who, not being able to bear the misfortune of poverty, had made a compact with the devil and paid homage to him. But when his time was nearly expired, the unfortunate man began to repent, and look around him to consider to what patron he should commit himself who might free him from the death of his soul. At length he determined to go to the holy man of God, Ulfric, in whose hands salvation was said to be, and, having passed a long space of country, he came to the ford of that river which is beyond Aylesbury, the Lord prospering his journey; but when he had entered the ford, and had conceived certain hopes of the approach of the holy man, Ulfric, the devil came on him burning with great wrath, and, laying violent hands on the man, roared out and said, "How is this, traitor? What wouldst thou do? Thou attemptest to destroy our compact but in vain, for thou shalt pay the penalty of that treachery with which thou formerly didst renounce God; and now thou wouldst renounce me; for thou shalt immediately be drowned without mercy." And Satan, holding him fast, made him immoveable, so that he could neither proceed nor turn to either side. Whilst these things were happening the man of God, Ulfric, called Bithric, his vicar (presbyter), to him and said, "Hasten, and with the crucifix and holy water run to the assistance of the man whom the devil holds captive in the ford beyond the village, and, sprinkling him with the holy water, bring him to me." Whereupon, he hastening to the spot as he was commanded, found the thing to be even as had been told him, the man sitting on his horse in the ford, and so immoveably fixed in the water that he could not stir from the place; whom, when Bithric saw, sprinkling him with the holy water, with the power of his master in the name of Jesus Christ, he drove off the robber and saved his prey, and led him joyfully to the man of God, who, sprinkling holy water in his face, made him vomit up the poison which the devil had instilled into him; and having thus saved his soul from destruction, he sent him away in peace. This holy friend of God, Ulfric, died on the 10th of March, 1190, and was buried in his oratory, at Aylesbury, in which place, to the praise of God and glory of the saint, innumerable miracles are performed to this day (1250).

THE LEGEND OF WALTER DE WHYTEFORDE.

About the year 1240 Walter de Whyteforde, the Superior of the monastery of Grey Friars, at the holy town of Haselbergam (Aylesbury), being full of years, yielded up his soul to his Maker. His father, Geoffrey de Whyteforde, was lord of a little village a few miles to the south of the town, who departing from this life when Walter was in his infancy, he was left to his own free-will and discretion at a very early age. He was a

youth of very strong passions, and grew up to manhood without either the fear of God or man ; living in his native mountains, he was the lord and tyrant of all he saw, running into all kinds of licentiousness, insomuch that ere he had hardly arrived at man's estate he had brought on him the failings of old age. Happening to lose his way one day in the course of his favourite diversion, hunting, he wandered about till darkness came upon him, when, seeing the glimmer of lights at no great distance, he made up to the place from whence they proceeded, which was a convent of nuns a few miles distant from Oxenford ; so going to the porter's gate, he craved admittance for the night as a knight who had lost his way. The nuns being at that hour engaged at vespers, Walter, being prompted by the devil, determined to steal upon the privacy of these holy women ; he passed into the chapel, where, secreting himself, he saw the beautiful daughter of the Lord of Haselbergam (by name William de Bryssett),* who in a short time was going to take the veil, and to devote her future years to the service of the Virgin. [Geoffrey de Whyteforde (Walter's father) and William de Bryssett had been friends in their youth, but love, the cause of all mischief below Heaven, had separated two as worthy men as ever drew breath, and from that time henceforth William de Bryssett had entertained the most deadly hatred against Geoffrey de Whyteforde and all his race.] Her singular beauty and matchless form so struck Walter (who had seen her before) that he vowed to himself to forsake all his former ways and live for her alone. So having returned to his room before the service was finished, he prepared himself for rest, and after he had risen the next morning, he sent a message to the Lady Abbess, saying that he came from the Lord of Haselbergam, and had an important message to deliver to his daughter, who was a noviciate at the convent; he was shown into her presence, when, being alone with her, he threw himself on his knees before her, and declared his love in the most importunate manner, but of no avail, she telling him she had made up her mind to spend the remainder of her days in the service of religion, and was going to take the veil in a short time. So Walter, seeing he could not prevail by fair means, determined (the devil who had such a strong hold upon his soul setting him on) to accomplish his purpose by foul means. He told her, his purpose in coming was to bring a message from her father, saying that her mother was at the point of death, and desired she would lose no time in coming to see her before she expired, and that the bearer of the message was to conduct her to the town. But she, knowing him, did not believe it, and went away, leaving him a prey to all the feelings of disappointed love and rage ; he cursed the hour in which he was born, and was preparing to make away with himself, when, the Lady Abbess appearing, he dissembled and went his way. But suddenly, he was struck by the hand of God with a violent disease for a long time. When recovering, he vowed to dedicate a monastery to the service of God, and founded the one at Haselbergam, and endowed it with his whole riches, and lived henceforth in the service of God.

* He is sometimes called William d'Aylesbury ; he died in 1278.

Chapter IX.—ANCIENT HOSPITALS, ORDERS, FRATERNITIES, CHANTRIES, &c.

The order of Trinitarians—The Hospitals of St. Leonard and St. John—their founders—objects—their lands—their decay—their properties confiscated—made over by the King to private persons—The fraternity, or brotherhood, or chantry—Chantries—chantry clerks—their small incomes—The Foundling Hospital—origin of the parent establishment in London—the Aylesbury Branch—Wilkes's connection with it—Wilkes's letters on the subject—its situation—Wilkes's management of it.

THE ORDER OF TRINITARIANS OR MATURINES.

THE order of Trinitarians (also called Maturines), for the redemption of captives, was instituted by St. John de Matha and Felix de Valois of France, about 1197, of the rule of St. Austin, with some peculiarities. They wore, by order of Pope Innocent III., white robes, with red and blue cross on the breast. Their revenues were to be divided into three parts; one for their own maintenance, one to relieve the poor, and the third to redeem Christians out of the hands of the infidels. All their churches were dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and, being brought into England in 1224, the lands, &c., of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were, upon the decay of that order, given to these monks. It is said there were eleven houses of this order in England, and that the House at Aylesbury was founded in honour of St. Osyth, whose martyrdom had taken place more than three centuries anterior to the establishment of the order in England. Amongst their regulations, one forbade them to ride on horseback, but they might occasionally use asses. Wine in moderation was permitted. They were to sleep in woollen tunics, observe fasts, and also many particular regulations respecting diet, with occasional permission to eat meat on certain feasts, but only in their own houses. Everyone was to be employed, and strict silence to be maintained in the church, refectory, and dormitory. The priests were to observe the rule of St. Victor, in regard to their hair; but the laity might allow their beards to grow moderately. Leland mentions that there was, as some say, "a nunnery or other house of religion at Ailesbure, wher as the personage yes now,* and record yet remaynith, that this house should be of the Maturines, *alias fratris ordinis Sanctæ Trinitatis*, of like sect to the fryers of Tykehill and Hundeslowe."

* It is conjectured that a religious house or hospital once occupied the present site of Hickman's Almshouses and the adjoining properties on either side.

Ancient hospitals were houses for the relief of poor and impotent persons, and were generally incorporated by royal patents and made capable of gifts and grants in succession. They were so called from the mediæval *hospitia*, or more properly the class of hospitals established very generally for the reception and relief of lepers, whose malady was one of the scourges of Europe. These leper hospitals were very commonly in England called "Spitals," hence the frequency of such names of places as Spital, Spitalfields; the name still survives in Aylesbury in the Spital Mill, the water mill at the Hartwell end of the town. The leper hospitals and other kind of old hospitia disappeared with the improvement of society, and substitutes for them on a broader scale began to be established in the modern form of hospitals.

THE HOSPITALS OF ST. LEONARD AND ST. JOHN.

Testimonies state that the hospitals of St. Leonard and St. John at Aillesbur, with their possessions one and all, were founded by Robert Hale, Robert atte Hyde, William Fitz-Robert, and John Paltok, of Aillesbur, by the sanction and confirmation of King Henry I. and King Henry II., with lands and tenements, under statutes of the reigns of the same kings, as appears by an inquisition taken in 1360, "to sustain infirm lepers and other destitute persons of Aylesbury above-named; and that the above-named men of Aillesbur, and their heirs, by the assent and confirmation of the aforesaid kings, ought to choose and present fit masters at their discretion, for the care of the above-named hospitals, and all the works of the above-named charity to be done. Which same hospitals for eleven years have not been sustained; yea, they are neglected and plundered, and the above-named works of charity are entirely annulled, and their possessions are in the hands and converted to the use of laymen. And which above-named lands and tenements of the above-named hospital of St. John conceded are worth yearly, from all resources, 33s. 4d. and the above-named lands and tenements of the above-named hospital of St. Leonard conceded are worth yearly, from all sources, 20s."

"Testimonies state that the hospital of St. John, of Ailesburi, was founded by Robert Hale, William Fitz-Robert, William atte Hyde, John Paltok, and other inhabitants of the town of Ailesburi, and this long before time of memory, with one messuage, 21 acres of land, four acres of meadow, of about the true worth of 34s. a year. And it was not founded by the lord the king, nor by his ancestors. And it is said that the same hospital was founded to sustain the infirm and indigent of that town. At an inquisition held in 1361, the juries returned that the hospital of St. Leonard at Ailesburi was founded from one messuage, 14 acres of land, and two acres of meadow in the said town and in Hartwell, by Sampson Fitz-William, Reg. Wanney, William Fitz-Alday, and others of the aforesaid town of Ailesburi, to sustain the lepers and destitute of the said town. And it is stated that it was not founded by the lord, the king, nor his ancestors; and the said hospital is worth yearly 20s. And it is said the Lady Eleanor, Countess Ormond, governor of the said town, presented to the said hospital John d'Adyngrave, John Synkere, and another. And it said that 16 acres of

meadow in Stoke and Weston are appointed to the said hospital of St. John, and three acres of land, and two acres of meadow in Hartwell are appointed to the hospital of St. Leonard, the same being given at the first foundation, and not after the publication of the statute declaring lands and tenements placed in mortmain."*

THE FRATERNITY OF THE TOWN OF AYLESBURY.

This brotherhood is sometimes called a chantry, and was founded in the reign of Henry VI., by John Singleton, and John Baldwyn, inhabitants of Ailesburi, under a license dated 10th December, 3rd Henry VI., and being dissolved on the abolition of chantries in 1545, their estates passed to the Crown. The lands of the chantry at Ailesburi were returned as being of the clear annual value of £23 14s. 9d. William Bell and Robert Ellys, clerks, incumbents, who received stipends of £6 13s. 4d. each per annum, but had no other living. The site of the building is pointed out in a subsequent grant in 1549, but, as in the case of the Trinitarians, it cannot now be identified. The whole of the consideration money paid was £823 6s. 9d. for a messuage or tenement called the Brother-house in Ailesburi, next the Churchyard, parcel of the possessions of the late guild or fraternity of Ailesburi, also a cottage there adjoining; a meadow called Castle Mead, with its appurtenances, in the occupation of Robert Woodleff, parcel of the same guild, to hold of the King by fealty† only, in free soccage, not in capite, by Edward Warner and John Gosnold, their heirs and assigns for ever, as of the Honour of Eye, in the county of Suffolk. The King also granted in the same year for a valuable consideration to Sylvester Taverner, his heirs and assigns, one close with its appurtenances in the occupation of the heirs of Christopher Hall, in the end of the town of Ailesburi, parcel of the lands of the Fraternity of Ailesburi, to hold in free soccage, not in capite, with other land in Bierton of the same Fraternity. The King also granted to Thomas Reeve and George Wotton, of London, gent., a messuage or tenement in Walton, in the occupation of Agnes Swift, late belonging to the Fraternity of Ailesburi, to hold the same in capite. And likewise to John Wright and Thomas Holmes, of London, gent., lands, meadows, pastures, and hereditaments, in the occupation of Hugh Harris, in Ailesburi, part of the possession of the same brotherhood, being parcel of the Hundred of Ailesburi; as also lands in Rowesham, in Wingrave, in the occupation of Sir Anthony Lee, Knt., late belonging to the Fraternity, and formerly to the Chantry of St. John in Ailesburi, and in the occupation of Richard Foyes.

The term chantry is applied alike to endowments or benefices, to provide for the chanting of masses, and to the chapels in which the chanting took

* Mortmain.—This is where lands are given to some spiritual person or corporation and to their successors; and because the lands were never to revert to the donor or his heirs, and by that means the services and other profits due for the same were extinct, therefore it was called a gift *mortua manu*. Gifts of land in mortmain could not be made without the King's license and that of the lord of the manor to which such land was attached.

† A grant made, when the only requirement was taking the oath of fidelity to the King; lands held in free soccage were subject to certain and honourable service only, not menial.

place. These endowments were commonly made in the form of testamentary bequests, the object being to insure the erection of a chapel near, or over the spot where the testator was buried, and to remunerate the priests for saying masses in it for the benefit of his soul or the souls of others named in his will. Many such chantry chapels are still to be seen in parish churches, but they were more common in abbeys and monastic establishments, in which it was considered a privilege to be buried, and where some such offering to the brotherhood was in a measure the price of the sepulture. These chapels, which have generally the tomb of the founder in the middle of them, are separated from the aisles or nave of the church by open screen work, a circumstance which has often led to their being called chancels. Sometimes, again, they are separate erections, projecting from the church externally; but in cathedrals and the larger churches they are generally constructed within the church, often between the piers. The term does not necessarily infer a distinct building, or indeed any building in conjunction with the endowment. Mention is made of forty-seven chantries belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Many chantries were lavishly enriched with sculpture and tracery of all descriptions, and some of them were adorned with gilding and painting. Chantries had their origin in England during the 13th century. There were many in England before the dissolution; anyone might build and endow a chantry without the leave of the bishop; but in later times none could be built without the King's licence. In the last year of his reign, King Henry VIII. seized on many chantries, and converted their revenues to his own use, and five years later Edward VI., his son, laid his hands on the remainder. They were altogether abolished in the year 1545.

THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

Between 1760 and 1770 several entries of burials appear in the parish register of children "from the Foundling, in this parish;" there is also an entry of the death of Elizabeth Dancer, the mistress of that establishment. The register is almost the only record of the existence of this hospital. The result of enquiry respecting it is that the establishment was located on the premises in the Crofts, in Walton, now the residence of Thomas Parrott, Esq., and that the property was purchased of a Mr. Lowndes for the purposes of the hospital. This hospital was an offshoot of the London Foundling, in which Captain Coram took such great interest. The Aylesbury Branch must have been a considerable establishment as it opened with one hundred inmates, and arrangements were made for double that number. Captain Coram, the originator of the parent establishment, was a nautical man: in his journeys between Rotherhithe and London, he was frequently much distressed by meeting with cases of infants being left exposed in the streets and utterly abandoned by their parents. For seventeen years he spent most of his time in advocating a home for foundlings, and eventually succeeded in his object. The Governors of the Foundling Hospital commenced their labours in a house in Covent Garden, London, and were soon overwhelmed with infants. The fame of the charity spread far and wide, and infants were consigned to the establishment

from all parts of London and the country. These little innocents were taken less care of in transit than so many pigs or fowls. One country waggoner undertook to convey eight infants to the hospital, and on arriving there, seven of them were found to be dead. Another, having five in a basket, got drunk on his journey, and three of his charge were found suffocated. Another wretch deposited an infant in a pond instead of the hospital; a horseman being stopped and searched, two infants were found in his saddle-bags; he had undertaken to deposit them at the door of the Foundling Hospital, for which service he had been paid eight guineas. In 1754 the Governors removed to their present establishment in Guilford Street, at which time they were supporting 600 children at an expense of five times the amount of their income. In their distress they applied to Parliament for aid, and were voted £10,000, but were plunged into further difficulties by being compelled by the conditions of the Parliamentary grant to receive all infants that might be brought to them.

When any notice was given of vacancies in the Foundling, ten times the number of applications were made than could be received; a crush for precedence ensued ending in riots. A ballot was consequently instituted; the children of those who drew white balls were admitted at once, black had to return unsuccessful, whilst red remained for another chance in the lottery. One day as many as 117 infants were left in the basket at the door of the establishment; women stood at the gate, stripped their infants naked, popped them into the basket, rang the bell, and went off. In one year 3,296 infants were received; the next year, 4,025; again, 4,229; and in ten months of the fourth year, 3,324. Out of this total of 14,874, it is scarcely surprising, however horrible, to learn that only 4,000 lived to be apprenticed—a mortality of 70 per cent. In 1760 Parliament revoked the order for indiscriminate admission. The original Parliamentary aid was also accompanied by an obligation on the part of the Governors to open country branches. It was under this arrangement that a branch was opened at Aylesbury. John Wilkes interested himself in the movement, and it is in his correspondence with Mr. Dell that an insight is obtained into the affairs of the hospital at the Aylesbury branch establishment. In 1759, Mr. Dell received the following letter from Wilkes on the subject:—

"Great George Street, May 8th, 1759.

"Dear Dell,— . . . Our wings are clipped as to the first reception of children in the different counties, but my scheme for Aylesbury goes on just the same as I first proposed it; the writings are making and the money ordered. . . .

"Dear Dell,

"Yours affectionately,

"JOHN WILKES."

Again Wilkes writes:—

"Great George Street, May 15th, 1759.

"Dear Dell,—I congratulate you on being elected a Governor of the Foundling Hospital, and of our Buckinghamshire Committee. Our purchase of Mr. Lowndes will be finished this week. I shall be at Aylesbury the 2nd June, and Mr. Lowndes comes to me for some days in Whitsun-week to settle everything relating to the building or

repairs, which we shall get finished as soon as possible. Mr. Hill is chose a Governor. Our Committee meet on the 9th June, and we shall then settle everything for the workmen immediately to proceed. We mean directly to have 100 children under our care.

"Dear Dell,
"Your affectionate friend,
"JOHN WILKES."

A third letter on the same subject follows:—

"Great George Street, Oct. 11, 1759.

"Dear Dell,—. . . . As to the Foundling Hospital, I have sent Bob Neale money for Dancer's weekly expenses, and shall supply him from time to time. I hope very soon to get money from the Hospital to discharge all the tradesmen's bills. I wish you to take a greater lead there than you do at present. I see else the power necessarily following the distribution of money will be in hands I do not desire to see it in. I trust that before Midsummer the number of children will be more than doubled by fitting up the barn. I can never myself attend to it, but I have set the machine going; you may keep it in the right track.

"Believe me,
"Very much yours,
"JOHN WILKES."

Wilkes' connection with the Hospital brought him into great discredit. It is charged against him that he obtained the necessary funds from the authorities for the current expenses of the establishment but did not pay the claims of the tradespeople for goods supplied. From his last letter he appears to have had a difficulty in obtaining the requisite amount; it is certain the tradesmen's bills were not paid at the time when Wilkes left hastily for Paris. In 1769 a society of "Supporters of the Bill of Rights" undertook the arrangement of Wilkes' pecuniary affairs. This Society paid debts to the amount of £1,700, and compounded for a similar sum, by which all his debts were cleared off, excepting about £200 due to the Foundling Hospital. Wilkes' own account of the affair was, that the treasury of the Hospital issued the money every quarter, but the Aylesbury tradespeople did not call for it, so that it was lost to them by their own carelessness. When Wilkes went abroad all his private affairs were placed in the hands of a Mr. Coates. Coates subsequently became bankrupt; thus Wilkes' matters fell into confusion, and whether the Aylesbury tradespeople were ever paid their claims on the Hospital is not known.

Nothing remains about the house and premises in the Crofts to identify them with the Foundling Hospital; indeed the house has been rebuilt since its occupation as a hospital, and again much altered within the last few years; no marks of the fitting up of the barn can be traced. In the boundary wall facing the Crofts are the remains of an ancient gateway, now closed, the brickwork of which must have been highly ornamental; the pilasters bear the date of 1674.

From a statement published relative to the parent hospital and its branches, it is

shown that from the 25th March, 1741, to the 31st December, 1759, the total number of children received was 14,994—

Of which were claimed and returned to their parents		75
Boys apprenticed to sea service and husbandry		87
Girls apprenticed out		74
Alive in the country	5929	
Hospital at London	155	
„ Ackworth	113	6293
„ Shrewsbury	56	
„ Aylesbury	40	
Died to the 31st December, 1759		8465!
Total		14,994

This return being published so soon after the opening of the Aylesbury Branch, it is probable that that division of the establishment was not in complete working order, which is apparent from Wilkes' last letter to Mr. Dell.

A different system in the management of the parent establishment has long existed. According to the last report the average number on the books of the hospital in 1881 was 499, of whom 347 were maintained in the hospital, and 141 in the country. The whole of the expenditure in town and country amounted to £12,904 9s. 4d., and deducting from this the cost of maintaining two adults £30, and the expenses on account of apprentices, £682 12s. 3d., the result is £12,183 17s. 1d., which, divided by the average number of children on the books in 1881, viz., 488, gives an average cost per head of £24 19s. 4d. Forty-eight infants were received during the year 1881. Not a single death occurred in the hospital in this period, and only nine in the country, comprising six children in the first and three in the second year of their age.

Chapter X.—EARLY PARLIAMENTS.

Origin of Parliaments—first British Parliament—Parliament at Oxford in 1213—*Knights summoned, but no burgesses—Burgesses summoned in* 1264—*Bucks returns Knights in* 1290 *to a Parliament at Northampton—Amersham, Wycombe, and Wendover send Burgesses in* 1300—*in* 1304 *Wycombe and Marlow only send—in* 1533 *Buckingham sends—returns very irregular—none made from Aylesbury.*

THE Parliament of Great Britain is the grand assembly of the spiritualty and temporalty, summoned to meet by the Sovereign's authority, to consider of matters relative to the public welfare, to levy taxes and make and repeal laws. The original institution of the great Council of the Kingdom is one of those matters which lie so far hidden in the mists of antiquity that to trace it to its source would be a task as difficult as its results would be unsatisfactory.

The germ of the first British Parliament may be traced in the "*Kyfr-y-then*"—*the assembly of the Thanes.* It was not, however, until England became divided into counties that the blessings of a domestic government were thoroughly enjoyed. History informs us that in the kingdoms of the Heptarchy there was a general council held, whose consent was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration ; the preambles of all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor, even those to the laws of Canute, put this matter beyond controversy, and give proofs in abundance that the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy was not only elective but also strictly limited. The political institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were extremely primitive and homely in their character. Local self government, which is still the distinguishing feature of England and the safeguard of our liberties, was the foundation of all their civil organisations. In the first and lowest place there was the Court of Sac and Soc, or Hall-Mote, the assemblage of the Lord and his free tenants for the regulation of the affairs of each principal estate ; then came the Burgh-Mote, Folk-Mote, or Town Council, over which the Borough-Reeve presided. Next in extent of jurisdiction was the Hundred-Mote, forming the stepping-stone through the Trything to the Shire-Mote, under the Shire-Reeve, whom we now call the Sheriff. Including and combining all these little republics was the Witena-Gemote, or assembly of wise men, under the King, for the whole country, occupying the place of our Parliament, which took cognizance of all matter relating to "the common safety, of peace, of war, and of promoting the public profit."

Six centuries elapsed between the English settlement and the Norman conquest in the year 1066. Upon the conquest of England by the Normans, the government of the Saxons was transferred to them. When William had thoroughly reduced the Kingdom he extended and consolidated the feudal system, which had already been introduced among the English. The majority of the English freeholders were dispossessed of their land, which were bestowed upon the Normans; and, in lieu of the Witena Gemote, William substituted a council of his own barons, introducing at the same time the language, laws, and customs of Normandy. The supreme legislative power of England, under the feudal parliament, was lodged in the King and Great Council of the nation, which met at least three times a year. In the course of a century and a half, the Norman barons gradually became more and more identified with the English, whilst many of the latter, by their industry, acquired sufficient wealth and consideration to justify their claim to take an active share in the government of the Kingdom. The influence of the English at last became so powerful that, when the Norman barons obtained from King John that great boon of liberty, "Magna Charta," which secured very important liberties and privileges to all orders of men in the Kingdom, they simply re-enacted the Charter of Henry I., founded upon the laws of Alfred and Edward. King John died the year following this great event, and Henry III. succeeded. The powers of the Parliament were indeed for some time vague and unsettled, and its organization still extremely imperfect; but in the reign of Henry III. the English government began to be conducted with greater regularity, and our constitution assumed a more definite form.

In 1213 a Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford; writs were addressed to all the Sheriffs, requiring them each to send all the knights of their Bailiwicks in arms, and also four knights from their counties; but no burgesses were summoned. The returns to these writs cannot be found. In 1226 writs were issued to particular counties only, summoning a Parliament to meet at Lincoln. The county of Bucks was included in these writs, but the returns are missing. In 1254 every Sheriff was required to send two knights from each county to meet at Westminster; these returns are also missing. In 1261 three knights from each county were summoned to meet at St. Alban's, but no returns are to be found of those attending. In the year 1264 writs were issued for summoning knights of counties, citizens, and burgesses to meet in Parliament in London. No returns relating to this assembly can be found, but it appears to have been the first complete Parliament, consisting of elected knights, citizens, and burgesses. In 1275, Edward I. held a Parliament at Westminster, comprised of Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, Barons, and *Commons*, wherein were made many excellent laws called "Westminster the First." With the exception of the county of Kent, no returns to this Parliament are to be found. In 1282, a Parliament was called to meet at Northampton of four knights from each county and two men from each city, borough, and market town; this sitting appears to have been divided, a Parliament also having been

held at York for those counties north of the Trent. No returns to this Parliament exist. Parliaments assembled in 1283 at Shrewsbury, and in 1290 at Westminster; at the latter, two or three knights were to be sent from each county. In this Parliament is recorded the first return for Buckinghamshire; but one writ is made to serve for the counties of Bucks and Bedford, the names of four knights being recorded on the back of the writ, without specifying which counties they represented. It may, however, be assumed that the knights returned for Bucks were Willielmus de Turveyll and Johannes de Patishull. In 1294, Edward I. summoned a Parliament of two knights, but by a second writ four knights were to be sent from each county to meet at Westminster.

In 1295, the King had been obliged to exact no less than a sixth part of the value of all the movables of the laity and one half from the clergy, for his war purposes, and he had recourse to the project of summoning the representatives of all the then existing boroughs to Parliament, not venturing to tax the traders and lower ranks of the people without their consent through their representatives. Writs were addressed to the Sheriffs, and they were directed to send representatives from every city and borough in their Bailiwick. At this period the sending of representatives was attended with trouble and expense to the electors, and the people, perceiving that no good was intended, declined returning representatives. The Sheriff of Buckinghamshire made this return to the writ—"There are no citizens nor burgesses in the county aforesaid, nor city nor burgh, for which cause I cannot make citizens or burgesses to come before you." The county of Bucks sent two knights, but no boroughs in Buckinghamshire sent representatives to this Parliament, the representatives for the county being Laurencius de Bluntesdene and Roger de Tyringham. In 1297 writs were issued for a return of knights only, no boroughs being called upon. In this Parliament Bucks sent Almaricus de Nodariis and Robertus Barry.

In 1298, Bucks county sent Johannes Chetwode and Laurencius de Bluntesdon. In the twenty-ninth year of the same reign (1300-1301) the Sheriff for Bucks returned to a Parliament, held at Lincoln, two burgesses each for Agmundesham, Wycombe, Wendover, and Marlow—all towns of less importance than Aylesbury, yet Aylesbury as a Parliamentary borough is still unheard of. At a Parliament called in the next year two knights were returned for Bucks and two burgesses for Wycombe, but none for Aylesbury, Agmundesham, Marlow, Wendover, or Buckingham Borough. In 1304 Wycombe and Marlow sent representatives, but no mention is made either of Aylesbury or Buckingham.

The Parliaments of Edward I. were the first in which the people at large were partially represented. Every householder in each district had the right of electing members, so that household suffrage and electoral districts would be but a return to the ancient rights of the people. Originally burgesses were chosen out of the *residents* in the borough; it was enacted in the first of Henry V. that all burgesses returned to

Parliament should be freemen actually resident in the burghs they represented. In 1306, Amersham, Marlow, and Wycombe continued to send burgesses, to which Wendover was added in 1307.

In the 2nd year of Edward II. (1309) the same boroughs continued to send two burgesses each, but nothing is heard of Aylesbury. In the sixth of Edward II. (1311,) the Sheriff of Bucks again returns—"There are no cities or burghs in the county of Buckingham, except the town of Wicombe." Wycombe, however, made no return to this Parliament, but again returned early in 1312 and 1313. In the subsequent Parliaments of 1314, 1315, and 1316, no returns are made from any Buckinghamshire boroughs, only knights for the county being sent. In 1318, at a Parliament held at York, Wycombe is returned as the only burgh in Buckinghamshire. At this period the return of members for burghs was very uncertain, but Wycombe made a good number of returns with far less omissions than other Buckinghamshire boroughs. In 1353, the borough of Buckingham made a return, but the names of the representatives cannot be traced.

In the 36th year of Edward III. (1362) it was enacted that a Parliament should be held every year; it was then customary, if the Parliament was not quite full at the first meeting, to adjourn for a day or two, till the absent members came in; the members were frequently called over by name, and such as were absent without leave were fined and reprimanded. In 1371, Bucks county only sent one knight, instead of two as heretofore. Wycombe also sent but one burgess, none others appearing from the county or boroughs. This Parliament, or, properly speaking, Council, was held at Winchester.

King Richard II., intending to call a Parliament in the twenty-first year of his reign (1397), first summoned the several sheriffs before him and gave them a charge to suffer none to be elected or returned who would not promise to agree to his measures, at the same time declaring he would raise an army to enable him to punish such of his subjects as should offer to oppose his intentions. The Sheriffs returned for answer that "the people would never bear being deprived of their freedom of election." It was in this reign that the wages to be paid to members were fixed, and the Sheriffs were ordered to levy four shillings a day for each knight and two shillings a day for each citizen or burgess, and the continuation of the payment depended upon the distance of the places where the Parliament was held.

It was an ancient custom for the monarch to be present in Parliament; but it was not strictly followed. Edward IV. was informed by some of his favourites of the manner in which a question of subsidy had been debated in the House of Commons in his absence. The information given to the King caused dissensions and animosity between the Court and country party, to appease which the King gave his consent to an act of confirmation of liberties, and both Houses agreed upon a standing order that "in all Parliaments, in the absence of the King, it should be lawful to the Lords of them-

selves, as to the Commons by themselves, to debate of all matters touching the realm, and of the remedies, and not to disclose the same to the King before a determination thereof be made, and then by the mouth of their speaker."

From the twenty-third of Edward I., and during the reigns of Edward II. and III., Richard II., Henry IV., V., and VI., and Edward IV., it was left to the discretion of the Sheriffs to decide which burghs were able to send burgesses, and held that if ancient, able burghs became poor and indigent, and unable to pay the expenses of their burgesses, or had none fit to choose, it was a just ground for the Sheriff to excuse them from the trouble and charge of electing them. It was in this reign that the first Act was passed to regulate the duties of sheriffs in regard to elections, and a penalty of £100 was added as a fine on those Sheriffs who did not regularly proceed in elections, or made illegal returns, and knights of the shire unduly elected were to forfeit their wages. Before the passing of this statute the Sheriffs were often influenced by the Court to make partial returns of members attached to the Ministers, or Court. In this reign the Commons further declared that it was not the custom to grant any subsidy before they had received answer to their petitions.

In the first year of Henry V. (1413) extraordinary care was taken to prevent undue elections and returns of members, and it was enacted that the laws regarding elections should be strictly observed; knights of the shire were to be chosen out of such knights as were residents within the county on the day of issue of the writ of summons; that citizens, esquires, and others should likewise be residents in their respective shires where such elections were to take place, and that the citizens and burgesses should be chosen out of those who were free men dwelling in the cities and boroughs, for which they were sent as representatives. It was in the reign of Henry VI. that the qualification of an elector of a knight of the shire was fixed at land or tenement of the value of 40s. by the year at least over and above all charges; such lands or tenements to be a freehold within the county for which election was to be made, the preamble of the enactments setting forth that "of late in many counties the elections of knights have been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people within the same counties, of which most part was of people of small substance, and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent, as to such elections, to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires within the same counties," &c. This preamble acknowledges that the right of suffrage in counties had been in full exercise by the whole of the freeholders, without any restriction as to the value of their freeholds, and there is no doubt but that originally the right of election in most cities and boroughs was exercised by the whole body of the people within their respective districts.

It was in the reign of Henry VII. that the attendance of members became imperative, and no member could be absent from the House before the end of the session without license from the Speaker, and it was in this reign also that petitions were first presented to the House, yet the prayer of the petition was addressed to the King and

not to the Commons. Wycombe continued to send burgesses very regularly for a long period, but nothing is heard of any other borough in the county. In 1455 no returns whatever are found connected with the county of Bucks. Most of the writs, returns, and indentures in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. have been lost.

In the reign of Henry VIII. Parliaments continued longer sitting than in any former period, and were prorogued from time to time as it suited the purposes of the monarch; for instance, we find that the Parliament summoned in the twenty-first year of his reign (1529) was continued by adjournments and prorogation for about seven years, and the Parliament following this lasted four years. In this Parliament the borough of Buckingham again sent two members in addition to Wycombe, but omitted in 1541: at all events, there is no record of returns, the indentures being lost. Buckingham continued to return in 1547, 1552, 1553. Many other Parliaments were held than those referred to; indeed, now there was a Parliament called almost every year. Prior to the reign of Edward VI., the eldest sons of peers were not eligible to sit in the House of Commons; the first instance we find was that of Sir Francis Russell, who was elected knight of the shire for the county of Buckingham in the first year of this reign.

Having thus taken a cursory view of the earliest years of the House of Commons, and arrived at the period when Aylesbury takes its place amongst the cities and boroughs of the kingdom by sending two burgesses to the Senate of the nation, attention will now be given to the representation of Aylesbury only.

Chapter XI.—CHARTER OF INCORPORATION.

Queen Mary grants a Charter to Aylesbury in 1554*—cause of the grant—Corporation to include ten aldermen, twelve capital burgesses, one of the aldermen to be high-bailiff—name of first bailiff—names of first aldermen—names of first burgesses—Aylesbury to have a town prison, a Court of Record, a justice of the peace, and a coroner—to return two burgesses to Parliament—boundaries of the Borough—Corporation goes to decay—dies out altogether—all records lost—records of other Corporations—notes of their laws and bye-laws.*

THE base and cruel conduct of Henry VIII. towards his queens led to his daughters being branded with illegitimacy; consequently, at the death of Edward VI., the succession to the Crown was placed in some jeopardy. Matters were further complicated by Edward having been induced, under the influence of the Duke of Northumberland, to bequeath the Crown to his amiable and accomplished cousin, the Lady Jane Grey. At a council, the King was advised that the Act of Parliament passed for securing the succession could not be evaded and that his bequest would be illegal, invalid and useless. Notwithstanding, he persisted, and a deed was duly executed in order to carry out these intentions; a few days after, the young King died. The King's death was kept a secret by Northumberland, who made the best of the interval in forwarding the cause of the Lady Jane. For a time appearances looked promising, and she was induced to allow herself to be proclaimed Queen. In the short reign of Edward, the popularity of his father had not waned, and notwithstanding that Mary was a rigid Papist, the people at large gave her the preference as their sovereign. A movement in her favour met with early and decided success, whilst weakness in the cause of Jane became every day more evident, and she was soon deserted by the people. Sir Hugh Bartell visited Aylesbury to proclaim Jane there, but his efforts to rally a party in her favour were fruitless. On the other hand Mary's adherents increased hourly.

Mary retired to Framlingham, and was proclaimed Queen in Buckinghamshire by the second Lord Windsor, Edmund Lord Hastings, and Sir Edmund Peckham. Sir Francis Hastings, brother to the Earl of Huntingdon, with four thousand Buckinghamshire men, went over to her, and she was proclaimed Queen in many places. Amongst

those actively engaged on the side of Mary was Sir Thomas Wharton, son of Lord Wharton, of Upper Winchendon. Sir Edmund Peckham, of Denham, was also a firm adherent to Mary, and he distinguished himself by his loyal zeal in opposition to Lady Jane Grey. He was among the first to proclaim Mary as Queen in his own county of Buckingham, and he united with Hastings in raising men to act in opposition to the movements of Northumberland. The Peckhams were allied by marriage with the Verneys, of Claydon. All these gentlemen are of county celebrity. Lord Hastings founded and endowed, in 1557, the Hospital now commonly called the Almshouses, near the Vicarage of Stoke Poges. After the death of Queen Mary he retired to this hospital, where he died in 1572, and was buried in the Hastings Chapel adjoining Stoke Church. Lord Windsor was Sheriff of Bucks in 1538. He built the Manor House of Bradenham, and was buried in the Church of St. Botolph with great splendour. Sir Edmund Peckham was the founder of High Wycombe Grammar School; he lies in Denham Church, where he was buried in 1564.

In Buckinghamshire, Mary had a strong party, and Aylesbury in particular was loud in its protestation of loyalty towards her. The adhesion of the Whartons to her cause was opportune, as their popularity was great and their influence at Aylesbury and throughout the county of Bucks, immense. The assistance thus accorded to Mary in this neighbourhood gives some clue to the inducement the Queen had in bestowing on the "village" of Aylesbury the dignity of a Corporation and the honours of a Parliamentary Borough. Buckingham and Wycombe also received Charters from Queen Mary for the loyalty displayed on the same occasion.

THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF AYLESBURY,

Granted in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, A.D. 1554.

The Queen, &c., to all to whom, &c., greeting:

Whereas, our beloved and faithful subjects of our town of Aylesbury, in our county of Buckingham, have humbly besought us for the rule and better government of them, and for the improvement of the said town, that we would vouchsafe to incorporate that town and the inhabitants thereof, and make and create them a body corporate of one bailiff, and of Aldermen and burgesses. Know ye, that we, graciously assenting to the petition aforesaid, and considering that our aforesaid subjects (whose fidelity and circumspection towards us are affirmed, not only by the report of our nobility and faithful subjects, but also by our own certain and royal knowledge), did most faithfully adhere to us in the time of the rebellion lately attempted against us, our dignity, and crown, by John, late Duke of Northumberland, attainted and convicted of high treason, and his confederates, and did valiantly resist the same rebellion; and that our said subjects may the better and more fully perceive our royal affection and favour which for that reason we have and bear towards them, of our especial grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, as much as in us is, do grant to the inhabitants of the said town of Aylesbury, that the said town of Aylesbury from henceforth may and shall be a free borough corporate, in deed, fact, and in name, (to consist) of one bailiff, and of aldermen and burgesses, really and fully; we do erect, make, and create by these presents; and that the inhabitants of

the said borough from henceforth may and shall be one body corporate and politic, and one perpetual commonalty, in deed, fact, and name, and may have perpetual succession ; and that the inhabitants of the same borough, now and for the time being, by the name of the bailiff and aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Aylesbury, from henceforth may and shall be persons able and capable in the law to have, purchase, receive, and possess lands, tenements, rents, revenues, liberties, franchises, and hereditaments, to them and their successors, in fee and perpetuity, and to do all and singular other deeds and things ; and by the same name may and shall be able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in whatsoever courts and places and before whatsoever judges or justices, or other persons whomsoever, in all and singular actions, plaints, causes, matters, and demands whatsoever, of what kind or nature soever they be, in the same manner and form as other our liege subjects, persons able and capable in the law may and shall be able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended; and that they may and shall have a common seal to serve for the transacting of all and singular their affairs and businesses. And we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do, ordain, and grant that the said borough of Aylesbury, and the circuit and precinct thereof, and the jurisdiction of the same, shall extend and stretch forth, and may and shall be able to extend and stretch forth, as well in length and breadth as in compass to such and the like bounds, metes, and limits, to which and as the said borough of Aylesbury, and the circuit and precinct of the same, and the jurisdiction thereof, from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, or at any time since or before, have extended and stretched forth and been accustomed to extend and stretch forth (that is to say), in length from the bridge called Glasyers Bridge unto the bridge called Stannebridge, and in breadth from the bridge called Holman's Bridge unto the bridge called Wallbridge. And that it may and shall be lawful for the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the same borough of Aylesbury, for the time being, and their successors, to make perambulation and perambulations thereof, for having the true and better knowledge thereof, as often and when it shall please them, or seem needful to be done. And this without any writ or warrant therefore from us or our successors in this behalf in any wise to be sued out or prosecuted. And we will and by these presents do grant, and of our further grace for us, our heirs, and successors, do ordain that always from henceforth there may and shall be in the borough aforesaid ten of the better and more honest and discreet men and inhabitants of the same borough, who shall be called the aldermen of the same borough, which said aldermen may and shall be able to elect and take to and associate with themselves twelve of the better and more honest men and inhabitants of the same borough, who shall be called the capital burgesses of the same borough. And which said bailiff, aldermen, and capital burgesses shall make and be and be called the common council for the borough aforesaid, for all the affairs, businesses, matters, and causes of the borough aforesaid, and touching or concerning the rule and government thereof. And which said bailiff, aldermen, and capital burgesses, or the major part of them for the time being, from time to time may and shall have power and authority yearly and every year, on the first day of the month of September, before the feast of St. Michael the archangel, to elect and nominate one of the said aldermen, who shall be bailiff of the borough aforesaid for one whole year then following. And that he so elected and nominated to the office of bailiff of the borough aforesaid, shall be admitted to the office aforesaid on the day before the feast of St. Michael aforesaid (that is to say), on the eve of the same feast, on which day he shall be duly sworn into the office aforesaid by the steward of the borough aforesaid, in the presence of the aldermen and capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid, or the major part of them. And if and whensoever any such bailiff shall happen to die or be removed from his office within one year after he shall have been appointed and sworn to the office of bailiff of the borough aforesaid, as before mentioned, that then and so often it shall and may be

lawful for the aldermen and capital burgesses of the aforesaid borough for the time being, or the major part of them, to elect and appoint another out of them, the said aldermen, to be bailiff of the borough aforesaid: and he so elected and appointed may have and exercise the office of bailiff of the borough aforesaid during the remainder of the said year, and so as often as the case shall happen. And we will and by these presents do, ordain, and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, that whensover it shall happen that any one of the aldermen of the borough aforesaid for the time being shall die or be removed from his place and office of aldermen, that then and so often it may and shall be lawful for the bailiff and other aldermen of the same borough then surviving or remaining, or the major part of them, to elect, nominate, and appoint one of the better and more honest and discreet of the capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid in and to the office of alderman for the borough aforesaid, in the place of him so dying or being removed. And this as often as the case shall happen. And we will and by these presents do ordain and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, that whensoever it shall happen that any one of the capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid for the time being shall die or be removed from his place or office of capital burgess, that then and so often it may and shall be lawful for the bailiff and aldermen and other capital burgesses of the same borough then surviving or remaining, or the major part of them, to elect, nominate, and appoint one other of the better or more honest and discreet inhabitants of the borough aforesaid in and to the office of capital burgess of the borough aforesaid, in the place of him so dying or being removed, and this as often as the case shall happen. And we will and by these presents do ordain and for us, our heirs and successors, grant that in the borough aforesaid there may and shall be one officer who shall be called the serjeant-at-the-mace, for the execution of process and mandates and other affairs in the borough aforesaid, from time to time to be executed and transacted, which said serjeant and also a constable, and all other necessary officers and ministers of the borough aforesaid, shall be elected and appointed to their offices, from time to time and from year to year, by the bailiff, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them. And we will and by these presents ordain and for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the bailiff and aldermen, and capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid, or the major part of them, for the time being, to make, frame, ordain, and establish good and wholesome statutes, ordinances, and constitutions, as well for the better rule and government of the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, and other the officers and inhabitants of the borough aforesaid for the time being, in what manner they shall behave and bear themselves in their offices and businesses, for the public good and common weal of the borough aforesaid, as for the better preservation and disposition of the lands, tenements, possessions, and revenues given, granted, or assigned, or hereafter to be given, granted or assigned to the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and their successors, and other things touching or concerning the borough aforesaid and the affairs and business thereof, which said statutes, ordinances, and constitutions we do and will and command by these presents shall be inviolably observed. And that the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses may have, use, and enjoy all and singular their customs and liberties heretofore lawfully used in as ample manner and form as the inhabitants of the said town, or any of them, might have done before the making of these presents: anything in these our letters patent to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And know ye, that we have assigned, nominated, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents do assign, nominate, ordain, and constitute our beloved John Walwyn, gentleman, an inhabitant of the borough aforesaid, to be the first and modern bailiff of the said borough of Aylesbury, and that he may and shall be and continue in the office of bailiff there until the feast of St. Michael, the archangel, next coming, and from the same feast until another shall be appointed and sworn in that office, if the said John Walwyn shall so long live. And also, we have assigned, nominated, ordained, and

constituted, and by these presents do assign, ordain, nominate, and constitute our beloved the said

JOHN WALWYN,

JOHN BOSSE, esquire,	RICHARD FRYER,
WILLIAM ANNE, esquire,	THOMAS DALE,
ROBERT WOODLEF, gentleman,	WM. ATKYNS,
THOMAS BERDE, gentleman,	THOMAS MUNDAY, and

WILLIAM BALLARD,

Inhabitants of the said borough of Aylesbury, to be the first and modern Aldermen of the said borough of Aylesbury, as long as they shall well behave themselves in that office. And also we have assigned, nominated, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents do assign, nominate, ordain, and constitute our beloved

EDWARD CUTLER,	WILLIAM TOMES,
JOHN HYNDE,	ROBERT GOLDYNG,
ROBERT FORDE,	HENRY PARREL,
RICHARD DUNCOMBE,	EDMUND WULF,
RICHARD HYCHENDON,	ROBERT BROOKE, and
WILLIAM HALES,	ANTHONY FUNDALE,

Inhabitants of the said borough of Aylesbury, to be the first and modern capital burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury, as long as they shall well behave themselves in that office. And we will and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury and their successors, that from henceforth for ever they may have and hold and may and shall be able to have and hold one market on Wednesday in every week, in the said borough of Aylesbury, for horses and other cattle, and things whatsoever, and two fairs there yearly to be holden and kept (that is to say), one fair to be holden there yearly on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the eve and morrow of the same feast, and the other fair to be holden there yearly on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross and on the eve and morrow of the same feast, together with a court of Pie Poudre* there during the time of the same fairs, together with the stallage, piccage, fines, amerciaments, and all other profits, commodities, and emoluments whatsoever coming, chancing, arising, or happening from such markets or fairs and court of Pie Poudre, and with all liberties and free customs, appertaining or belonging to such markets or fairs. And we will and for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Aylesbury aforesaid, and their successors, that the burgesses, men, and inhabitants of the same borough, for the time being, are and shall be acquitted and discharged from soe, sac, stallage, pontage, lastage, piccage, tallage, and toll, as well by land as by water, through our whole kingdom of England, as the men and inhabitants of the same borough have been accustomed and used to be acquitted and discharged from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary. And we will and by these presents do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury, and their successors, that they from henceforth for ever may have and hold and may and shall be able to have and hold one Court of Record in the borough of Aylesbury aforesaid, to be holden monthly before the bailiff of the said borough for the time being, concerning pleas, plaints, and personal actions,

* PIE POUDRE.—A court formerly held during the continuance of fairs to settle disputes, to do justice to buyers and sellers, and for the redress of disorders committed therein. It was so called because the time of year when these courts were held being summer, the suitors came with dusty feet.

debts, accounts, trespasses, covenants, contracts, detinue, and contempts, arising, and happening, or to happen, within the said borough of Aylesbury, and the jurisdiction thereof; so that, nevertheless, such debts, damages, or suits do not amount to the sum of one hundred shillings, and that such pleas, plaints, and actions be heard and determined there by such, and the like process, as shall be agreeable to our common law and as in any court of record hath heretofore been used and accustomed, and ought to be done concerning such pleas, plaints, and actions; and that the serjeant at the mace of the said borough of Aylesbury for the time being shall make and execute all juries, panels, inquisitions, attachments, precepts, mandates, warrants, judgments, processes, and other things whatsoever touching or concerning the suits aforesaid, or any other suits in the town and borough of Aylesbury, as he shall be commanded according to the exigence of the law, and as in like cases hath heretofore been used or ought to be done in any other Court of Record. And that the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury and their successors may and shall have all fines, amerciaments, and other profits arising, chancing, or happening from and in the court aforesaid, or by reason or force of the said court. And we will and by these presents do ordain and grant that one of the aldermen of the borough aforesaid, for the time being, to be elected by the bailiff and aldermen of the borough aforesaid, from henceforth may and shall be the justice of us, our heirs, and successors, to preserve the peace of us, our heirs, and successors within the aforesaid borough, and have full power and authority to preserve the peace of us, our heirs, and successors, and to do and execute all other things which to a justice of the peace of us, our heirs, and successors, in any county in England do belong, to be done and executed for the good keeping of the peace of us, our heirs, and successors, and the quiet rule and sound government of the people, of us, our heirs, and successors, in all and singular their articles within the borough aforesaid, according to the force, form, and effect of the statutes and ordinances thereupon made, and to cause all those whom they shall find trespassing against the force and effects of the statutes and ordinance aforesaid to be punished according to the law of our land, and to hear and determine all and singular those things according to the law and custom of our kingdom of England, as fully and entirely and in as ample manner and form as the justices of the peace in the county of Buckingham or elsewhere within our kingdom of England heretofore have had and exercised, or shall have or exercise, in future out of the borough and liberty aforesaid. So nevertheless that the said justice of the peace, within our borough of Aylesbury aforesaid, for the time being, do not proceed to the determination of any felony without the special command of us, our heirs, and successors, saving always to us, our heirs, and successors, all and singular fines, amerciaments, redemptions, and other profits arising or growing from the office of the said justice of the peace. And further of our more ample grace, we have granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors may have for ever the return of all our writs and the attachments and executions thereof, so that no sheriff or other bailiff or minister of us, our heirs, or successors, may enter the said liberty and execute any writs and summonses or attachments or any other office there, unless in default of them the said bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, and other their ministers there. And moreover, of our especial grace, we have granted and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, that the aforesaid bailiff for the time being to be elected for one year, so often as he shall be so elected bailiff, may and shall be the escheator and coroner for us, our heirs, and successors, and clerk of the market of us, our heirs, and successors, within the borough aforesaid and that he may do and execute all and singular those things which to the offices of escheator, coroner, and clerk of the market, do appertain and belong, to be done and performed within the borough aforesaid, and that he shall take the oath concerning

those offices of escheator, coroner, and clerk of the market, to be well and faithfully done and executed by him the said bailiff, before the old bailiff or the aldermen and capital burgesses of the borough aforesaid, before that he shall take upon himself the offices of escheator, coroner, and clerk of the market; and that no other escheator, coroner, or clerk of the market of us, our heirs, and successors, may in anywise enter the said borough or precinct thereof, or intermeddle themselves there to do and perform anything there which to the offices of escheator, coroner, or clerk of the market doth belong, to do and perform there. And also we have granted and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the aforesaid borough of Aylesbury, and their successors, that they from henceforth for ever may make and have the assay and assize of bread, wine, and ale, and of all other saleable victuals whatsoever; and also the correction and punishment of the same, and of every parcel thereof, as often and when it shall be needful; so that no clerk of the market of us, our heirs, or successors, may enter the said borough for the doing or exercising any thing belonging to his office. And moreover, of our further grace, we will and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, that they may have for ever a prison or gaol, to be limited and assigned in any convenient place within the borough aforesaid, according to their discretions, for the safely and securely keeping there, by the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, or their deputy, or the stewards of the said borough, all and singular the persons from time to time apprehended or taken within the borough aforesaid, and all other persons for any cause happening to be committed to the prison or gaol aforesaid, until they shall be delivered therefrom according to the form of the law. And further, of our more ample grace, we have granted and given licence, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant and give license to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury, and their successors, that they shall be able to purchase, take, and have to them and their successors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, possessions, and hereditaments within the said borough of Aylesbury, and the liberties thereof, to the annual value of £20, from whatsoever person or persons willing to give, bequeath, sell, grant, or assign the same to them and their successors. So that the aforesaid lands, tenements, rents, reversions, possessions, and hereditaments be not holden of us, our heirs, or successors, by knights' service, or in soccage, or in capite, or of any other person or persons by knights' service. And such lands, tenements, annuities, rents, possessions, and hereditaments to the aforesaid annual value, to give, grant, sell, assign, and bequeath to the said bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, we have likewise given and granted especial license to have and to hold to them and their successors as aforesaid for ever; and this without any other writ of ad quod dampnum, or any other royal mandate, or any inquisitions thereupon to be taken and returned into our Court of Chancery, and without any other writs or royal letters patent in this behalf to be sued, made, or had; the statute concerning the not putting lands and tenements in mormain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision, or provision published, made, or ordained to the contrary notwithstanding. And also we will and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents do grant and ordain that there may and shall be in the said borough two burgesses of the parliament of us, our heirs and successors. And that the said bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury and their successors, upon the writ of us, our heirs, and successors, concerning the election of burgesses to parliament to them directed, may and shall have the power, authority, and liberty of electing and nominating two discreet and honest men of the said borough, to be burgesses of the parliament of us, our heirs, and successors for the said borough. And then the said burgesses so elected shall send to our Parliament wheresoever it shall be then holden, at the charges and costs of the said borough and the parish and commonalty thereof, in the same manner and form as hath been used and accustomed in other boroughs of our kingdom of England; which said burgesses so elected and

nominated we do will shall be present and abide at the Parliament of us, our heirs, and successors, at the charges and costs of the said borough of Aylesbury and the commonalty thereof during the time in which such Parliament shall happen to be holden, in like manner and form as other burgesses of Parliament in whatsoever other boroughs within our kingdom of England do or have been accustomed to do. And which said burgesses in such Parliament of us, our heirs, and successors, shall have voices as well affirmative as negative, and do and execute all and singular other things there which other burgesses or burgess of our Parliament, for whatsoever other boroughs or borough, have, do, and execute, and may and shall be able to have, do, and execute by any reason or means whatsoever. And also we will and by these presents do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the said borough of Aylesbury, that they may and shall have these our letters patent in due manner made and sealed under our great seal of England, without fine or fee, great or small, to us in our Hanaper or elsewhere, to our use therefore in any wise to be rendered, paid, or done. Although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the Queen at Westminster, the 14th day of January.

By writ of Privy Seal, &c.

The Corporation of Aylesbury was exceedingly short lived; its decay set in almost with its formation. Browne Willis, who is an authority on all points connected with the history of boroughs, gives this version of the position of matters at Aylesbury :— "The corporation being large, consisting of many members, made the succession difficult to be supplied, and they thereby became weary of acting. The insults of the townsmen, who regretted their authority to tax them to pay the representatives, probably occasioned their submitting to the Pakington's the nomination of burgesses in Parliament. The said family no doubt yielding and consenting to defray their expenses and acquit the borough of the same, which having been thus sometime practised, and the corporation, tired to find persons to supply their trust, growing negligent of renewing the vacancies of those named in their charter, and allowing the populacy to have suffrages with them in choosing their representatives, induced them by degrees to cease acting."*

With the collapse or decay of the corporate body all its deeds, muniments, and documents disappeared. Notwithstanding every search and enquiry nothing relating to the proceedings of the Corporation have ever been met with. Could they have been referred to, an insight might have been obtained as to the management of municipal affairs by our predecessors in olden times. Probably then, as now, there was not much variation in the general customs of country towns, and in the absence of our own records we must be content with accounts preserved of the proceedings of other corporations.

The history of local government a century or two ago is little else than a record of strong endeavours to keep up a system of monopoly. Many corporations being self-elected, the reins of power were thus kept in the hands of a few families; and, as is not unfrequently the case with governments upon a more extended scale, the rulers took care to look after their own kith and kin. If a member of one of these corporations

* In the year 1681, Charles II. attacked the legality of the Charters of many Boroughs and Corporations with the intention of destroying them.

retired, was dismissed from his office, or died, the remaining members chose his successor; and it can easily be understood that they managed to elect a person whose views were as limited and selfish as their own. All corporations, however, were not alike, and some of them have shewn a very praiseworthy zeal in legislating for the benefit of others. In many boroughs, the mayor possessed almost unlimited authority. At Rye, he had the power of sentencing to death any offender proved guilty. The old law of that place enacted, that "when anie is found cutting a purse, or of taking and picking silver, or anie other money, out of anie purse in the market-place, or anie other place, the said cut-purse or pick-purse shall have one of his ears cut off from his head; and then he shall be led unto the town's end, and there to swear and to abjure never to come within the towne again, upon pain of losing his other ear; and to abjure the towne upon pain of losing his life; and if he be found the other time (*i.e.*, the third time), he shall suffer the judgment." At Lichfield it was ordered that if a member of the Corporation should be guilty of "immorality or any abominable crime" he should be "monished," and if he afterwards persisted in his evil courses he should be dismissed from his office. The law of the burgh at Preston provided that "no man who shall be known and accompted a drunkard, a vicious, or incontinent person, or of other bad conversation" should be admitted to serve the town.

Our ancestors had a praiseworthy horror of news obtained in an underhand manner, and the enactments with reference to listeners, or "eavesdroppers," were very numerous. At Hartlepool, the fine for "lystening about anie man's wyndowes 'to here his secretes,'" was twelvepence. At Lancaster, the fine for "an eavesdropper standing under anie man's eaves, wall, or window" was three shillings and fourpence; in addition to which, those detected were to be carted about the town, "and then expulsed forth." At Worcester the fine was thirteen shillings and fourpence, and it was ordered "that if ther bee eny wyndowes, durs, or holes of new made in the yelde-hall, wher through eny person may so er or have knowledge weat is don in the said hall, that hit bee stopped by the doers or users of hit, upon paine of xiijs. iiijd."

At Evesham a great monopoly existed. In the year 1614, the mayor's court ordered that "no victualler or alehouse-keeper shall, after the 1st of March, brew either beer or ale, but shall have the same of the common brewers assigned, whereof Mr. Philip Parsons 'of the common council' is appointed to be one, under pain of 10s., one half to the borough, the other to the informer." This fine seems small in comparison with others enforced upon other offenders against the corporation; for at Hartlepool, in the year 1600, it was enacted that anyone calling a member of the council "a liar be fined 11s. vid.;" but if he only said that the individual was "false," he escaped with a fine of 6s. 8d. At Liverpool, the importance of the corporation appears to have been still higher, for although the fine for striking an ordinary individual was a few shillings, it was enacted that anyone even only abusing an alderman was to be fined £20. At Rye,

it was ordered that if any man "saith him evil" of the mayor, he was to be "immediately taken and grievously punished by his body;" but if he struck the mayor, "he that striketh him shall lose the hand that he striketh with." At Banbury, Sabbath observance was strictly enjoined. It was ordered in the year 1564, that "no man nor woman, of what degree or occupatyon, shall, uppon the Sabot day or other festyvall daye, set oppe ther shoppe wyndowes;" and also that people should abstain from "mannual occupatyon," and also from the sale of ale. At Leicester it was enacted "that there be of everie house one at everie sermon, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, upon pain of everie householder making default to pay iiijd.;" publicans and shopkeepers were ordered to keep their houses closed during service-time; and butchers were not to sell after seven o'clock on Sunday mornings.

The purifying of the streets was the subject of many local acts. The frequency and severity of the plague may have caused the issue of several, but the generality of these enactments seem to have been issued with the view of increasing the comfort of foot passengers, and in some remote degree the health of the community. The officials of Banbury do not appear to have been equally enlightened, for one of their by-laws of the sixteenth century enacted that "all people shall cleanse ther stretes and other ground afore ther dores 'yerly' afore the feast of Est, upon paine of iijs. iiijd.;" and places "in the town" were pointed out by them where "dong and filth" could be laid. In the year 1564, the corporation of Banbury decided that "geeses or doukes" should not be allowed to go into the town brook, and that pigs were not to go into "anie strete wherein market ys kept." The Newcastle authorities must have widely differed with the Aylesbury people, and considered the pig a very serious offender, for they appointed a man named "the hougher," whose duty it was to chase any pigs he observed in the streets, and sever the sinews of their hind-legs. At Aylesbury, formerly, roaming pigs were encouraged; they were the only scavingers employed; they cleared away the decaying offal flung into the streets by the householders. Perhaps, however, the corporation of London exceeded all others in stringency. History does not record their troubles with the pigs, but of dogs they seem to have had more than enough. It was a general idea that dogs conveyed the plague from one place to another, so in plague-time (1563 or thereabouts) the lord mayor and council proclaimed that they had enacted that every dog found in the streets should be killed, and that a man had been appointed to the office. The same year, the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, paid to "John Welch for the killeinge and carreinge away of dogges during the plague, and for putteinge them into the ground and covereigne the same, iijs. ijd.;" and in the year 1603 the churchwardens of the same parish paid for the slaughter of "three hundred and twentyseven dogges at 1d. a peece."

Ancient legislators assessed human life at a very low rate. In the sixteenth century, in many towns, any man guilty of the death of another could escape by paying a fine of four pounds, if the deed was done upon a sacred day; and

by a fine of forty shillings, if upon any other day. The legislators of the borough of Richmond took a more enlightened view of the value of human life, for in the year 1596 they ordered that "any person making an affray shall be fined iijs. iiijd.; but if on a market-day, xvs.; or a fair-day, vl.; 'and if any blood be drawn,' vjs. viijd. extra."

It would appear that the subject above all others which took up much of our old legislators' time was that of "foreigners." In most parts of Lancashire, at the present day, it is customary to speak of a person even from the next village as a "foreigner;" and at the time to which we allude, the designation was probably in general use throughout England, and the authorities seem to have been anxious to keep it so. At Evesham, in the year 1611, a law was passed by the mayor and corporation, enacting that "no householder or other shall entertain any inmates, poor strangers, person or persons, under a penalty of five pounds." This looks very inhospitable, to say the least of it; but the Evesham legislators were by no means in advance of the age, for they also prohibited the erection of cottages, and the conversion of outhouses into dwellings, "because that great inconveniences have been found to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers of cottages." Most of these enactments, it is but just to say, were passed mainly with reference to vagabonds roaming about and living upon their wits, for the orders are supplemented with one providing that "vagabones and idle young persons shall be carted or scourged forth of the towne;" and "foreigners" were permitted to take up their residence, if the mayor and his brethren thought proper, after they had said what "skill" (trade?) they meant to follow.

At High Wycombe, in 1398, any wanderer delaying in the town after 10 o'clock at night was to be immediately seized and put in prison until set at liberty by the Mayor; this probably related to non-residents. Under the statute of Wynton, 13th Edward I., twelve men of every borough had to watch continually from sun set to sun rising; such statute was enforced at Wycombe. In the reign of Henry VIII. restrictive rules were enforced relative to the crafts of dyer, fuller, and weaver, from which it would seem that at an early period an extensive cloth manufacture was carried on at Wycombe. In 1576 none were allowed to use any trade or mystery within the borough but such as had served seven years' apprenticeship, unless they shall first "compound with the Mayor." In 1606 the Mayor confirmed the order respecting weavers, when it was further ordered that "every foreyner and straunger, and inhabitante of the towne, shall paye for their Loomes, yt have Loomes, and they that have noe Loomes, to paye for their shoppe-windowes vid. a yeare for every Loome." In 1630 a further order was issued commanding that no dyer should exercise his trade in the borough so long as George Bradshaw, a burgess, shall continue to pay 20s. per annum to the Corporation. In 1663 Andrew Miller, apothecary, and Richard Aris, smith, were charged 10s. each

weekly whilst exercising their callings in the town without license from the Mayor and Common Council.

In 1527 the same corporation made rules for the government of brewers and "typplyng," "and they who wylle not obay yt, the Mayer shall comyt them to warde 3 dayes and 3 nytes, and if any make sewet (suit) owte of thys towne contrary agyn the order, the council to banesche them thys towne, and for to dewell no more yn yt." In 1559 a further order is made affecting "tiplers," followed by an order on butchers. An order is also promulgated for the punyschmet" for ill doers agayn the Mayr." There is also an order that "on the receipt of any releiffe, collection, or money, to any poore man or woman of the said Borough they shall give a badge, being the sign of the swan, or the town arms, and shall cause him, her, or them, to wear the same upon his or her uppermost garment at all times, soo as they may be seen apparently and openly;" thus a badge of degradation was placed on poverty. In 1558 it was ordered that the millers of Pann Mill and Pettifer's Mill should have no horse or mare go in the Rye but such as they shall serve and load to the town with, upon pain of forfeiting their commonage. In 1590 every newly elected burgess was called upon to deliver to the use of the Corporation a leather bucket, to be kept in the Town Hall. In 1594 an order was published prohibiting any burgess inhabiting out of the borough of Wycombe having any voice in the election of mayor or burgesses for the Parliament.

Chapter XII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF MARY AND PHILIP AND MARY — 1553 TO 1558.

First Members for Aylesbury—Members during this reign—Smith, Peckham, Mosely—The Dudley conspiracy, its object, its victims—fate of Peckham—Edward and Francis Verney, their trials—Ryse, Restwold—No returns made from Aylesbury for several Parliaments — the franchise considered to be a grievance — Members paid wages—trouble to obtain payment of them — Marriage of the Queen—Philip her husband—Death of Mary—her character.

IN accordance with the privilege conferred on the "village" of Aylesbury, by the Charter of Incorporation, two burgesses were returned to a Parliament summoned to meet at Oxford, and by fresh writs at Westminster, on the 2nd of April, 1554, being the second Parliament in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary. In the first Parliament of Mary the representatives were very unconstitutionally elected in many places ; in some by force and threats ; in others, many voters were prevented by Court influence from going to the places of election. False returns were made ; and several who had been duly elected were dispossessed of their seats in the house by violence.

The first representatives of Aylesbury were Thomas Smith and Henry Peckham. There appears to have been some irregularity in their election, as in the Crown Office return the name of Peckham is struck out, and that of Humphrey Mosely substituted. The name of Smith is of such frequent occurrence that it is a very difficult one to trace. Out of fifty of the most common names in England and Wales in the entries of baptisms and burials for 1853, the name of Smith is found 33,557 times ; every 73rd person is of that name. It is not clearly ascertainable who Thomas Smith was ; he is presumed to have been one of a family of that name settled at Wyrardisbury, or Wraysbury. Sir Thomas Smyth, of Wraysbury, was a great courtier and diplomatist at this period, and he was connected with the Aylesbury district by his having married, for his second wife, the relict of Sir John Hampden, of Hampden. Henry Peckham was a younger son of Sir Edward Peckham, of Denham, cofferer of the household and member of Council under Edward VI., and one of those who so warmly espoused the cause of the Queen. Peckham the member returned for Aylesbury, was unfortunately mixed up in the Dudley conspiracy, in which Edmund Verney his brother-in-law, Francis Verney, Throgmorton, Lord Bray, and others were implicated. The leader, Sir Henry Dudley, was a cousin of the Duke of Northumberland. Peckham had been one of the sharers

in the forfeited estates of the Duke of Norfolk; he was obliged to relinquish his grant with but small compensation, and he complained of his treatment. He was led into the Dudley conspiracy by one Christopher Ashton, of Abingdon. At his trial his conduct was infamous; it was stated on his behalf that he merely joined the conspiracy as a spy; he even had the baseness to send to the council a statement of all the conversations which he had had with his fellow prisoners during chance interviews with them whilst in the Tower. Probably interest was made for the contemptible Peckham, but even the services of his loyal father did not suffice to procure a commutation of the terrible severities of the legal sentence. Edmund and Francis Verney had sat in the last Parliament as knights of the shire for Bucks; they were indicted as conspirators, were not charged with any share as the original concoctors of the treason, but with having given their adhesion when it was disclosed to them. The intentions of the conspirators were revealed to Edmund Verney, and he and Henry Peckham made a similar disclosure to Francis Verney. Both consented, and Peckham and Francis Verney plighted their troth to each other in a way still remembered; Peckham took a gold coin, "and broke it in two parts, and one part thereof to the before-mentioned Francis Verney then and there, in the presence of Edmund Verney, for an undoubted sign of their common consent to perform the said treason, traitorously delivered, which said Francis the same piece of gold then and there, with the consent of the same Edmund Verney, traitorously received; and so the said Edmund Verney and Francis Verney the death and final destruction of their Supreme Lady the Queen, and the subversion of the kingdom of England, imagined and compassed." Francis Verney was tried upon this indictment and found guilty. Edmund does not appear to have been put on his trial, but shortly after received a free pardon under the great seal; no further proceedings were taken in the case of Francis Verney. Lord Bray also obtained a pardon. It is one of the mysteries of the period that many persons, who did not scruple to plot against Mary at home, served her with fidelity on the Continent, against the French. In March, 1556, Peckham, and several others, were suddenly seized and sent to the Tower, and in July following he was hanged for his share in this conspiracy. The object of the conspirators was the substitution of Elizabeth as queen, for Mary, as a means of re-establishing the Protestant as the national religion.

Humphrey Mosely must have sat in the Parliament to which Peckham was in the first instance returned. His connection with the town is not known, and all that is recorded respecting him is that he was a bookseller in London, which is not very probable. In the Parliament of 1555 Mosely sat for Gatton, according to the following return, made by Mrs. Coppley—"Witnessith that the said dame Elyzabeth Coppley, of Gatton, Surrey, widowe, according to the writt to her in that behalf from the Shereve directed, hath on her free election nominated and chosen Humfrey Mosely, gent, and Sir Harry Housie, Knt., to be burgeses for the said borowe (signed)

by me, ELYZABETH COPPLEY." In the Parliament, called in November the same year, the return for Aylesbury is so defaced that only one name as representative can be ascertained; this was William Rice or Ryse. Ryse was owner of Medmenham, to whom the estate was granted in 1553 on its being forfeited to the Crown by Sir Thomas Palmer, who suffered on the scaffold that year for attempting to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Ryse was again returned to the Parliament of 1555, in conjunction with Anthony Restwold. The name of Restwold is found in the list of high sheriffs for Bucks in the year 1499: the family was settled at Hedsor as early as 1457, and held lands in Little Marlow in the time of Henry VIII. The same name occurs in the list of sheriffs for Oxfordshire, and also as representative of Berkshire.

The honour of returning representatives to the House of Commons does not seem to have been appreciated by the inhabitants of Aylesbury, and it was exceedingly disrespectful to the royal donor of the privilege that the duties of the electors were so early neglected. It must be recollected that this apathy rested with the newly-formed corporation, as the commonalty had no voice in the matter of the elections. Laxity set in very early, for in January, 1558, no return is made from Aylesbury, and thus in four years the borough lapsed into its former state, and was unrepresented in the legislature.

At the period of the acquisition of the Charter of Incorporation, Aylesbury must have been a very inconsiderable borough; it was not even co-extensive with the parish. The hamlet of Walton did not participate in the privilege granted by the charter; indeed, poll books anterior to 1804 show that the residents of Walton took no part in the elections, and the Act of that year, passed for the purpose of enlarging the borough, gave the right of voting to the freeholders of Walton only, and not to the householders. The elective franchise in this reign was deemed by many boroughs no privilege or blessing, but rather an intolerable grievance. The origin of allowing wages to members of Parliament is traced to the great uncertainty which prevailed in the early Parliaments as to the place where they would be held, the writ of summons being fixed capriciously—at one time at York, at another at Westminster, and so on at any other place which suited the convenience of the Court. The cost of travelling made it only reasonable that a member should receive some remuneration for his travelling expenses. When a Parliament met at Carlisle in the time of Edward II. the cost of the journey to that town would absorb the customary scanty allowance of four shillings a day for a knight of the shire, and two shillings for any borough member, which was the stipulated allowance. These payments pressed heavily on the electors of small boroughs; their profits were slender and their trade of a petty character. Many boroughs petitioned to be exempt altogether from what they thought an onerous duty and an expensive mode of representation. The payment was obtained by members sueing for their writs of expenses, and, if requisite, a levy was made on the counties or boroughs by the sheriff or other authority. Both county and borough electors met these payments very

reluctantly. The Sheriff of Kent made a return "that at three county courts it was unanimously declared that the freeholders were not bound to contribute to the expenses of the knights of the shire, nor could they, and that there were only a few freeholders in the county on whom the expenses could be levied." In proportion to the reluctance which the represented exhibited was the eagerness with which their representatives exacted the charge. Henry IV. having summoned a Parliament in the 14th year of his reign, and dying before it had passed a single Act, or even fulfilled that law of its being, the granting a supply, the knights and burgesses petitioned for their writs of expenses, which were demurred to, and they did not obtain payment. Thrifty boroughs and economical corporations were in the habit of driving hard bargains with their would-be members. John Strange, the member for Dunwich, agreed to represent that borough at the Parliament held at Westminster in 1463, "whether it be long or short or prorogued, his wages to be a cade full of herrings and half a barrel of herrings to be delivered on Christmas next coming." Still easier terms were insisted on by the corporation of Westbury in 1571, when one Thomas Long gave the mayor and another £4 for his place in Parliament. The House was greatly shocked at the notion of a member paying, instead of being paid, for a seat, and immediately ordered the mayor and town council to disgorge the money, and to appear before the House; they did so, and were fined £20 for their scandalous conduct.

Mary married Philip of Spain on the 19th of July, 1554, and she died in November, 1558; after her decease Philip retired to Spain. In this reign a law was passed by which every man of £1000 a year was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses with proper accoutrements, and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with proper furniture and weapons for the defence of the kingdom. It was in this reign that we also find the first general laws with regard to highways, which were then appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England. The chief part of government to which Mary attended was the extorting money from her people in order to satisfy the demands of her rapacious husband. She had resort to expedients to raise money which were violent, irregular, illegal, and dishonest. Her rapacity caused her to give endless disturbances and interruption to commerce. All these violent expedients were employed while she herself was at profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband who gave attention only to his own convenience, and shewed himself entirely indifferent about the interests of the kingdom over which his wife ruled as sovereign.

After the Parliament of 1555 no returns were made from Aylesbury during this reign, so that under the same sovereign, by whom the privilege of representation was conferred, the right was virtually abandoned.

Chapter XIII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH—1558 TO 1603.

Members for Aylesbury during the reign of Elizabeth—the Lichfields, the Pigots, the Fleetwoods, the Tasburghs, the Smiths, and others—the return made by Dame Dorothy Pakington only—return made by Sir John Pakington only—The Corporation resume their functions, make the returns—General history of Parliament in this reign—independence began to show itself—State of the country—poor laws—monopolies, their grievances.

QUEEN ELIZABETH was the daughter of Henry VIII., by his wife Anne Boleyn, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, lord of Aylesbury. Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen at Hatfield on the 19th of November, 1558, and her first Parliament met in January, 1559, when the representatives returned from Aylesbury were Arthur Potter and Thomas Crawley. Who Potter was or to what family he belonged is not very clearly shewn, although the name frequently appears in the local history of the period. The name of Crawley is associated with families connected with Buckingham and Newport Pagnell.

The elections went entirely against the Catholics, who did not make any great struggle for the superiority. The session began with an unanimous declaration of the legality of Elizabeth's claim to the Crown. Amongst the questions absorbing the attention of the Government were the re-establishment of the Protestant religion, the Queen's marriage, peace with France, and the affairs of Scotland. Early in the year 1563 the Queen's second Parliament met in order to replenish her exchequer. The elections took place in the end of the year 1562, when Thomas Sackville and Thomas Coleshill, Esqrs., were returned from Aylesbury. The name of Coleshill is found as the owner of Coleshill, in Amersham. The Sackvilles were formerly lords of Fawley. Herbrand de Salchevilla was one of the leaders who came into England with William the Norman, and the name is in the list of the followers of that conqueror. Fawley descended to his son, Sir W. Sackville, and Bartholomew Sackville held the estate in 1250 ; it is recorded that it was part of the fee of the chief lord of Crendon. Robert de Sackville was member for the county of Bucks in the 18th of Edward III., and his nephew, Thomas Sackville, or Sakeville, was sheriff for the county in 1380, and one of the knights of the shire for many sessions during the reign of Richard II. By marriage, the Fawley estate passed into the Rokes family. Thomas Rokes, Esq., was returned

in the roll of gentry of Buckinghamshire in 1433, and he was knight of that shire in the 15th of Henry VI., and also sheriff in the 24th of the same reign.

The representation of a constituency continued to be treated as a matter of trivial importance. Even the city of Oxford would not take the trouble of electing a member of Parliament, and it was agreed at the election in 1562 that the "answer to be made to my Lorde of Bedford's lettre concernynge the choosinge of one of the Burgesses of the Parliament is that this Corte is contente, so that my Lorde wille cause the partie to come downe and take his othe as a Burges and as a Freeman of this towne, as others have done before this tyme," and William Page, gent., being admitted into the liberties of the City, &c., at the request of the Lord the Earl of Bedford, was the same day elected one of the Burgesses for Parliament.

As in the preceding reign, there were in many boroughs considerable bickerings between the elected and the electors upon the subject of the expenses of the members. In 1565, Richard Edgcumb addressed a letter to the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Burgesses of Totnes, full of complaints of their shabby treatment of him; he says:—

"After my most harty commendacions, whereas I, at my brother's request, and for your sakes, have been your burgess for the Parliament, *to myne no small coste*, for myne expenses were above twenty marks over and above the forty shillings I received of you; and forasmuch as it is like the Parliament will go forward at this time, which causist me to call to mind the charge I took in hand, which with like charge should be prosecuted, if otherwise I prevented not the same: these are therefore to require you to bestow the same upon some other, or else to allow me but the *bare fee*, which is *two shillings a day*; as I have begun so will I end (God willing) to your contentation. Truly, at this present season, I have no occasion, as I know of, to travel up to London; which considered I think it reason, which I demand, and hope you will take it very reasonably demanded. Thus trusting you will return an answer of your determination herein with convenient speed, I most hartily commend you to God.

"From Mount Edgecumbe, this 8th of September, 1565.

"RICHARD EDGECUMB."

In 1552, Master Maunton brought a suit against the borough of Boston, to compel payment of his fee for travelling to London and Parliamentary attendance. The action was subsequently compromised for the sum of twenty nobles. John Bright and Gilbert Linfield, who sat for the county of Sussex, each received a stipend from the electors, £20 being ordered for Linfield, and £60 for Bright. Up to 1680 there is only one entry of a member "going independent," or, as it was then more usually styled, "without meat;" but, from the subsequent entire disuse of pecuniary assistance, arose the modern phrase of "free and independent member of the Commons' House." When electors settled the demand of wages and amount of travelling expenses, they did not scruple to catechise the recipient, and comment upon the performance of his public duties. This, however, could only be done to a very limited extent, newspapers and the publication of Parliamentary debates being unknown at the period to which we refer. Sometimes electors would prescribe a line of conduct totally inconsistent and absurd, which

their member of Parliament sturdily declined to follow out. They then threatened a stoppage of the supplies, and challenged him to vacate his seat.

This payment of members gradually fell into disuse as a seat in Parliament became more valued. At the first election for Wendover after the restoration of its ancient privilege of sending members, this note is appended to the name of John Hampden, one of the members returned on that occasion, "who beareth the charge," which is understood to mean that he indemnified the electors of the borough against any expense incurred in connection with their sending members to Parliament.

Again, the House of Commons was no tempting place to enter, particularly by any member of an independent spirit, or one who had the audacity to give utterance to his thoughts upon subjects other than those pleasant to royal ears. Seldom was a session opened during the reign of Elizabeth without an express message from her Majesty, warning members against the error of "liberty of speech." The majority of the House were either in so slavish a state of dependence on the Court, or so fearful of the wrath of their "dread sovereign," that they scarcely ever gave utterance to a free expression of sentiment. It will be curious to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, and the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign. The Lord Keeper Bacon, after the Speaker of the Commons was elected, told the Parliament, in the Queen's name, that she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of State. A Mr. Strickland moving a Bill for the Reformation of the Liturgy, the Queen summoned him before the Council, and prohibited him henceforth from appearing in the House of Commons. This act of power was too violent, even for the submissive Parliament to endure, and they complained that the liberties of the house were evaded, observing that Strickland was not a private man, but represented a multitude. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with great boldness. He said the precedent was dangerous, and what now was permitted might hereafter be construed into a right. He added that all matters not treasonable might, without offence, be introduced into Parliament, where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the Crown itself must be finally determined. A very animated debate ensued, and those members of the Privy Council who sat in the House whispered together, and the Speaker moved to stay further proceeding in the matter, a motion which was immediately complied with. The Queen, finding that the experiment she had made was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the House, and, lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Strickland her permission to give his attendance in Parliament.

There was a Parliament called in 1571, the returns of which do not appear in the official list. To this Parliament Thomas Lichfield and Edmund Dockwra were returned for Aylesbury. Lichfield was son-in-law of Sir John and Dame Dorothy Pakington, he having married their youngest daughter, Margaret. He was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Queen. Edward Dockwra may have been connected

with the Hertfordshire family of that name; they were owners of the Manor of Putteridge in that county, and descended from the ancient family of Dockwra, of Dockwra Hall, in Kendal, Warwickshire. There was also one Edmund Dockwra, lord of the manor of Lilly Hoo, in Herts. Or he may have been a relative of Sir Thomas Docwra, the Grand Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and great diplomatist in the reign of Henry VIII.

At the election in 1572 the Queen interfered personally in the election of members. In Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire she sent written orders to see that her allies and those who would support them should alone be elected. Amongst such were Sir Henry Lee, of Quarrendon; the Cheneys, of Drayton Beauchamp and Chesham Bois; and the Pakingtons, of Aylesbury. To this Parliament, which met in May, Thomas Lichfield was again returned for Aylesbury, with George Burden. In the return they are described as having been elected by Dorothy, widow of Sir Thomas Packynton, Knt., lord of Aylesbury. The Pakington family completely monopolized the representation of Aylesbury. Dame Dorothy claimed her right to elect, as the widow and representative of her late husband, who had been lord of the manor. After this election Dame Pakington made the following return to the writ:—

"To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come. I, Dame Dorothy Packington, widow, late wife of Sir John Packington, Knight, lord and owner of the town of Aylesbury, send greeting. Know ye, me, the said Dame Dorothy Packington, to have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lichfield and George Burden, Esqrs., to be my burgesses of my said town of Aylesbury. And whatsoever the said Thomas and George, burgesses, shall do in the service of the Queen's Highness in that present Parliament to be holden at Westminster the eighth day of May next ensuing the date hereof, I, the same Dorothy Packington, do ratify and approve to be my own Act, as fully and wholly as if I were or might be present there. In witness whereof to these presents I have set my seal this fourth day of May, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c."

This extraordinary document is carefully preserved, with other ancient Parliamentary returns, in the Chapel of the Rolls, and is referred to in all works treating on the subject of Parliamentary elections. An instance in which the widow of a Lord of a Manor made the return of burgesses has already been given in the case of the borough of Gatton by Mrs. Coppley. Indeed she made two returns, one in 1554, and the other in 1555, already referred to. In 1554 she returned as follows:—"That according to the tenure and effect of a warrant bi the Shreve to her directed, the said Dame Elyzabeth Coppley, after proclamacon ther duelie made, hath chosen and elected Willyam Wootton, of Lincoln's Inn, gentlemanne, and Thomas Coppley, of the Inner Temple, gentlemanne, to burgessis for the said borowe of Gatton, signed, by me, ELYZABETH COPPLEY." In 1620, and again in 1628, petitions were presented against the return for Gatton. On the last occasion Mr. Coppley, a descendant of the widow Coppley, insisted on his right to return the two burgesses, he being the only inhabitant of the town; he also based his claim on the fact that Mrs. Coppley, his relative, had previously established such right

by the returns she made in 1554 and 1555, and which returns were allowed by the House. The committee of privileges, however, decided against Mr. Coppley's nomination. Gatton, it will be remembered, was one of the boroughs disfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1832, at which time the number of electors was returned as—ONE! The proprietor of the borough in 1698 was Sir Mark Wood, Bart., who could unite in himself the functions of member of Parliament, magistrate, churchwarden, overseer, surveyor, collector of taxes, lord of the manor, elector, could appoint his court leet, of which he was the constable, and consequently the returning officer.

In 1576 a spirit of independence began to show itself amongst some members of the House of Commons. Peter Wentworth, who had before signalised himself by his free and undaunted spirit, opened the Session with an address which gave great offence to the Queen and Ministry. He spoke of the sweetness of liberty, of the freedom of speech in that House, and referred to the infringement of the liberty of members in the former session; he made, indeed, what we should, in our time, call a Radical speech. The Commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual license; they sequestered Wentworth from the House and committed him prisoner to the Serjeant-at-Arms. The House further ordered him to be examined by a committee, but Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and he refused to give these councillors any account of his conduct in Parliament. He justified his liberty of speech by pleading the rigour and hardship of the Queen's messages, nor would he agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was that after a month's imprisonment the Queen sent to the Commons, informing them that from her special grace and favour she had restored Wentworth to liberty and to his place in the Commons; at the same time the House was warned that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased. So absolute had the authority of the Crown become, that the precious spark of liberty which still dimly flickered was only preserved and kept aflame by the zealous and determined minority, among whom were several leading members of the elder Puritans, and it is to these men that the English owe so much of the freedom of their constitution. The Puritans, actuated by the zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the courage which enthusiasm inspires, hazarded the utmost indignation of their sovereign, and, employing all their industry to be elected into Parliament, a matter not difficult while a seat was rather regarded as a burden than an advantage, they first acquired a majority in that assembly, and then an ascendancy over the Church and Monarchy.

It would form an interesting chapter in the history of our national assembly to look back and see how bravely the liberty of speech was battled for by our forefathers; how jealously it was watched by the Tudors and Stuarts; with what persevering arts the courtiers essayed to control or abridge its exercise, and with what stubborn firmness the patriots in early days insisted on maintaining and enlarging its foundations. The student of English history will delight to trace by what painful efforts, and against

what determined opposition, this happy plant throve and flourished, flinging out an expanding shade, till at the Revolution it struck its roots into the very centre of the constitution. In 1566, in Committee of both Houses, a discussion was held relative to the Queen's marriage. Her Majesty commanded "that there shall be no more talk of the matter, and anyone not satisfied may come to the Privy Council and there show their reasons." Elizabeth lost no opportunity of letting the House know her steadfast determination to confine their liberties within the narrowest possible limits.

The Parliament which met in January, 1581, was engaged in making laws chiefly against the Catholics. A fine of £20 per month was imposed upon Protestants who absented themselves from church; to utter slanderous and seditious words against the Queen was made punishable for the first offence with pillory and loss of ears, and the second offence was declared a felony; the writing or printing of such words was a felony even on the first offence. The Puritans so prevailed as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion, and Paul Wentworth, brother to Peter, who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved that the Commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers, a motion to which the House unwarily assented. For this presumption they were severely reprimanded by the Queen as encroaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy, and they were obliged to submit and ask forgiveness.

In 1584 a new Parliament met, and there sat for Aylesbury, Thomas Tasburgh, Esq., and J. Smith, Esq. Tasburgh was Dorothy Pakington's second husband. In 1572 he purchased the manor of Hawridge, near Chesham, of Arthur Penyston, Esq. This estate descended to Thomas Tasburgh, afterwards Sir Thomas Tasburgh, who in 1620 sold it to the Blackwells. It is in Hawridge Church that Dame Dorothy Pakington is buried, and where there is a monument to her memory, with this inscription:—

Here lyeth buried the body of
DAME DOROTHE PAKYNGTON:
A daughter of Sir Thomas Kytson, late of London, Knight, and the wyfe, first, of
Sir Thomas Pakyngton, Knight, and last, of Thomas Tasburg, Esquier.
She lyved very vertuously, and departed this lyfe a mooste faythfull and godly Christian, the 2d of
Maye, when she had lyved xlvj. yeare and vij. monethes, anno dni. 1577.

The Pakington monopoly still existed in the borough, as J. Smith, the other member for Aylesbury, was related to the Pakingtons by marriage. The session of Parliament was mainly taken up with ecclesiastical matters; it was also engaged in hostilities with Spain; the Babington conspiracy; the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots; the Spanish Armada, &c. The majority of the House were Puritans, or inclined to that sect, but the severe reprimands which they had already in former sessions met with from the throne deterred them for the time from making any active movements.

On the occasion of the election in 1586 the following return is made:—

"This indenture, made at Aylesbury, in the county of Bucks, on the twenty-eighth day of September, in the twenty-eighth year of our Lady the Queen, Elizabeth, by the

grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., between Edward Bulstrode, bearing arms, under-earl of the county aforesaid, on the one part, and John Pakington, bearing arms, lord of the borough of Aylesbury, and the community of the same, on the other part, testifies—That the aforesaid John Pakington and the community of the said borough and town, by virtue of the warrant of the said under-earl, approved of the aforesaid John Pakington, have, on the day and year aforesaid, elected Thomas Tasburgh and Thomas Scot, bearing arms, the burgesses to be sent up from the borough and town aforesaid to the Parliament of our Lady the Queen at Westminster, on the fifteenth day of October, and to continue for the time following; and which same burgesses have full and sufficient power, for themselves, the borough, and the town aforesaid, to consent to such things there as by common council of the said Parliament shall be ordained for the use of the kingdom of England, by the favor of God. In witness of which matter the aforesaid John Pakington and the community of the town aforesaid, the seal of the said under-earl to these indentures mutually have agreed to affix on the day and year above-named."

In this Parliament Thomas Tasburgh retained his position as senior member for the borough, but Smith was supplanted by Thomas Scott. Scott was connected with the Pakington family by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Robert Pakington, Esq. In the Parliament of 1588, Thos. Pygott, Esq., and Humphrey Fleetwood, Gent., represented Aylesbury. Pygott or Pigott was one of the ancient Buckinghamshire family of that name and Humphrey Fleetwood was connected with the Fleetwoods of Chalfont. Elizabeth foresaw that this Parliament would be governed by the Puritans, and therefore, to obviate their enterprises, she renewed, at the beginning of the session, her usual injunctions that Parliament should not interfere with or on any account treat upon matters ecclesiastical.

In the Parliament of 1592, we find returned for Aylesbury Sir Thomas West, Knight, and John Lillye, Esq. Sir Thomas West was probably a descendant of that family who were possessed of property at Grendon Underwood, which afterwards passed to the Pigotts by purchase. John Lillye does not seem to have had a local connection. On the assembling of the House, Sir Edward Coke, the Speaker, made the three usual requests of freedom from arrest, access to the person of the Sovereign, and liberty of speech. The Queen, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper Puckering, replied that liberty of speech was granted to the Commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for everyone to speak what he listeth, or what cometh into his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of aye or no. The Speaker was ordered to refuse exhibiting any bills, "which might emanate from idle heads attempting to reform the Church or innovating the commonwealth."

Elizabeth found herself obliged to assemble a Parliament in October, 1597, her exchequer being exhausted. The Commons now began to pluck up courage and

complained that they were not received with due respect when they held conferences with the House of Lords. In this Parliament Thomas Tasburgh returns to his post and again represents Aylesbury, his associate being Thomas Smith. In 1601 a Parliament was again summoned, and met in October in that year. The engrossing question was the one of patents for monopolies, which had been carried to great extremes in this reign. Elizabeth had granted to her servants and courtiers patents which they had sold to others. The holders were by the monopoly they created enabled to raise the price of commodities to any height they pleased.

It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of the commodities over which these patentees held control, by having assigned to them the exclusive trade in them. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, skins, bones, oil, potash, aniseeds, sea coals, steel, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, drapery, pilchards, exports of iron, ordnance, beer, leather, imports of Spanish wool, Irish yarns —these are but a part of the commodities appropriated to the monopolists, and so exorbitant were they in their demands that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixpence to fourteen or fifteen shillings a bushel, and the patentees of saltpetre had the power of entering any place they pleased, and committing any havoc where they suspected saltpetre might be stored. These grievances were most intolerable, and had been referred to in the last Parliament. The Queen was petitioned on the subject, but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people.

The Parliament of 1601 was Elizabeth's last, the members for Aylesbury being John Lillye, who had represented the borough in 1592, and Richard Moore. The return at this election is signed by Edward Cockman, as bailiff. The name of Moore appears in 1608, as holding a View of Frankpledge and Court Baron of the Manor of Great Missenden, Peterley Stone, and Netherbury as steward for King James II. Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th March, 1603.

In the reign of Elizabeth disorder prevailed in the provinces to an alarming extent. It was nothing uncommon for forty or fifty executions to take place in one year in any county for robberies, thefts, and other felonies. The rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over their sheepfolds, their pastures, their woods, and their cornfields; there were hundreds of able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine, and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoils on the inhabitants; the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of the peace who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them, from the confederation of these felons. In this reign the first compulsory rate was raised, and in the fourteenth year everyone was assessed according to his property, in order to raise a regular fund for the poor; and thus began the present system of poor rates.

Chapter XIV.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF JAMES I.—1603 TO 1625.

Members for Aylesbury in this reign.—Sir W. Borlase, Sir W. Smith.—The county case of Fortescue and Goodwin.—Sir Christopher Pigot.—A seat becomes an honour—no returns found from Buckinghamshire—no bribery.—Sir John Dormer — Henry Borlase, Esq. — James's last Parliament. — Sir Thomas Crewe — Speaker of the House—the protestation—Members sent to the Tower.—Sir John Pakington—Sir Robert Carr, Knight—the embassy to Spain—Death of the King—Boroughs restored—new boroughs created.

THE Crown of England was never transmitted with greater tranquillity than when it passed from the Tudor family to that of the Stuarts. James I. succeeded to the throne on the 24th of March, 1603, and was crowned in July following. His first Parliament met in March, 1604, the long delay in the meeting being caused by the plague which had broken out in London, and which raged to such a degree that above thirty thousand persons died of it in a year. It was to this Parliament that Sir Francis Goodwin was returned as one of the knights of the shire of Bucks, when the Chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated the seat, and issued a writ for a new election, and Sir John Fortescue was returned. The first act of the House was to restore Sir Francis Goodwin to his seat, and thus a collision occurred between the House of Commons and the King, which was eventually settled by both members resigning their pretensions to the seat in dispute.

The members returned for Aylesbury in this Parliament were Sir William Borlase, Knight, and Sir William Smith, Knight. Sir William Borlase was of Little Marlow, and one of the ancient family of Borlase, Burlace, or Burlacy, originally of the county of Cornwall. At the dissolution of Bisham Abbey the manor of Little Marlow was granted to John Tytley and Thomas Restwold, who, in 1540, sold the estate to John, Lord Williams, of Thame, from whom it passed to the Wilmots, and it was conveyed from them to John Borlase, Esq., about the year 1560. This John Borlase was sheriff for Bucks in the ninth of Elizabeth. After the purchase of Little Marlow and Medmenham, the Borlase family took up their residence at Bockmer House. By their hospitality they became very popular, and were at different times sheriffs of the county, knights of the shire, and continually representatives of the neighbouring boroughs of Wycombe and Marlow. The male line of this ancient and respected family became extinct by the death of Sir John Borlase, Bart., in 1688. Sir John, being attached to the royal cause, was by the Parliament voted a delinquent, and his person subsequently secured. His composition, which amounted to £2,400, was at first refused, but at

length accepted and chiefly appropriated to the expenses of the garrison at Abingdon. By marriage with Ann, only daughter of Sir John Borlase, these estates passed to Arthur Warren, Esq., whose great grandson sold them in the year 1781 to William Lee Antonie, Esq. The Sir William Borlase who represented Aylesbury in this Parliament was sheriff of the county in the thirty-third of Elizabeth, and he is the same person who represented Wycombe in the twelfth of that reign, and also in the third of Charles I.; he married Mary, daughter of Nicholas Backhouse, Esq.; he was the son of John Borlase, who was member for the county in the ninth of Elizabeth, and high sheriff for two years in the same reign; this John was son of Edward Borlase, by Parnell, a daughter of Chief Justice Sir John Baldwin, of Aylesbury.

Sir William Smith was a descendant of Sir Thomas Smith, Smyth, or Smyjth, of Wyrardisbury, the renowned courtier and diplomatist of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. Sir William was son of George Smyth, of Ankerwyke. In early life he was an officer in the army and followed the wars in Ireland till he was thirty years old. He then went to Spain, was knighted in 1603, and was M.P. for Aylesbury in the same year; he was of great figure and service in the county. He died in 1626; his wife was one of the Fleetwoods of the Vache, Chalfont, by whom he left several children. The Smyths retained their property at Wyrardisbury till 1661, when Thomas Smith, Esq., parted with a portion of it to satisfy a fine of £8,000, in which sum he had been mulcted as a malignant.

It was during this Parliament that the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. After six years of unremitting conflict the Parliament came to a sudden and angry dissolution on the 9th of February, 1610-11. King James declaimed in a tone of splenetic tyranny against the Commons' vaunted liberty of speech. In the debates on the Union with Scotland in 1606 several members gave full expression to the most angry and contemptuous feeling against James' countrymen. Sir Christopher Pigot, one of the members for Bucks county, expressed his astonishment and horror at the notion of an union between a rich and fertile country like England and a land like Scotland, poor, barren, and disgraced by nature—between rich, frank, and honest men, and a proud, beggarly, and traitorous race. The speech aggravated the King, and he rebuked and threatened the Commons, who thereupon expelled Pigot, and committed him to the Tower, and a new writ was issued for Bucks. The unfortunate knight had probably made himself obnoxious, for we read he had some time before been reprimanded by the Speaker for not standing up bareheaded, but even on this hypothesis, it would be difficult to acquit the House of tamely yielding up their member as a victim to the royal vengeance. The King also, by reiterated proclamation, forbade the public discoursing on State affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, rather served to inflame the curiosity of the people. He, in imitation of his predecessors, gave rules to preachers. The pulpit was at that time much more powerful than the Press, as few people could read, and still fewer were in the practice of reading.

Notwithstanding that a seat in Parliament was now considered as an honour, and country gentlemen contended for one, no return was made of members for Aylesbury at the election of 1614 ; indeed, no returns are found from Buckinghamshire, or any of its boroughs. So little skill or so small means had the courtiers in managing elections that this House of Commons shewed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than its predecessor ; and instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the King, who made them several offers of grace, they immediately resumed the subject which had occupied the last Parliament, and disputed his Majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions by the mere authority of his prerogative. Great exertions were made at this election to form a "King's party." Some courtiers, presuming to have friends in every county and borough, by their power among the people undertook to make election of such members for knights and burgesses as should comply solely with the King's desires ; but the project was a failure. There was at this period no bribery or corruption required at elections. Many gentlemen became ambitious of representing counties, but careless as to boroughs. A seat in the House was in itself of small importance ; but the representation of a shire became a point of honour. Towns also which had formerly neglected their right of sending members now began to claim it.

In 1620, Sir John Dormer and Henry Borlase, Esq., were returned. The Parliament met in January, 1621. Henry Borlase was the son of Sir William Borlase, who represented the borough in 1603. Sir John Dormer was a descendant of the Dormers of West Wycombe, Ascott, and Thame ; he is described as of Dorton and Chearsley ; was one of the Commissioners for disafforesting Bernewood Forest ; and served as high sheriff for Bucks in 1596. He died in 1626, and is buried at Long Crendon. He married thrice ; the Cottrell Dormers of Rousham, Oxon, and Chearsley, are the present representatives of that branch of the Dormer family. John Hampden, of Hampden, took his seat in this Parliament for the first time, as member for the borough of Grampound.

In February, 1624, the pecuniary necessities of the King compelled him to open Parliament in a humbler tone than formerly. He issued no proclamation against the people meddling with "State mysteries," and invited the Commons to advise with him on public matters, especially the marriage of his son. This was James's last Parliament. Sir Thomas Crewe, who, on this occasion, was returned for Aylesbury, was a serjeant-at-law. He filled the responsible and dignified office of Speaker of the House of Commons. He was one of those who joined in the protestation "that Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same ; and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest," &c., &c. This protest gave the King great offence ; he sent for the journals of the Commons, and with his own hand tore out the protestation, and ordered his reasons for so doing to be inserted in the council book. The leading members of the House, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Phillips, who took part in it, were committed to the Tower ; Selden,

Pym, and Mallory to other prisons. As a lighter punishment, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crewe, and Sir N. Rich were sent to Ireland on an excuse to execute some business; the King at that time enjoying, at least exercising, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his consent, in any branch of the public service. On an occasion when a merchant demurred to some excessive Government claim made upon him, and showed a disposition to resist, he was ordered to prepare himself to become the bearer of a royal despatch into Ireland; his resistance then gave way very suddenly; such was the state of the liberty of the subject under James I.

The other member for Aylesbury, Sir John Pakington, was made a baronet in 1620; he died in 1624, and was buried at Aylesbury. Great expectations were formed of him when young, and his father obtained a baronetcy for him in his minority; he was in his 24th year at his death, and in the register is denominated "Sir John Pakington, Knight and Baronet, the hopes of Aylesbury." His father survived him until the next year. The successor of Sir John Pakington in the representation of the borough was Sir Robert Carr, Knight; he was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and one of those forming that singular mission, the journey to Spain upon the matter of the marriage of Prince Charles in 1623. It was a mismanaged affair. The Prince and Buckingham, with only three attendants, started for Madrid; small as was the number of attendants, the Prince and Duke left them on the road for want of horses, as was alleged, but it would seem for want of funds. Others of the embassy followed, including Sir Edmund Verney and Sir Robert Carr, but suddenly the Prince intimated to them his peremptory orders for their return.

King James died on the 27th March, 1625. In all history it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious; he was neither a great man nor a great prince; he was weak, mean, and pusillanimous; without inherent stamina of character to become either saint or tyrant. In conversation he was quick, acute, eloquent, but pedantic, interspersing his discourse with numerous oaths and profane allusions. He loved ease, flattery, amusement, and the joviality of the table. No man abounded more in maxims of wisdom, but their application was spoiled by his timidity and changeableness. As a private gentleman or college tutor he might have passed through life respectably, but for the regal office he lacked the ability as much as the ambition. Attemps were made in this reign to introduce order and the Protestant religion into Ireland by colonization, but James's ministers proceeded on the principle of spoliation; they engendered only distrust, irritation, and revenge, and left a plenteous harvest of rebellions and massacres to his successors.

The House of Commons in the first Parliament of this reign consisted of 467 members. The boroughs of Harwich, Evesham, Ilchester, Pontefract, Amersham, Wendover, Great Marlow, and Hertford were restored in James's reign, and the following were created—Cambridge and Oxford Universities, Bewdley, Tewkesbury, Tiverton, and Bury St. Edmunds. The last Parliament comprised 494 members.

Chapter XV.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.—1625 TO 1649.

Members for Aylesbury—Carr, Goodwin, Coke, Sir Edmund Verney, Pakington, Simon Mayne, Thomas Scott, and others—biographical notices of them—John Hampden—arrest of the five Members—the Long Parliament—Sir Ralph Verney—the Buckinghamshire men—their visit to the House of Commons with their petition—six thousand of them—they follow the King to Windsor—the King's reply—outbreak of the Civil War—Execution of the King—his errors.

IN the first Parliament of Charles I., which met in 1625, Sir Robert Carr again represented Aylesbury, the junior member being John Hare, Esq., who had little or no other connection with the town. The return to the writ at this election was made by the bailiff and burgesses, and in no way by the inhabitants at large. The second Parliament of Charles was summoned to meet on the 6th of February, 1625-6. In this election the Court again exercised direct influence and attempted to exclude some of the leaders of the popular party from the House of Commons by having them pricked for sheriffs, by which it was thought they would be incapacitated from being elected. Aylesbury on this occasion returned Arthur Goodwin and Clement Coke, Esquires. Coke is presumed to have been a son of Sir Edward Coke, of Stoke Poges. Arthur Goodwin was son of Sir Francis Goodwin, of Wooburn, and grandson of Lord Grey de Wilton. The name of Sir Francis Goodwin is connected with a constitutional question of great importance arising out of a Bucks election contest, which agitated the Parliament of 1604.

Arthur Goodwin married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Wenman, Viscount Tuam, and had one child only, a daughter, who married Philip, Lord Wharton, of Upper Winchendon, and thus brought about the union between two important Buckinghamshire families. Goodwin represented Aylesbury in this Parliament only; he had previously been member for High Wycombe, and in the sixteenth year of Charles I. (1640) sat as one of the knights of the shire of Bucks, in conjunction with the patriot John Hampden, with whom he was in close companionship, particularly during the unfortunate struggle between Charles and his Parliaments, and up to the time of Hampden's death. Hampden and Arthur Goodwin acted in concert in their movements in the House of Commons.

Goodwin was an active Parliamentarian; when the Civil War broke out he was

foremost in his assistance to raise troops and put into activity the various preparations which had previously been made. Lord Wharton, Arthur Goodwin, Mr. West, Mr. Bulstrode, Mr. Tyrrell, and Mr. Richard Grenville, all county celebrities, were engaged by the Parliament in raising troops in Buckinghamshire. From the returns of Lord Essex, soon after the outbreak of the war, the troops of the Parliament must have consisted in the whole of nearly four thousand five hundred horse and fifteen thousand infantry; in the latter Arthur Goodwin's men formed a conspicuous figure. It was with Goodwin's troop and a company of his own that Hampden stormed Sir Robert Dormer's house at Ascot by Wing, took the Earl of Berkshire, Sir John Curzon, and three others of the King's Commissioners, and sent them as prisoners to London.

Hampden being dispatched out of Buckinghamshire to take command at Northampton with a small brigade of infantry and some guns, Goodwin accompanied him with his regiment of cavalry; and thence, in consequence of a report of the King's activity in Warwickshire, they proceeded to that county to the assistance of Lord Brooke, all returning together with their combined strength to Northampton, where, with the forces of Lord Say, Lord Grey, Denzil Holles, and Cholmley, they gave battle to the King's forces, in which they were victorious. In December, 1642, Goodwin, with a regiment of foot and five troop of horse, was sent forward by Lord Essex to possess Abingdon. Early in January following, he made a successful night attack upon the King's quarters at Piddington, and carried off three troops of horse with their officers. In April Goodwin's troops were at Wycombe, and from that town were sent to reinforce Colonel Bulstrode, who commanded Aylesbury. It will be well understood from the activity of Goodwin in this unfortunate crisis that he was rarely out of the company or counsel of Hampden, excepting upon occasions of stern necessity; the time was, however, hastening when their long-tried acquaintance must be severed, and that by the unfortunate termination of the skirmish at Chalgrove.

However active Goodwin might have been in the battle-field, he was not the less useful in war councils. Hampden consulted him upon every movement and strategy in the various conflicts in which they were jointly engaged. Their friendship and co-operation were not confined to public or warlike matters only, but a strong private attachment had for years existed between them. When Hampden, "with his head bending down and his hands resting on his horse's neck," was seen leaving Chalgrove, Goodwin followed him to the house of Ezekiel Brown, at Thame, whither the wounded patriot had fled and where he had found succour. There to the best of his ability Goodwin soothed the distressing sufferings of the few remaining days of his dying friend; watched hour by hour with the greatest anxiety and alarm his receding strength, and, as he wiped the cold death sweat from his brow, caught the last words the patriot mournfully uttered—"O, Lord, save my country! O, Lord, be merciful to ——!"

We next find Arthur Goodwin "heere at Hampden, doing the last duty for the deceased owner of it." In that mournful cavalcade which on Sunday, the 25th of June, 1643,

formed the funeral procession in Great Hampden Park, "with ensigns furled and muffled drums, their heads uncovered, and singing the 90th Psalm," Goodwin was there with "his broad blacke ribbon hanging about his standard." As the body of the great patriot was lowered to its resting place, there was not one amongst the large assembly of mourners with eyes more suffused with tears or with a heart more sad than Arthur Goodwin. This letter describing the last moments of Hampden was addressed by Goodwin to his daughter the Lady Wharton, of Upper Winchendon :—

"Deere Jenny,—I am now heere at Hampden in doinge the last duty for the deceased owner of it, of whome every honest man hath a share in the losse, and therefore will likewise in the sorrowe. In the loss of such a friend, to my owne particular, I have no cause of discontent, butt rather to bless God that he hath nott, accordinge to my deserts, bereft me of you, and all the comforts deerest to me. All his thoughts and endeavours of his life were zealously in for this cause of God's, wch he continued in, all his sickness even to his death ; for all I can heere the last words he spake was to me, though he lived six or 7 hours after I came away, as in a sleepe ; truly Jenny (and I know you may easily be persuaded to it) he was a gallant man, an honest man, an able man ; and take all, I know nott to any man livinge second. God now in mercy hath rewarded him. My Lord writ to me about another adventure for Ireland wh wil be to a far greater advantage and benefit to the adventurer. Truly I am nott covetuous of the purchase, butt if there is a probability of soe much mony cominge in as may putt hopes for the goinge through in the worke, I shall willingly put to my helpinge hand, and lay downe anothere £100 ; butt I beleeve I shall find none of the adventurers formerly with me, as things stand now, on my minde. I have writt to London for a black suite. I pray lett me begg of you a broad blacke Ribbon to hange about my standard ; my faithful service to my Lady, my Lord Sir Rowland, Sir Thomas, my wife, and the young ladyes. I would we could all lay it to hart, that God takes away the best amongst us. I pray the Lord to bless you. Yr ever, deere Jenny, most affectionate father,

"Ar Goodwin.

"Hampden, June 26, 1643.

"Col. Goodwin to Lady Wharton."

Arthur Goodwin died this same year (1643) ; a memorial of him exists at Waddesdon. The almshouses in the principal street of that village were built by him the year before he died ; they are for the reception of six poor widows of the township of Waddesdon, to whom £5 each is paid yearly. Goodwin endowed the charity with a rent charge of £30 per year chargeable on his manor of Waddesdon. A tablet over the entrance records that the Duke of Marlborough, who was at that time lord of the manor, repaired the buildings in the year 1726.

Clement Coke retained his seat in 1627-8; this was Charles's third Parliament. The successor of Arthur Goodwin was Sir Edmund Verney, Knight, of Middle Claydon. At this election the indentures for the first time were executed in the names of the inhabitants and burgesses of Aylesbury, of which there appears to have been something like 350, not receiving alms, and the constables appointed by the lord of the manor were the returning officers. Sir Edmund Verney was one of that numerous party of English gentlemen who dreaded the restoration of the supremacy of Rome as the greatest of all possible calamities. In the then existing state of the country, two circumstances

excited their alarm and indignation: i. The Romish tendency of the ceremonial innovations of the "church papists," and, ii. The harsh sentences by which the star-chamber, the high commission, and the ecclesiastical courts endeavoured to enforce religious uniformity. It was the object of the great party here alluded to to remedy these grievances, i. By removing from the service of the King those semi-popish counsellors by whom he was surrounded by the influence of the Queen; and, ii. By transferring the temporal authority of the bishops to the Church at large. But, whilst such were Sir Edmund Verney's aims as a politician and a member of Parliament, a conscientious feeling of personal duty attached him individually to the service of his royal master. Although "known," as principal Baillie remarks, "to be a lover of our nation," he followed Charles in the field against the covenanting Scots, and overwhelmed his family with anxiety by daring all hazards to defeat the army which they brought against their sovereign. In like manner, although he remained in the House of Commons and acted with the popular party, until war became almost inevitable, no sooner did the King summon his adherents to York than Sir Edmund obeyed the call. "I do not like the quarrel," he remarked to Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon, "and do heartily wish the King would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend: for, I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops of whom the quarrel subsists." The melancholy forebodings of this honourable and chivalrous gentleman, "a man," says Clarendon, "of great courage" and "of a cheerful and generous nature," were too soon realised. He raised the King's standard at Nottingham on the 22nd of August, 1642, and fell bravely fighting in its defence at Edgehill on the following 23rd October. The hand which grasped the standard was severed from his body, and was afterwards found on the field of battle, with some rings upon the fingers which still remain in the possession of Sir Harry Verney, of Claydon House.

In the Parliament which met in April, 1640, the members returned for Aylesbury were Sir John Pakington and Ralph Verney, Esq. Sir John Pakington was lord of Aylesbury; he was a Royalist, was plundered of his property by the Parliament, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. At this election, Sir John was also returned for Worcester county, and he elected to serve for that shire; another election consequently took place for Aylesbury, when Thos. Fountaine, Esq., was returned. Fountaine was an active Parliamentarian, and closely connected with the extreme party. On the election of Colonel Fleetwood he was introduced into the House of Commons with great ceremony by Fountaine and Scott. The Parliament in which Mr. Fountaine sat was but of short duration; he was returned as member for Aylesbury on the 23rd of April, and Parliament was dissolved on the 5th of May following. He subsequently

sat for Wendover, and was a boisterous member; in December, 1645, in a Committee of Privileges, on the election for Bucks, which was hotly debated, "the lie was given by Mr. Fountaine to Mr. Viners, a witness in the case, yet the Committee thought not fit to report in the House, upon which the petitioner's counsel craved leave to desist, because their witnesses were so discouraged, which the Committee took as an affront, and voted to report that to the House." Mr. Fountaine's name appears in the list of the lieutenancy of the county of Bucks, appointed in the early part of the Civil War to collect the money of the county and vest it in the hands of a treasurer, to levy and train the militia, to form a garrison at Aylesbury, and generally to manage the public affairs of the district. There were thirty-two members of this lieutenancy. It is curious, to those who know the county well and take an interest in it, to observe how many of the families of its first gentry have become extinct, while several of the names in the list of this lieutenancy are now to be found among the yeomen and farmers residing where the manor houses of their ancestors stood.

A Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 3rd of November, 1640, which was afterwards styled the Long Parliament. Sir John Pakington, Bart., and Ralph Verney, Esq. (afterwards Sir Ralph Verney, Bart.), were returned for Aylesbury. This was the memorable Assembly wherein the very crown of our English liberties may be said to have been established. It was a struggle which could have but one end. Sir Edmund Verney in this Parliament sat for Wycombe; the member for Aylesbury was his eldest son. Sympathising warmly on all great points with his son, and yet often opposed to him, Sir Edmund was in a peculiarly difficult position. He had been about the King almost from boyhood; the loyalty of the day was a sort of religion; and, though distressed beyond measure by his master's arbitrary aims, and the misery risked in promoting them, he could not forsake him in his distress. The King opened Parliament in person. Strenuous exertions had been made before the elections, both by the friends of liberty and the Court party, to return their partizans, so that many names of old renown appeared in the New Parliament. Ralph Verney's opinions were of the same school as those of his father, but his adherence to them was unrestrained by the considerations which operated upon Sir Edmund. In Ralph the struggle was of another kind. It was, whether in defence of that course of conduct which he esteemed to be politically right he should put himself in opposition to his father, his brother, and many of his dearest friends. Papers still in existence prove that the effort was a painful one; but love of country triumphed, and the Verney family exhibited that awful but common calamity of civil war, father arrayed against son, and brother against brother. Sir Ralph Verney lived to suffer many things from the friends as well as from the enemies of the cause he espoused.

The name of Verney has for centuries been associated with public offices in connection with Buckinghamshire. In 1480, Sir John Verney was high sheriff; in 1511, Ralph Verney, Esq., served that office in connection with Bedfordshire; again in 1524,

Sir Ralph Verney was sheriff of the two counties; in 1540 Sir Ralph, his son, occupied a like post, and in 1581 Edmund Verney, Esq., was Sheriff for Bucks. As knight of the shire Sir Edmund Verney was returned in 1552, and again in 1556, in conjunction with Francis Verney, Esq.; in 1627-8 Sir Edmund Verney represented Aylesbury; in 1640 Ralph Verney, Esq., was returned for that Borough, as is already recorded; for some subsequent years the returns are defective; in 1768, 1774, 1780, 1790, Ralph, Earl Verney, was sent from Buckinghamshire as one of its knights. Sir Edmund Verney was member for the borough of Buckingham in 1623; in 1681, 1685, and 1688, Sir Ralph Verney was returned for that borough. In 1710 and 1713, John Verney, Lord Fermanagh, represented Bucks county, and in 1717, Ralph, Lord Fermanagh, was returned for Amersham. In 1741 and 1747 Ralph, Earl Verney, represented Wendover, and he was again returned in 1754. In 1833, 1835, and 1837, Sir Harry Verney, Bart., was returned for Buckingham borough; in 1847 for the borough of Bedford; in 1857, 1859, 1865, 1868, and 1880, Sir Harry was again returned for the borough of Buckingham. Sir Edmund Verney, the member for Aylesbury, subsequently sat in the Long Parliament for Wycombe. So, with the exception of Great Marlow, the Verneys have represented every borough in the county, in addition to their services as knights of the shire and sheriffs. The Verneys have also held important positions in other counties. In 1465 Sir Ralph Verney was Lord Mayor of London, and in 1466 was M.P. for that city. In 1499 Sir John Verney, Bart., held the office of sheriff of Hertfordshire; and in 1577 and 1589 Edmund Verney, Esq., filled the like appointment.

On the 22nd of November, 1641, came on in the House of Commons the memorable debate on the grand remonstrance, of which Sir Ralph Verney gives a brief but most valuable report, the first that ever was given of any debate, except the speech of Sir E. Deering; it lasted fifteen hours. Herbert says—"We catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden by a short speech prevented it." It is to Sir Ralph Verney we are also indebted for so truthful and excellent an account of the attempted arrest of the five members of the House of Commons by the King, on the 4th of January, 1642 :—

"A little while after the King came with all his guards and pensioners, 200 or 300 soldiers and gentlemen. The King commanded the soldiers to stay in the hall, and send us word hee was at the doore. The Speaker was commanded to sit still with the mace lying before him, and the King cam to the dore and took the palsgrave in with him, and commanded all that came with him, upon their lives, not to come in. Soe the dores were kept open, and the Earl of Roxborough stood within the dore, leaning upon it. Then the Kinge came uppwards towards the chaire, with his hat off, and the Speaker stepped over to meet him. Then the Kinge steped upp to his place and stood uppon the stepp, but sate not down in the chair. And after hee had looked a greate while, hee told us he would not breake our privileges, but treason had noe privilege. He cam for those five gentlemen, for he expected obedience yeasterday, but not an answer. Then hee called Mr. Pim and Mr. Hollis by name, and noe answer was made. Then he asked the Speaker if they uere heere, or where they ware. Uppon that the Speaker fell on his knees, and desiered his excuse, for hee was a servant to the House, and had

neither eyes nor tongue to see or to say anything but what they commanded him. Then the Kinge told him hee thought his own eyes were as good as his, and then said his birdes wer flown, but he did expect the House would send them to him ; if they did not, hee would seeke them himself, for their treason was foule, and such an one as they would all thanke him to discover. Then hee assured us they should have a faire triall, and soe went out, putting off his hat till hee cam to the dore."

The members demanded by the King were Pym, Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Stroud, and John Hampden. The news that Hampden was in danger caused great commotion in Buckinghamshire, and steps were immediately taken to render him all the assistance possible. Thousands of Bucks yeomen, gentlemen, and freeholders mounted and hastened to London ; on the triumphant return of the five accused members to the House of Commons by water, the men of Bucks were ready at the pier to receive their member as he stepped from the barge. The scene must have been a most exciting one. On the assembling of the House Hampden was the first to break the silence which the five members had observed since they resumed their seats. He thanked the Committee for his friends and himself, craving their good counsel as to a matter it behoved him now to lay before them. Divers thousands were coming out of Buckinghamshire with a petition. The petition was to declare their readiness to live and die with the Parliament, and in defence of the rights of the House of Commons. He had to state that they came in a peaceable manner, and that he thought it his duty to acquaint the Committee therewith. After a while, Mr. A. Goodwin, the other M.P. for Bucks, begged that a deputation from Buckinghamshire might deliver a petition ; whereupon they were admitted. The petition was brought in, and they who bore it informed the House that it had been accompanied to London by above six thousand men, all of whom were ready with their lives and fortunes to defend them, the honourable members of the Commons, or, if need were, against whomsoever should in any sort illegally attempt upon them, to die at their feet. They were dismissed with a vote of thanks, and informed that, as the Parliament was sufficiently guarded by the great care of the City, they might return home, till further occasion, of which they should be duly informed. So many Buckinghamshire men attended the House that it took them a good while to get out. On the tops of their pikes they carried copies of the protestation for the defence of Parliament and maintenance of religion. The number of Hampden's petitioners is very variously stated. Clarendon estimates them at six thousand; another authority at five thousand. Rushworth reckons them at four thousand, and D'Ewes at five or six thousand. Several members would have had the men coming out of Buckinghamshire sent unto, to return thither, but this course was overruled, "the greater sense of the Committee," says D'Ewes, "being to let them alone because we did not know fully the intent of their coming.' Clarendon says "that only Hampden fully knew that ; that the levying of war in England dated from the day when those thousands from Buckinghamshire were invited to tender their petition ; and that whatsoever after was done was but the superstructure upon the foundations which that day were laid." Whitelock, in mentioning the arrival of these

troops of Buckinghamshire yeomen, says that they brought up a petition on behalf of their knight of the shire "whereof probably he was not altogether ignorant beforehand." The streets of the city were crowded with freeholders, gentlemen, and yeomen of Bucks, who had ridden up to defend their representative. The purport of the petition to the House, in which many of the inhabitants of Aylesbury joined in the prayer, was as follows:—"That whereas, many years past, we have been under great pressure, for which are clearly set forth in the late remonstrance of the House of Commons; the redress whereof hath for a long time been by you endeavoured with unwearied pains, tho' not with answerable success; having still your endeavours frustrated or retarded, and we deprived of the fruit thereof, by a malignant faction of Popish Lords, Bishops, and others; and now, of late, to take from us all that little hope which was left of a future reformation, the very being of the Parliament was shaken; and, by the mischievous practices of the most wicked counsellors, the privileges thereof broken in an unexampled manner, and the members thereof unassured of their lives, in whose safety the safety of us and our posterity is involved: we hold it our duty, according to our late protestation, to defend and maintain the same persons and privileges to the uttermost expense of our lives and estates." After stating such measures against evil counsellors as they believed to be called for, the petition closed—"Without all which, your petitioners have not the least hope of the kingdom's peace, or to reap those glorious advantages which the fourteen months' seedtime of your unparalled endeavours have given to their unsatisfied expectations." In addition to the petition to the House of Commons the King was also petitioned in favour of Hampden as follows:—

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble petition of the inhabitants of the county of Bucks, sheweth,—

"That your petitioners having, by virtue of your Highness's writ, chosen John Hampden, Esq., knight for your shire, in whose loyaltie and wisdome we his countrymen and neighbours have ever had good cause to confide, however of late, to our no less amazement than grief, we find him, with other members of Parliament, accused of treason. And having taken to our serious consideration the manner of his impeachment, we cannot but under your Majestie's favour conceive, that it doth so oppugn the rights of Parliaments, to the maintenance whereof our protestation binds us, that we believe it is the malice which their zeal to your Majesty's service and the State have contracted in the enemies to your Majesty, the Church, and Commonweal, which have occasioned those foul accusations, rather than any dessert of theirs, who do likewise through their sides wound the judgment and cares of us your petitioners and others, by whose choice they were presented to the House. Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that Mr. Hampden, and the rest that lye under the burden of that accusation, may enjoy the just privileges of Parliament. And your petitioners will ever pray."

His Majesty, had left London for Windsor, but the men of Bucks were not to be daunted; they followed with their address, and obtained from him a reply:—

"His Majesty being graciously pleased to let all his subjects understand his care not (knowingly) to violate in the least degree any of the privileges of Parliament, has therefore lately, by a message sent by the Lord Keeper, signified that he is pleased

(because of the doubt that hath been raised of the manner) to wave his former proceedings against the said Mr. Hampden and the rest mentioned in this petition, concerning whom his Majesty saith it will appear that he had so sufficient grounds to question them, as he might not in justice to the kingdom, and honour to himself, have forborn: and yet his Majesty had much rather that the said persons should prove innocent than be found guilty; howsoever, he cannot conceive that their crimes can in any sort reflect upon those his good subjects, who elected them to serve in Parliament."

The commencement of the sad conflict between Charles and the Parliament may be dated from this period. In May, 1642, the Commons published a remonstrance, declaring the sovereign legislative power was lodged in both houses, and that the King had not so much as a negative voice; on the 22nd of August the King's standard was raised at Nottingham. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the King summoned a Royalist Parliament to meet at Oxford to the number of 44 Lords and 118 Commoners; which he opened in person. On the 16th of April this Parliament was dismissed from attendance; and prorogued until October, but never met again.

On the 22nd of September, 1645, a motion was carried in the House of Commons disabling Ralph Verney, Esq., from being a member of that House, and an order was made for a new election for Aylesbury. His coadjutor, Sir John Pakington, shared a like fate. They were expelled because accused of Royalist sympathy. Another election took place, when Thomas Scott and Simon Mayne, subsequently regicides, were returned. Scott was an attorney at Aylesbury, and had previously been a brewer at Bridewell, London. He was distantly connected with the Lees, of Burston, and the Pakingtons, of Aylesbury; and at one time resided at Little Marlow. Sir John Pakington's Aylesbury estates were surrendered to Scott on payment of a fine of £5,000, of which sum Sir John was mulcted by the Parliament. In the Commonwealth, Scott became a conspicuous figure, being constantly named one of the executive body; for he was appointed in the Councils of State in 1649, 1650, and 1651; and during the Long Parliament he was in very great sway. He, with Salway, brought the Parliament the particulars of the Worcester fight in 1651. He had such influence, that distasteful as he was to Cromwell, he procured a seat in that Parliament which gave him the title of Protector. Aylesbury returned Scott in the second Parliament called by Cromwell; but the Protector would not let him take his seat until he had signed an engagement not to disturb, but to submit to his Government. Upon the decay of the Cromwellian interest, Scott rose to greater consequence than ever he had possessed, being regarded as one of the firmest pillars of the Republic. In November, 1659, he was appointed one of the Council of State, which he constantly attended, issuing and sealing commissions for raising forces; he was also appointed Secretary of State, and Custos Rotulorum of the city of Westminster. Many hard things are said of Scott; amongst others, that, having purchased a portion of the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth for his residence, he threw down the monument of Archbishop Parker and turned the Chapel into a drawing-room, and, having sold the leaden coffin, threw the remains of the prelate into a hole, in one of the out-houses, where they were

found at the restoration, and with pious care re-interred. His conduct at Aylesbury is represented to have been as insolent as dishonest. In the Parliaments of 1654, 1656-8, Scott represented Wycombe; in 1651 he was made high steward of that borough. He was one of the foremost for putting the King to death, was present at the trial with the exception of two days, and assisted in the judgment, but he appears to have been almost the last to affix his name to the death warrant. He was excepted from the Act of Grace, and attempted to escape to France, but was seized on his passage, plundered, and set on shore in Hampshire. He made a second attempt, and landed in Flanders, but fell into the hands of the King's agents, by whom under some pretext he was liberated. Eventually he surrendered in order to obtain the benefit of the proclamation issued by Charles II., in which he had been excepted by name; he was unsuccessful, was tried, and condemned and executed as a regicide in 1660.

Simon Mayne resided at Dinton Hall, and succeeded to the Dinton estate on the death of his father in 1617. Mayne was a county magistrate, and soon became conspicuous in public affairs. He declared for the Parliament, and began his career as a Republican. He sat in the Painted Chamber as one of the members of the High Court of Justice, and took part in the King's trial almost every day of its sitting. During the Protectorate he continued to be one of the Committee for Bucks. In compliance with the proclamation of 1660, he surrendered, was tried as a regicide, convicted, and sentenced in the usual manner, and died a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1661.

A few years of national calamities elapsed, during which the trial of the King took place, the details of which events devolve more on the national than the local historian. On the 30th January, 1647, the Scots delivered up Charles to the English Commissioners; he was removed first to Holdensby House, and subsequently to Hatfield, Windsor, Caversham, Woburn, Stoke Poges, and Oatlands. He escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was detained as a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle. Eventually he was brought to Windsor, and thence to London. On the 25th December, 1648, a committee of the Rump Parliament met to consider how to proceed in a way of *justice* to the King, and on the 27th of the same month another committee was appointed to draw up a charge against him. On the 20th January, 1649, the King's trial commenced in the High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall, Bradshaw presiding. Charles refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and was remanded, and, as he persisted in his refusal, the President ordered "the default and contempt" of the prisoner to be recorded, and the trial proceeded. The King was fully justified in the position he took. There is nothing in our constitution giving one estate of the realm power to destroy another, so it was impossible that the tribunal before which Charles was arraigned could have been legally constituted; the Court being illegal all its proceedings were likewise so. The trial was not judicially conducted, and was a mere subterfuge for putting the King to a public and ignominious death; on the 30th of January, 1649, he was beheaded at Whitehall.

The political errors of Charles's reign were, in brief, his impoverishing wars, his presumptuous efforts to establish uniformity in religious opinions, his arbitrary maxims of government, his patronage of worthless favourites, and his misconception as to the real nature of the kingly office. The last was the King's cardinal error and the chief source of his misfortunes. Like his predecessors, he considered the prerogatives of the Crown, not as a trust for the public benefit, but an inheritance for his own enjoyment. Hence in his struggles with his subjects he looked upon them as plunderers, who sought to rob him of the patrimony transmitted by his ancestors, and which he ought to transmit to his posterity. This opinion he pertinaciously clung to; he was conscientious but mistaken; and his example is an awful lesson to sovereigns to watch the growth of public opinion, and to moderate its pretensions in conformity with the reasonable desires of their people. Charles, like his predecessors, was exceedingly jealous of liberty of speech, and he inveighed against it. In his first Parliament he proceeded to attack the freedom of debate; his jealous mistrust of Parliamentary eloquence was not suffered to sleep. In a debate, Sir John Eliot, speaking of Buckingham, the royal favourite, referred to him as "that man." Dudley Digges also compared the Duke to "a blazing star." For this they were both committed to the Tower, Charles acknowledging the act. The Commons, alarmed at this open exercise of tyranny, refused to continue their sittings or proceed to any business till their leaders were released. They would not be moved from their moody silence, till after eight days' struggle, when Sir John Eliot was released by royal warrant. The final struggle for liberty took place in 1628, when Parliament was on the verge of dissolution. Sir John Eliot, the undaunted leader of the opposition, declared, "I protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, where I now leave, I will begin again." Holles read a protestation, hastily penned by Eliot, "That whoever introduced innovations in religion, and whoever advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without Parliament, should be reputed a public enemy." The Speaker was held forcibly in the chair whilst the protest was put, the door of the House locked, and the Black Rod refused admittance. Eliot was again committed to the Tower, where he lingered four years in close confinement and there perished. Those who sympathise in the unfortunate end of Charles must call to remembrance his cruel, unrelenting, and unjustifiable persecution, even unto death, of Sir John Eliot.

Chapter XVI.—THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD.

1642 to 1649.

Sad state of the Aylesbury district.—General miserable state of the nation.—Addresses from Aylesbury—Ship money—Petition from Aylesbury.—Aylesbury garrisoned for the Parliament.—Governors of Aylesbury.—Letters of Nehemiah Wharton.—The battle of Aylesbury—another battle.—Letter from Aylesbury to the Parliament.—Sir John Pakington's troubles.—inhabitants of Aylesbury petition for his property.—The Rev. John Barton.—Relics of the struggle.

NO district in the kingdom could have suffered more from the calamities and hardships consequent upon the civil wars of the seventeenth century than that in which Aylesbury is situated. With stations of the King's army at Buckingham, Winslow, Bicester, Thame, Brackley, Brill, Haddenham, and adjacent places, and the Parliamentary force quartered in the town, also at Hartwell, Wing, Bierton, Waddesdon, Leighton, Wendover, Missenden, Amersham, and Chesham, this usually peaceful district must have been a scene of continual anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. Discontent and dissatisfaction were observable as early as the year 1635, and it was evident that a rupture between the King and the Parliament would be the result. Preparations for the struggle were advancing on both sides; the actual commencement of the conflict must be dated from August, 1642, when the Royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham. The sword was then drawn, and in almost every shire hostile factions were warring against each other, and the kingdom was distracted from end to end. It is scarcely possible, after so long a period has elapsed, to fully understand the suffering of the great body of the people during the period of fourteen years of internecine warfare. So far as actual pecuniary losses were sustained, the farmers in most cases were great sufferers. Ever liable to the raids of the military in their marauding expeditions, they were unceremoniously deprived of their horses, cattle, and farm produce for the pressing exigences of the troops. Roundheads and Cavaliers in turn pillaged them, generally in a very tyrannical and arbitrary manner, and without compensation; in other cases under specious promises of payment, never to be fulfilled. The rights of property were not in

the least respected, and the sanctity of the homes and hearths of an innocent population was ruthlessly invaded by a rude, licentious, and mischievous soldiery.*

The arbitrary proceedings of Charles I. had become exceedingly unpopular. The raising a revenue without the consent of Parliament, so often declared illegal, was more and more actively pursued, and upon the same principle new imposts were laid. Coat and conduct monies for the Militia were still levied upon the Counties, and the names of all who resisted payment were reported to the Council Board. Heavy fines were inflicted on such persons as, being possessed of £40 a year, had declined to submit themselves to the honour of Knighthood, and payment was enforced by Exchequer process. As early as 1625, the first year of the reign of Charles, a letter was written to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, then in the height of his power, upon the subject of coat and conduct money, and other grievances, from the Deputy-Lieutenants of Bucks, ending thus :—

"Lastly, we may not omitt, beinge as we conceiue in dutie bound, to present to your Grace the humble petitione of our countrymen wherewith we are importuned at our meetings for subsidies and other payments, that they are vnpaid for the coate-and-conduct monie which they haue twice laid out this yeare, amountinge vnto £437, besides which they haue bene charged with multiplicitie of payments in the leauing and mayne-tayninge of soldiers, for whose charges the countie hath not receiued full satisfactione from the councell of warr, and that, in some places, for these two yeares past, in some more, they haue received no monie from his majesties officers for theire compositione, wheate and for wood, which, fallinge out in these times of affliction and dearth, wherein by reason of the sicknesse most parts of this sheire haue been very much charged aboue former times, is the more pressinge and greeuious vnto them. And so we submit our best endeauors and dutifull seruice to be euer ready.

"At your graces command.

"Allesburie, 18 October, 1625."

Coat and conduct money was imposed in the following manner :—Each hundred provided its levy of men in proportion to its size and the total number required ; one shilling was paid to every man on impressment ; the "coats" of the men cost fourteen shillings each ; one shilling per man was paid to a constable or other person as "conductor" to the place of rendezvous or embarkation, and there was also a payment for "conduct," or expenses on the way. The total sum was assessed on the hundred sepa-

* Mr. Payne, of Walton Grove, Aylesbury, preserves an ancient family manuscript, which gives an account of the losses sustained during the Civil Wars by Ralph Rolls, a farmer, who at that period resided at Garsington, in Oxfordshire. This Mr. Rolls was an ancestor of the family of the same name subsequently, and for some three or four generations, settled at Bicester, also of the Rolls, Payne, and one branch of the Gibbs families of Aylesbury. The narrative describes how that poor farmer Rolls was deprived by the Cavaliers of all his horses save one ; this last he hid in the barton. Some troopers coming into the yard, the hidden horse, by way of recognition, gave a friendly neigh, thus innocently betraying both himself and his master, and Ralph lost his last horse. The account goes on to state how that the soldiery wilfully destroyed the seed corn, so that next year Farmer Rolls' land was left in fallow and waste. So avaricious were the soldiers that it was requisite to secrete the daily food of the family from their clutches ; the bacon was suspended by a rope and hidden in the well, the top of the well being turfed over. The children, in turns, watched whilst the family took their meals, lest by an unexpected visit they might run the risk of being deprived of their food.

rately, and the amount, as we have seen, was got back by the county from "the council of war" as it could—most frequently not at all.

In 1636, as though to irritate country gentlemen as well as their tenants, many an obsolete prerogative allowed by the ancient forest laws was, after centuries of desuetude, re-enforced. Thus we have a warrant from the Earl of Northampton, dated this year, enjoining all Justices of the Peace to assist,—

"William Roads, of Middle Claidon, and Ralph Hill, of Wendover, in the county of Buckingham, servants to sir Edmund Verney, knight marshall of his majestys howshold, my deputies and assignees, for the space of six whole and entire yeares next ensuing the date hereof, to take and seize to his majestys use, and in his majestys name, within all places within the said county of Buckingham, as well within franchises and libertyes, as without, such and so many greyhounds, both dogs and bitches, in whose custody soever they be, as the said William Roads and Ralph Hill shall think meete and convenient for his majesty's disport and recreacion, in such and as ample manner and forme as I, the said earle of Northampton, may or might haue done if this deputacion or assignement had neuer been made. And, likewise, I the said earle of Northampton doe hereby authorize and depute the said William Roads and Ralph Hill to seize and take away all such greyhounds, beagles, or whippets as may anywise be offensive to his majesty's game and disport, as fully and amply as I myselfe, by vertue of the said authority from his majesty, may doe; I, the said earle of Northampton, ratifying and allowing whatsoever the said William Roads and Ralph Hill shall lawfully, by vertue of the said lettres patent, and this my deputacion or assignement doe and execute."

In 1642, a mild remonstrance was addressed from Aylesbury by the Grand Jury of the county of Buckingham to the King in the following terms:—

"May it please you Majestie,—Your very dutifull loyale subjects, we the inhabitants of this county of Bucks, taking into consideration, with great thankfullness, the royal expressions in the latter part of your Majestie's Letter directed to the Judge of Assize, wherein we are graciously invited to make our addresses to your most sacred person concerning our several grievances, which though manie yet none at this time leave so great an impression in the hearts of us your subjects as your Majesties absence from your Parliament, and the feare of a civil warr, occasioned through the raising of an army under the title of a guard; a sight terrible to your people, and not conducible to that amiable accommodation so much desired. Wherefore we humbly implore your gracious Majestie to secure the fears of your people by dismissing the army of your most sacred Majestie to your Parliament, who, no doubt, will most religiously perform all that they have undertaken in a late petition presented unto your Majestie; and we do protest, before the Almighty God, it is not only the desire of our eyes to see you, but the true resolution of our hearts to serve and defend you as we are bound by our duty and allegience.

"R. Grenville,	Edmund West,	Peter Dormer,	Richard Serjant,
R. Pigott,	Edward Grenville,	Richard Bernard,	S. Mayne,
Thos. Tyrrill,	Thomas Stafford,	A. Dayrell,	Henry Allen."
Wm. Borlase,			

The situation and prospects of the country became daily more portentous, and a crisis could not be far distant. The people, deprived of all prospect of relief from Parliament, forbidden by proclamation, forbidden from the throne to assert their

ancient privileges in a Parliamentary way, looked forward to the alternative with affliction and dismay. Then came the ship money project; it met with a firm and open opposition, and against this project the inhabitants of the county of Bucks resolved to make an early and decided stand. At first this requisition was limited to the maritime towns, and an attempt made to justify it upon the alleged precedent of that made by Queen Elizabeth at the period of the Spanish Armada. Now it was sought to be imposed on inland towns. In 1635, a writ was directed to Sir Peter Temple, of Stowe, then High Sheriff of Bucks, requiring that county to supply a ship of war and 150 men with all necessaries and wages for six months, or in lieu thereof a sum of £4,500 to be levied on the inhabitants. In this writ the town of Aylesbury is omitted by name, the bailiff and burgesses of the borough and parish of Buckingham, the mayor, bailiff, and burgesses of Chipping Wycombe, and the good men in the said boroughs, parishes, and their members, and in the towns of Agmondesham, Wendover, and Great Marlow being specially alluded to; and all other boroughs, villages, and hamlets in the said county of Bucks generally included. The county was consequently assessed at a ship of 360 tons, 144 men, and a charge of £4,500; the borough and parish of Buckingham was charged £70 and the borough of Wycombe, £50. It was in the immediate neighbourhood of Aylesbury that one of the earliest public demonstrations against the arbitrary proceedings of the King was made. The parishioners of Great Kimble, in vestry assembled, in 1636, refused to make the assessment of ship money for that parish. At the head of the list stands the name of John Hampden, who was a ratepayer. These brave villagers are entitled to an honourable memory so long as the love of liberty shall retain a place in the hearts of British people.

The country had now been in an unsettled and dissatisfied state for some years. Which of the two parties began the war has always been a matter of strenuous dispute; it is now incapable of being satisfactorily determined. One class of writers insists on the ordinance of the Militia, which preceded the commission of array, as having been a levying of war by the Parliament; the other, with as much proof, impute to the King his negotiations with foreign powers for aid, his attempt upon Hull, his commission to Newcastle, and his declaration from York, which may be said to have put him in the field before the Parliament, as having been a beginning of the war on his part.

In every county and in almost every town the recruiting drum summoned the inhabitants to muster beneath the standard of one or other of the contending parties. Strife and variance, hatred and all evil passions, soon found a consecration and an open avowal in every neighbourhood and on every hearth. The father was divided against the son, the son against the father; brother was separated from brother, never, it might be, to meet again, unless in mutual opposition amid the conflict of battle. Neutrality was the one crime which both avenged; and he who was plundered to-day for being neutral, by the royalists, might to-morrow be carried before the Parliament for the same offence, committed to prison, and there left to perish. The condition of

the country was, indeed, lamentable. Alternately exposed in many places to the aggressions of the royalists and Parliamentarian troops, the harrassed people did not know which masters to obey ; only they were sure that whichever party went or came, those who quitted them would carry away the plundered wealth of their fields, their stalls, and homesteads, and that those who succeeded would wring from them what remained, perhaps accompanying their acts of rapine with blows and execrations, on account of being forestalled. These oppressions were incident to the movements of the armies on both sides, great and small alike. In connection with crimes, atrocious and disgraceful, the destruction of property, the suspension of trade and social intercourse, the dreary blank and the un-Christian bitterness diffused through the familiar channels of daily life may appear less worthy of notice. These were grievous evils and more formidable, as springing from, and reproducing, a demoralization of the national mind. The country houses of the nobility and gentry, often examples of ancient magnificence, were mostly converted into fortresses, and in that capacity were subject to every form of destruction incident to a state of war—to plunder, defacement, burning ; and, as in the case of Sir John Pakington's mansion at Aylesbury, to demolition, sometimes perpetrated in mere wantonness. The plundering and desecration of churches was another practice which continued throughout the war ; the entrance of the Parliamentary forces into a Cathedral town was followed by despatching a cargo of surplices, hoods, communion plate, &c., to Westminster, or by a distribution of the plunder among the soldiers. For these spoils a market was found on the Continent, and the curiosity shops of Holland were glutted with the pillages of our temples and palaces. Demoralization was introduced into private families ; many were devoid of all natural affection ; parties looked upon their nearest kinsmen who were wallowing in their own blood without offering aid, or drawing a sigh of compassion for them ; nay, some were so cruel and deprived of all natural affection as to feel a delight in surprising father, uncle, or brother, and carrying him away to their own garrison to wring from him some considerable ransom, which, being declined or refused, led to the confiscation of his property, and reduced him to poverty and destitution without compassion or reluctance on the part of the aggressor.

Aylesbury was one of the first places to be strengthened with batteries, and it was chosen by the Parliament as a deposit for war materials. Lord Paget had been appointed Lieutenant of Bucks, but he went over to the King ; and on Mr. Tyrrel giving information of Lord Paget's duplicity the following petition was presented from Aylesbury :—

"*To the Right Honovrable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.*

"The humble Petition of the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers of the Trayned Bands and Voluntiers, of the County of Buckingham, assembled at Alisbury, Iune 17, 1642, humbly sheweth,—

"That they give you thanks from the depth of their hearts, for the great and

many benefits they have already reaped from your no lesse chargeable, then indefatigable paines, and in particular for your necessary Ordinance of the Militia, on which, as we conceive (under God), our safety doth depend, unto which we most cheerefully submit, as is manifest by this dayes appearance, not onely of the Trained Bands, but of well neere a thousand Voluntiers, that make all demonstration of Obedience, as well to this, as all other Commands that shall come from your Honourable Houses, in opposition to the Popish malignant Party at home, or any other power from abroad, notwithstanding the many visible discouragements from ill affected persons that make it their businesse to blemish the validity of your Authority, as also by the Lord Lieutenant's absence, contrary to the trust reposed in him.

"Therefore we humbly implore the continuance of your care for our Safeties, and to appoint such a Lord Lieutenant, in whom we may confide, as surely you may in us, who are resolved to lay our lives and fortunes at your feet, in defence of the King and Parliament.

"And we shall pray, &c."

"Iune 24, 1642.

"It is desired that the Lords would joyne with this House, in nominating the Lord Wharton to be Lieutenant for the County of Buckingham in the place of the Lord Paget.

"It is this day Ordered that this shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

"H. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com."

Lord Wharton was consequently appointed Lord Lieutenant, and he and the deputy lieutenants arranged the public affairs of the garrison at Aylesbury. Lord Paget's flight was caused by the unanimous determination of the gentry of the county not to give into his hands the gunpowder which the committee of public safety had sent down to store at Aylesbury. A list of the committee of lieutenancy for the management of the affairs of the County of Bucks, and the paying of the soldiery in the garrison of Aylesbury and other matters, was now published; their names were Sir Peter Temple, Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Sir Ralph Verney, Sir A. Denton, Sir W. Andrewes, Sir Thomas Sanders, Sir Richard Pigott, Sir John Lawrence, Sir H. Proby, Sir W. Drake, the Governor of Aylesbury, T. Tyrrel, Bulstrode Whitlocke, Richard Winwood, Thomas Fountaine, Edward West, Richard Grenville, T. Tyringham, T. Bulstrode, T. Archdale, T. Lane, H. Beale, R. Sargeant, R. Lowe, E. Waller, C. Eggleton, A. Carpenter, P. Dormer, T. Theed, T. Deverell, J. Russell, and J. Lane, Esqrs.

Some intercepted letters written by one Nehemiah Wharton, in 1642, give an insight into the marauding expeditions of the contending armies. There were nine of these letters, and all were addressed from the country to a merchant at the "Golden Anchor, St. Swithin's Lane," who had been Nehemiah's master. This Wharton appears to have been an officer in a troop of London Volunteers that joined the army of the Earl of Essex, and was, perhaps, one of those called "gentlemen 'prentices;" at all events, judging from his expressions, his heart was thoroughly in the popular cause, and he never forgets to send his "humble service" to his late master and "mistris," and his "love to all his fellow-servants," subscribing himself "your poore, auntient, humble, and affectionate servant to commaund." He makes no secret of his opinions, thereby shewing us what people thought and did during the great civil conflict. The first letter was written

from Aylesbury, on the 16th August of the year above mentioned. Nehemiah tells us that, having left London on the 8th, with the Sixth Company, he marched to Acton, where they made speedy acquaintance with hardship, for, being "belated, many of the soldiers were constrained to lodge in beds whose feathers were above a yard long." It is remarkable that scenes of plunder and destruction are recorded as generally followed by a "worthy" or "heavenly sermon" from some of the ministers in attendance on the army. In some instances the commanders interfered to prevent the violence of the men.

From Uxbridge, Nehemiah went with three other officers and 100 musketeers to "bringe the amunition" to Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, which, he says, "is the sweetest country that I ever saw, and as is the country so also is the people;" but he complains of the miles as being too long. At Great Missenden they had noble entertainment from the whole town, and especially from Sir Bryan Ireson and the minister. At Wendover, one of the men, "forgettinge he was charged with a bullet, shot a maide through the head, and she immediately died"—an accident which made the company "march very sadly two miles;" but presently meeting Hampden, with a number of well-mounted gentlemen, they shouted for joy, and entered Aylesbury in high spirits, where a regiment of foot and troops of horse were already quartered.

Nehemiah makes grievous complaints of the Lieutenant-General, who is described in no measured terms as one whom they all desired the Parliament would depose, or God convert, "or the Devil fetch away quick." On the 17th of August he writes—"Our companies, after they had taken six delinquents and sent them to London, returned to Aylesbury. Wednesday morning a Warwickshire minister, whom the cavaliers had pillaged to the skin, gave us a sermon. Thursday morning another sermon was given us." And on the 26th he tells us that "the troop, marching towards Buckingham, capturing 'delinquents' by the way, skirmishing with the enemy, and Nehemiah himself kills a deer in the park of the 'malignant fellow' Sir Alexander Denton, and feasts his companions to their great content. But the next day they had other kind of cheer on their way into Northamptonshire, 'a longe and tedious journey, wanting both bread and water, and about ten at night came into Byfield in dispight of our enemies, at which toune we could get no quarter, neither meate, drinke, nor lodginge; and had we not bin suplyed with ten cart-loade of provision and beere from Banbury, many of us had perished.'"

In September a pulpit was erected in the Market Place at Aylesbury, whence sermons were preached to the garrison on Sundays. On the 16th of the month Hampden, with Holles, commanded in a severe skirmish a short distance from Aylesbury, in which many were slain; the cavaliers were repulsed and pursued, the prisoners being sent to Buckingham and Wycombe gaols. Hampden and Holles did not pause but pursued the beaten party to Oxford, from which place they dislodged Lord Byron, and followed him into the Vale of Evesham, there brought him to action, and dispersed his

forces. A requisition was immediately sent to London to reinforce the garrison at Aylesbury. Hampden's regimental officers at this time were:—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Wagstaff, Sergeant-Major W. Barrist, Captains R. Ingoldsby, — Morris, Arnett, Stiles, Rayment, Farringdon; Lieutenants Henry Isham and J. Shorter; Ensigns E. Willet and L. Almot; Chaplain, The Rev. W. Spurstow. Within a month after the raising of the King's standard, the Parliamentarian forces amounted to 25,000 men, the whole being at the disposal of the Committee of Safety. Lord Wharton, Arthur Goodwin, Mr. West, Mr. Bulstrode, Mr. Tyrrill, and Mr. Richard Grenville were active in raising troops in Buckinghamshire and quartering them at Aylesbury. Hampden's troop wore green coats, Lord Say's and Lord Mandeville's blue. Each regiment carried a small standard with a device and motto on one side, and on the other the watchword of the Parliament, "God with us." Hampden's regiment bore the motto "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*"—"there is no receding." Hampden's green regiment was composed entirely of Buckinghamshire men, and his colleague Arthur Goodwin, of Upper Winchendon, raised a regiment of cavalry, all men of Bucks. In October the Lords and Commons of Parliament appointed Henry Bulstrode, Esq., of Hedgerley, to raise forces in Bucks to preserve the peace of the county, and of such forces raised he was to be the Colonel. He was ordered to assemble his troops at Aylesbury, and in the following month he was appointed Governor of the town. Richard Grenville was also made a Deputy Lieutenant, and warmly espoused the Parliamentary cause. On the 23rd of the same month the battle of Edge Hill took place.

On the 1st of November the battle of Aylesbury was fought. The following account of it was published immediately after, and triumphantly distributed in large numbers by the Parliament:—

"Ye Battell of Alisbury, 1642.

"Good and Joyful Nevves ovt of Buckinghamshire, being an exact and true Relation of a Battell, stricken between Prince Robert and Sir William Balfore, Lieutenant Generall to his Excellency the Earl of Essex, near Alisbury in that County, on Tuesday last, the first of November, wherein the said Sir William obtained a happy and glorious Victory.

"London, Printed for Francis Wright, 1642.

"Human nature is covetous of novelties; never had that Axiome so pregnant proofes as in these days; never were the people so appetitious of newes; never were their desires so answered with diversity of narratives; and to say truth, never were there broacht so many false and improbable relations; every Man speaking according to his fancie and wishes, and divers sons of adversity and impudence, confidently committing many illegitimate conceptions of their owne to the publike view, which have no more affinity with the opinions of Copernicus, of the motion of the earth, or that relation of our Countrymen of the new world in the Moon, or of Domingo Gonzales and his flight thither upon the wings of his Ganzas; but this *ab re; veritas non quærit angulos*, our present discourse needs no preface to excuse it, being a positive and confirmed truth: on Tuesday last, All Saints' Day, destined for holier uses, Prince Robert with his well

beaten troops, after they were routed in the late known battaile by the Parliament's forces, wearied with their flight and bleeding with the wounds they had received there, sought to refresh themselves in the pleasant and plenteous County of Buckingham, in which all things exuberate that might please their appetites, or satisfy their wants (that country being most odious to them, cause most faithful to the Parliament), they left no expressions of their hostility and rapine unperformed ; Souldiers (especially wanting ones) wishing no better place for plunder than a rich and fertile Province, till they arrived at Ailesbury, a towne one of the most signall and wealthy of the Shire, where Prince Robert with some ten thousand horse and foote, on Tuesday morning, about six of the Clock, entered to the great amazement and feare of the honest inhabitants, who, little expecting such a sudden greeting from the Enemy, were unprovided for defense. The faithful Militia of that good towne, being unable to make resistance against such a multitude of halfe desperate men, made a vertue of necessity, and gave them a free entertainment ; the chiefe Magistrates there knowing it was *Prudentia Multua dissimulare*, affording them good words ; and to give the Divill his due, there they remained in indifferent peaceable disposition, till some of Prince Robert's scouts, or horse centinels, upon the spurre came in, and with a sudden alarme gave a speedy and dreadful notice to their Generall that there were great and formidable forces approaching the body of an Army, as their feares made them conjecture, of at least six thousand men, when, as since it was certainly knowne and credibly affirmed, they were not above 1,500 Men, or thereabouts, under the command of the gallant Sir William Balfore, sometime Lieutenant of the Tower, and now Lieutenant Generall of the present forces for the defence of the kingdome, under his Excellency the Earl of Essex, who, after the late battell, were sent by the Earl's careful directions, to advance through the neighbouring Counties, and to secure their safeties, there being nothing so requisite and full of commendation in generall, as to consider distant dangers of his friends and confederates with the same eye hee lookes upon those which are present, and threatening himselfe : for that end therefore was Sir William Balfore sent forth, who investigating the enemies passages had certaine intelligence that Prince Robert, with some of the profligated troopers, were returned into Buckinghamshire, and had fixt their rendezvous at Alisbury, whither with all convenient speed the said Sir William made, knowing that delaies in affaires military as in all other actions beget dangers, with his fifteen hundred men, being six horse troops, and the foot part of Colonel Hampdens, and part of Colonel Grantham's regiments, which were the army of six thousand foot and Horse, which the centinels gave information to the Prince were then invading him at not halfe an houres march distance, with which alarme not affrighted, but a little troubled, had prepared not for his defence, but to give them the *bein*, or the *mal venu* (take it as you please) to Alisbury, leaving, lest the townes-men whom he durst not confide in, should fall upon his rear, a troope of horse and two Companies of Foot there in *parada* [qu. *parata*], to secure the inhabitants, where when they heard of their friends approaches were all unmindfull to act their parts on that Theatre of War for their owne safeties ; active spirits forces young men, like Lapwings, to run out of their nest, part of the shells yet sticking to their temples ; so it has done with this Prince Robert, whose fiery soule had rendered him too great a stickler in his kingdomes quarrels, but he having drawn forth his companies into one entire body, without the towne, he espied within a quarter of a mile the Parliament's Forces, which were as ready to charge him as the Prince was them ; but their wise and prudent chiefe, Sir William Balfore, knowing that hasty attempts beget dangerous and uncertain successes, kept them in, facing the Prince with a narrow body of horsemen, his troopes being drawn out like a pyramid, sharpe at the top, and broad by degrees in the grossé. Prince Robert with his owne troope, the flower of the Cavalry, charging through Sir William Balfore his front, and thinking to make us find as easie passage through the rest, was bid to a bloody dinner in the heart of his squadrons. The horsemen being there at least ten broad in Rank, thundering death

from those engines of destruction, their Carbines and patronels, into the bosome of the Princes Souldiers ; who neither knew well to advance nor to retreat. Another Troope, if I mistake not young Master Pyms' (the hopeful son of an excellent father), charging them hotly in their right flanks, so that Prince Robert's mauger, his native courage was at its *non plus ultra*, till Sir Lewis Dives, a man of as much acrimony and spleen as any of the malignant against the Parliament, fell in pell mell to the princes rescue ; having behind each of his horsemen a musketeer, who, being at competent distance, alighted and diffus'd their dreadfull and death-bearing bullets through our squadrons, which then began to totter from their order, Some ten or fourteene falling in that furious charge ; till Captain Herbert Blanchard Captain of the Earl of Peterborrowe's Troope came in with much courage to the aid of Sir William Balfore's Troope, and the foot forces on our side having gained both wind and Sun, sent cheerful volleys of fire and smoak and bullets, on the left flanke of the Prince's Squadrons, the Horses gald with the shot overthrowing their riders. And the Souldiers of our foot taking fire from their resolv'd Captaines, animating each other to an assured conquest ; Commissary Willmott who all this while had stood as a reserve to the Prince's Forces, then falling into this game of blood and slaughter, reduced the conflict to an equal scale, killing some three score of our men, when Sir William Balfore who leaving his owne Troops to the charge of his Lieutenant, had retired into the rear of his horse and brought them up to the face of the Enemie, our foot in the interim wheeling about, came in upon theirs with a full charge, beating them from their stations, and disordering their rankes. They sent at least 200 of their men to salute the earth, never more to rise thence. The Prince all this while made good the fight against Sir William with his horse till Commissary Willmott receiving a shot into the shoulder, They began to shock together and as it were to retreat ; when the flight of their foot, who began to use the vertue of their legs : drive them, spight of Prince Robert's fury, to bear them company and outstrip them at their own exercise of running away : that troope and those two foot companies advancing forth of the town to the reliefe of their companions were undertaken by Captaine Ascough's Troope and some foot forces till the Townes men near being rid of their unwelcome guests, to the number of two hundred well arm'd, charg'd them upon the backs, then they fell into an apparent rout, following their flying fellowes ; our horsemen having them in the chase, they did execution on their foot for the space of a miles riding : killing in the chase and the fight to the number of six hundred, most of which were the infantery, their Cavalry escaping by the benefit of their horses, found the Proverb verified 'one paire of legs is worth two paire of hands.' Prisoners of the common sort there were taken 200; of note not any but one Dudley Smith, a young Gentleman of much courage, who died some houres after of his woundes received in the battel : of our part there fell about fourscore and ten persons : too great a number to be lost, yet gloriously they did [qu. died] being, as it were, their countryes Martyrs. Sir William Balfore after his victory, marching to Alisbury, spent the rest of that day in prayers and thanksgivings for his good successe, to that Great God of battels, in whose dispose is Conquest, and by whose almighty and outstretched arme, this victory arriv'd to his servants; Prince Robert with his flying Troopes as it were, in revenge of that overthrow, burning the poore country villages in his retreat towards Oxford, where it is reported hee is : and whence shortly it is hoped, he and all those perverse malignants will be brought to condigne punishment. Thus it has pleased the Lord of Hosts to give victory to the Parliaments Forces by handfull, if compared with the enemies numbers : In his power it is to save with few, as well as with multitudes. To him therefore we ought to ascribe all praise, trusting that hee will deliver us from our enemies. Amen."

Lord Nugent, in his life of Hampden, gives the following account of the action :—

"The small garrison of new raised Militia at Aylesbury had been moved to some quarter which was more closely threatened, and the town and the rich pastures which

surrounds it were left unprotected. Thither Prince Rupert marched with a force of some thousands of horse and foot, and, after some days past in securing for the King's use much of the produce of the Vale and despoiling and laying waste much more than he secured, entered and possessed himself of the town. Here after one more day of free quarter in Aylesbury, during which the inhabitants were made to suffer all sorts of outrages from the soldiers, he received intelligence of the approach of a brigade of the Parliament's troops from Stony Stratford. Rupert, probably afraid of attempting a defence within the walls of a place, however well adapted by its situation for defence, where the townsmen were all his enemies, and having in his front a country over which his cavalry could act with great advantage, left there but a troop of horse and two companies of foot, and marched out with all the rest of his force to meet the advancing enemy. But he had not gone further than the brook, about half a mile to the northward of the town, where there was then no passage but a bad ford, swollen by the rains, when he found himself checked by Balfore's horse and foot in column, on the opposite bank. After the first volley or two, Rupert charged across the ford, and, breaking through Balfore's two first lines of infantry, plunged into the centre of his horse, who were flanked on the right by Charles Pym's troop. And here a sharp conflict began. Sir Lewis Dives came up with the Prince's reserve, and Captain Blanchard with Balfore's; the musketry of the foot, the carbines and petronels of the cavalry, swords, and poleaxes all doing the work of death, and the soldiers of all arms mixed and fighting in one close and furious throng. It lasted thus but a few minutes. The King's troops were driven back across the stream, and Rupert rallied on the other side, only to lose more men from the fire, and to receive a charge in return, which drove him back in confusion towards the town. In vain did the troops hurry down to his support. The townsmen rushed forth upon his rear, with whatever arms haste and fury could supply to them, and Rupert began his retreat towards Thame, before the mingled troops and populace, who, however, after slaughtering the hindmost for above a mile, did not venture further to pursue among the enclosures, a force still superior to their own. In this action some hundreds of Rupert's men fell, and of the Parliamentarians above ninety."

On the 7th of December a strong body of horse, near five thousand, with artillery, proceeded, under the command of the young Lord Wentworth, Lord Strafford's son, by way of Thame, to menace Aylesbury and Wycombe. Finding Aylesbury well fortified to the northward and westward by strong batteries, and to the east by a redoubt on the rising ground towards Bierton, Lord Wentworth suddenly left it, and, moving rapidly by the lanes across the Chilterns, and down through the woodlands, upon Wycombe, endeavoured to enter the town from the side of the Rye. Here he was taken in flank by four thousand pikemen volunteers raised in the neighbourhood, and opposed in front by a small garrison of regular troops, commanded by Captain Hayes. After several hours' fighting, Lord Wentworth retired, himself wounded, having lost nine hundred men, and with no other success than having slain three hundred Parliamentarians.

This letter from Sir John Culpeper to Prince Rupert affords information of the state of the garrison at Aylesbury:—

"Sir,—According to the intimation I received from your Highnesse I sent severall spyes into Ailesbury; the one of them brought me hither the last night at 10 of the clock this paper enclosed, wch was sent from a very good hand in the towne yesterday at 11 in the morninge. If the tawny regment should be in the towne I presume the

businesse will be full of difficulty : if your forces should fall uppon them in their march or [. . . . . .] probably both the workes (the breakinge of them, and the reducing of the towne) will be easy. But your Highness will best judge of these particulars neare the place. I shall only presume to offer to you that if you looke upon the towne, a generall offer of a pardon both to officers, soldiers & Burgers, with the promise to the one of the continuance of their entertamnt (uppon security of their loyalty by takinge the protestation) and to the other of security from plunderinge (uppon fitt expression of their affections by a summe of money) may much advance the worke in hand, by freeinge them from depaire and dividinge them amongst themselves. I wholly submitt these notions to your Hignesse wisdome, beinge most faithfully

"Your Highnesses most humble and obliged Servant,
"JOHN CULPEPER.

"Oxford, 19th March, 1642, 10 in the morninge.
"I have sent a copie of this note to the governor at Brill. Your designe was publiquely talked of here yesterday morninge."
Endorsed "For Prince Rupert, His Highnes humbly present these."

The information gained from Culpeper's letter probably determined Prince Rupert to march on Aylesbury. He quartered his troops near the town on Monday night, March 20, 1643, and advanced towards it next day; but retired in the evening, no engagement having taken place. This expedition must not be confounded with the battle of Holman's Bridge, fought on the 1st of November, 1642, nor with that affair, commonly known as "The Plot to betray Aylesbury," which occurred ten months later, *i.e.*, in January, 1643. A narrative, however, of Rupert's appearance before Aylesbury on the 20th of March, 1643, showing that he intended a reconnaissance rather than a direct attack, and, misled by the statements given him by Culpeper possibly expected the easy surrender of the town to him, was printed in *The Perfect Diurnal*, a Parliamentary newspaper, of the date of March 27, 1643.—It is as follows :—

"The certaine relation of the buisinesse at Aylesbury was this day (March 23), fully informed to the House of Commons by letters from Colonell Goodwin, and the other chiefe Commanders there to this effect. Sir, wee hold it convenient to give you a true relation of the passages concerning the Kings forces, and their appearing against the Towne. On Saturday last they marched from Oxford and those parts, and on Sunday the greatest part of them came to Thame : on Munday all their forces were drawn neere to this Towne, within one mile or two miles of the place, aud shewed as if they would have fallen upon us that day, but they spent that day in viewing of the Town, where to make their best assault, and interposing betwixt us and the Chiltern parts of our Countrey, to hinder their assistance of us, where we had severall skirmishes without any losse ; The Earl of Carnarvon commanded a great body of horse, and marched all Sunday night to Wendover, where he hoped to have taken one of our Troops of horse, which he had drawn thence some few hours before, but they plundered that Town, and the adjacent Towns, and committed many outrages besides, as we are informed. On Munday night the whole forces quartered within a mile or two of this town, and the next morning their horse drew towards us, almost within Cannon-shot, and we expected every hour when they would fall upon the Town, and our horse drew into the field towards them, and the forlorn hopes fired upon one another often, but they being much too strong in horse for us, we drew our horse into the Town, preparing for their assault, but whilst we looked for their approach, they drew

away towards evening on Tuesday, and instead of souldiers turned sheep-stealers, for they have plundered all the Towns thereabouts of all their goods and household stuffe; they have taken and driven away all their horses, beasts, and sheep, and in this iniquitie have herein only dealt equally, that they have not spared those who are accounted their own friends: they spoiled and tore in pieces the inside of divers fair houses, and besides the corne they spent upon their horses, they spoiled and spilt very much upon the ground, and threw it about the fields, and what goods they could not cary away, they cut in pieces and threw about the fields and high wayes as they went: they have not only taken away the horses which should now plough our grounds for seed, but have cut in pieces their Horse harnesses, and things belonging to the plough, as if they meant to bring the Kingdom to destruction in an instant. And we must be bold to signifie unto you that these cruelties are not acted by mean ones; for the Commanders herein, as we are informed, were Generall Ruthin, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Grandison, Lord Wentworth, and Col. Garrard, with many others of their great ones; the forces they came with were all they could get together, not leaving men enough to relieve the guard in Oxford; their forces were as we collect by all our discoveries about 6000, who had devoured us in their thoughts before they came neare us; but God discouraged them from assaulting us which if they had done, they wold have found it a hot service: for our Souldiers and Country-men within the Towne were very bravely resolved to defend the place, though much inferiour to them in number, besides the great addition of strength sent unto us by his Excellency the Earle of Essex; whose care of us, and consideration of the State in securing this place is never to be forgotten; for his forces came to us much sooner than we could expect; and had the enemy stayed a few houres longer we had given them battell in the field: but it was not Gods pleasures the troubles of the time should end so, as yet we must expect his further pleasure. This is all they have to informe you (and if you shall thinke fit to impart unto the House)."

The Perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament from Monday, the 9th of January, till Monday, the 16th, 1643, states that—"From Ailesbury in Buckinghamshire it is informed that the Towne is very strongly fortified, and that there is six pieces of Ordnance and a strong garrison of men; Coln. Bulstrode, his Regiment, and some other forces being there; that the King's forces continue still at Brill, near to Aylesbury, but dared not march any further this way in the Country for that more of the Parliaments forces are quartered at Weldover (Wendover), Missenden, Wickham, and other townes thereabouts, which carry themselves very orderly, doe noe harme where they come, and paying very justly for the things they have." On the other hand great complaints were made of the ravages caused by the King's party, which produced the following letter "from Ailesbury, directed to Colonell Hampden, Colonell Goodwyn, and read in both Houses of Parliament, May 18th, 1643":—

"We cannot but acquaint you, that you may make it knowne to the House of Commons, if you please, in what miserable condition this Country is at this time, the King hath sent into these parts about 12 or 1400 of his Forces, commanded as wee are informed by the Earle of Cleaveland, who is accompanied with the Lord Shandose, the Lord Crawford, Sir John Byron, and others of Note, who according to the knowne Law of the Land, pillage and plunder all the Towns where they come, they murder our neighbors that make but any defence to preserve their goods, one woman (among the rest) bigge with child, who could make no great resistance; they cut in peeces what household goods they cannot carry away; they sweepe cleane divers of our pastures,

leaving no Cattell behind them, and that no cruelty might be left unexercised by them, they have this day fired a Country Village called Swanbourne, in 7 places of the Towne, for no other reason but because they were not willing to be plundered of all they had, and guarded the fire so carefully with al their forces divided into severall parts, that no neighbors durst adventure to come to quench it, all the while it burned our Forces in this Garrison consisting only of Foot, saving one troope of Horse, we were not able to encounter with the Enemy, nor relieve our neighbors thus despoyled, but yet to interrupt that, which to them is a sport, we drew out some Forces in their sight as far as with safety we could, whereby they have not acted this day all the mischief they intended to execute before night, but what they have left undone to-day, wee expect they will, ere they leave us, make up, for they are now so strong that they quarter at Buckingham & where they please, in those parts without resistance. We wish the Parliaments Army were so accomodated, that this Country (which hath hitherto bin, and yet is most ready to serve & obey the Orders of the Houses) might not be destroyed and made utterly unable to contribute unto it, before we can be relieved by it, but relying upon God's providence, and the best means which may be afforded to preserve us. Wee rest

"Your very loving Friends to serve you,

"JOHN WITTEWRONG,

"Ailesbury, 16 May, 1643." "THO. TYRRILL.

In January, 1643, the army from Aylesbury sustained a defeat in their attempt to take possession of Brill Hill, which was garrisoned by the King. Mr. Grenville, the High Sheriff, planned the assault; he marched with volunteers from Aylesbury, and sent for Hampden from Wycombe to assist him, but the enterprise entirely failed, and Mr. Grenville received a dangerous wound. In the March following a cessation of arms in Oxon and Bucks was proposed by the King and assented to by Parliament. The King's forces in Oxfordshire were not to advance nearer Windsor than Wheatley, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer Aylesbury than Brill. The Parliament's, no nearer Oxford than Henley, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer than Aylesbury. Prince Rupert now recommenced his incursions into Buckinghamshire, and on the 13th of March he appeared at Stone with 6,000 men, the King's Life Guards, and the Black Regiment. The news of the intended enterprise having reached the Parliament the day before, Hampden and Stapleton had posted away to their charges. With their regiments and those of Goodwyn and Homestead which lay at Wycombe, in all about 3,000 horse and foot, they set forth to reinforce Colonel Bulstrode, who commanded at Aylesbury. They were joined on their march by Colonel Mills with a regiment of Dragoons from Beaconsfield; so that on the morning of Prince Rupert's intended attack on Aylesbury the town was found thronged with a powerful force for its defence. It now became their duty to endeavour to protect the country around from the pillage, which had already commenced. The Prince had begun to retire, but had detached Lord Carnarvon to his right who entered Wendover and plundered it, and then proceeded towards Chesham, where he met with a few of the Parliament's horse, whom he routed and forced back to Missenden. On Carnarvon rejoining Rupert that night he found him in full retreat, laying waste, as he passed, the villages which lay on his way to Oxford. Towards the next morning, the Prince hastened his retreat by Brill, his rear guard severely harassed by repeated charges, and, moreover, having received the alarm that Lord Essex was moving to intercept him

at Thame. On the 24th he resumed his enterprise with increased power, aided by six pieces of ordnance; but with no better success. The disposition of the Parliament's troops was now complete; the country people all on the alert; a large force in position before Aylesbury; and Hampden's brigade joined with the main body under the Earl of Essex on his flank near Thame and menacing Oxford, in the event of his further advance. On the 30th of March, Parliament ordered that £200 per week should be allowed for the maintenance of the county soldiers in the garrison at Aylesbury. In July, Sir Charles Lucas defeated a detachment of the Parliamentary army at Padbury, and drove them back to Aylesbury; eight of the soldiers, who fell in the skirmish, were buried at Padbury. On the 28th of August the Earl of Essex came to Aylesbury from Wycombe, on his way to Gloucester, and with his army staid at Aylesbury for two days. Here he was joined by several regiments of train bands from the city, some troops of horse, and a train of artillery. Twenty-one days after the commencement of the siege the thunder of the Parliamentary cannon was heard at Gloucester; the besieged had only two or three barrels of powder left, and no provisions. Essex having provisioned the town, remained there two days, then marched out on his way back to London. In September, Colonel Aldriche was appointed Governor of Aylesbury; he does not appear to have superseded Colonel Bulstrode, but, as Bulstrode was advanced in years, the active service devolved on Aldriche. At the same time Colonel Moseley and William Russell, Esq., were added to the committee for levying money to pay the garrison at Aylesbury. Soon after, a letter was read in the House of Lords from Lord General Essex, which had been received by Colonel Aldriche, Governor of Aylesbury, proposing that he should betray the town to the King, and there was another letter in the King's own hand approving the scheme; the Lords, in consideration of the fidelity of Aldriche, recommended him to the Commons to receive a reward. It was Lord Byron who sought to corrupt Aldriche, but he was unsuccessful; notwithstanding that he made promises of large rewards and preferments Aldriche preserved his integrity, and was held in high repute by the Parliamentary party. In December, it was moved in the Lords that the garrison at Aylesbury, "a place of great consequence," was in much distress, and should be taken into consideration; and, accordingly, a message was sent to the Commons, who agreed to send £1,500 to Aylesbury. At the close of this year, (1643), the Parliamentarians sustained a loss in the death of Arthur Goodwin, Esq.

In January, 1644, it was represented to the Lords that the Earl of Bristol had attempted to induce Colonel Moseley to surrender the garrison of Aylesbury, by a bribe of £100, and the King's forces were drawn up before Aylesbury, intending, if the town were not surrendered, to set it on fire, with the magazine, &c.; and the King's letter to Colonel Moseley was read, and the Colonel, being called in, received thanks for his good services to the Parliament; whereupon he stated the proposal made to him to blow up the magazine and part of the town, by means of two engines sent from Oxford, while the King's forces were to surprise the garrison; and on the suggestion of Lord Wharton,

that Mr. Nye and Mr. John Goodwin had refused to intermeddle in that business, the House thought that they also deserved thanks and reward, and directed a communication to the Commons, recommending an immediate supply of necessaries for the garrison and security of the town, now for the fourth time attempted to be gained over to the King; and the Lords Manchester and Wharton were appointed to conduct a conference with the Commons thereupon. On the 19th of April, letters were ordered to be written to several counties to assemble their forces at a rendezvous at Aylesbury on that day, and to send thither cheese, corn, butter, and draught horses for the army. In May, the Lords, having received information of the approach of the King's forces towards Aylesbury with a request that the ordinance for the renewing of the authority of the Earl of Manchester might be expedited, the Lords and Commons agreed that there be issued from the public magazine in the tower of London five demy culverins of iron, 150 saker shot, 100 demy culverin shot, and 50 minion shot, for the use of the garrison at Aylesbury. In June, it was communicated to the House of Commons by letter that 100 of the troops from the garrison at Aylesbury had routed 300 of the King's troops in the neighbourhood, killed many, and forced the rest to retire to Oxford. In December, Colonel Crawford was appointed the new Governor of Aylesbury. One Bartholomew Ellicot, sometime a butcher near Temple Bar, once a Captain in the Parliament service and late in the King's Army, had been recently hanged in the Market Place, at Farnham, for running away from the Lord General's Army, and carrying divers sums of money with him that should have been paid to the soldiers, and also for endeavouring to betray "the towne of Alesbury."

In January, 1645, the Parliamentary forces were quartered at Aylesbury, Hartwell, Eythrope, Newport Pagnell, Wing, Bierton, Waddesdon, Leighton, Stoke Mandeville, Wendover, Ellesborough, Missenden, Amersham, Chesham, St. Leonards, Lee, and other villages near. The King's quarters were at Buckingham, Somerton, Winslow, Bicester, Thame, Islip, Chippingworth, Audley, Brackley, Brill, Haddenham, and adjacent villages. On the 20th of the same month, Colonel Crawford, going from Aylesbury with about 60 horses to seek quarters, met with about 120 of the King's men under Colonel Blake, of Wallingford; and, after a hot dispute between them, he routed Blake, whom Crawford wounded in a single charge between those two. Blake escaped by the goodness of his horse, all his men except 14 were killed or taken, and some few desperately wounded; Crawford lost but three men and some wounded. In February, some goods of tradesmen of London sold to the enemy were restored, because they were not intended for hostile purposes, and the same men traded to Aylesbury. The Governor of Aylesbury at this time was Colonel Martin. In March, Sir John Henderson was taken by the Aylesbury forces, and brought to the Parliament, with letters found about him from Charles I. to the King of Denmark in recommendation of Henderson. In May, the Lords resolved to consider a letter from the Committee of Aylesbury, and a report concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cockaine's being Governor of Newport Pagnell. In June, the battle of Naseby

was fought, in which the King was totally defeated; the forces were nearly equal. After the battle, Cromwell visited Aylesbury and Dinton Hall, and left behind him his sword as a property, not to any particular family, but to the mansion of Dinton for ever. Cromwell probably went to Dinton in order to visit his friend Simon Mayne, at that time the owner of the Hall. His relative, Sir Richard Ingoldsby, also had an estate at Waldridge, in the same parish. In September, a motion was carried in the House, disabling Sir Ralph Verney* and Sir John Pakington from sitting as members of Parliament, and an order was made for a new election at Aylesbury. After this period Aylesbury made no conspicuous figure in the affairs connected with the war, but, still adhering to the usurped authority of the Commonwealth, was principally guided by the influence of those who most sedulously cultivated the attachment of the inhabitants, or had the best means of gaining the favour of the electors in the choice of Parliamentary representatives. The King's forces remained at Boarstall and Oxford, making predatory visits to the neighbourhood of the Risboroughs, Kimbles, Ellesborough, Stoke Mandeville, and Wendover, carrying away some of the principal residents and retaining them till ransomed.

In 1646, a resolution was introduced into the House of Commons for exercising martial law in Aylesbury and Newport Pagnell, in order to suppress the irregularities of the troops quartered in those towns; and in the same year another mandate was issued, ordering further fines to be levied on Sir John Pakington, of Aylesbury.

The Town of Aylesbury was not only a stronghold of the Parliamentarians, but the inhabitants were firm adherents to that party. There were a few exceptions, but very few. The Lord of the Manor and the Vicar of the parish were loyalists. The Rev. John Barton, the Vicar, suffered much for his attachment to the King's party. In July, 1642, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Gatehouse, the offence charged against him being that he had spoken against the Parliament; he was subsequently liberated, but further persecuted and eventually driven from his living of Aylesbury. Of Sir John Pakington, it may be said—

"Faithful amongst the faithless he."

In the commotions at Aylesbury his mansion was demolished, and the injury done to his property in Bucks and Worcester is said to have exceeded £20,000; but his loyalty remained unabated, and in 1651, when Charles II., having possession of Worcester, issued his summons to a rendezvous in Pitchcroft, Sir John was one of those firm friends who resolved to defend his royal master to the last extremity, and in the battle there was captured, yet was so popular as to defeat the most inveterate of his enemies; for he having raised and headed a troop of horse at Worcester, not even a single witness could be found to sustain the indictment by swearing against him, and he was therefore set at liberty; but for his delinquence he was by the Parliament fined £7,670. By a deed dated February, 1647, Sir John and Dame Dorothy, his wife, surrendered Heydon

* At page 148, for Sir John Verney, Bart., read Sir John Verney, Knight.

Hill, with a messuage called the Market Hall or Sessions' House, at Aylesbury, and all other houses for the use of the market and fairs, stalls and customs to the same belonging, and the fairs and town, with all tradings, &c., to Thomas Scot and Colonel Richard Salway, in consideration of £2,060, part of a fine for delinquence.

Sir John Pakington having presented a petition setting forth the losses he had sustained, and praying for a mitigation of his fine, the inhabitants of Aylesbury submitted an answer to it, denying that they had demolished his house, or had any combination with Scot and Salway, and a sort of compromise was entered into; and Sir John Pakington's petition being referred to a Committee at Goldsmith's Hall, Major Salway reported that Sir John had paid £3,500, part of his fine of £7,670, that his estate at Aylesbury was estimated at £190 per annum, and that the committee proposed £1,500 more to be paid by Sir John, and the estate settled upon the inhabitants of Aylesbury; and the House concurring, the Attorney-General was ordered to prepare a grant of the estate, and the Lords Commissioners authorised and required to pass the same under the Great Seal accordingly. After the Restoration an Act of Parliament, to make void certain charges imposed upon divers of his Majesty's subjects for delinquence by the late assumed powers, restored the manor and estate to Sir John Pakington, who had happily survived the troubles.

When harassed by the fines and imprisonments imposed on him by the Parliament, Sir John found but little sympathy amongst his fellow townsmen. Thinking that his property was about to be squandered, a body of them applied to Parliament for a share in the plunder. A copy of their petition has been handed down to us. The petitioners affect to be generally poor, but a glance through the list will show that it contains the names of inhabitants of all grades in the town—Cockman, Russell, Brassbridge, Welch, Bell, Dagnell, Phillips, Paten, Burnham, Freer, Gurney, Horwood, Ells, and many others, were at the period leading inhabitants. The document is an interesting one; it will be noted that several of the names still exist, or are in remembrance in the town:—

To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons, in Parliament assembled,

"Humbly Sheweth,—That your petitioners, being generally poor, received a great reliefe by enjoying a Right of Common for severall Cattell, at a certain low Rate, in a pasture ground called Haydon Hill, within the Parish of Aylesbury, given to them by the Crowne, & now in the possession of Sir John Pakington, and sequestered as his Lands; and Sir Thomas Pakington, the Ancestor of the said Sir John Pakington, first found a way to get away their Customary Book, and then used cunning devises to inffringe their Customes, and taking offence at their procuring of a Charter of Incorporation, being a man of great power, denied them their right of Common. And the Sonne following the Father's Stepps oppresseth them in the like kind, and to weary them out in suits, preferred a long Bill in Chancery, where the Right of Common was improper to be tryed, and by reason thereof, they being poor, were compelled to disest from their Right of Common, and durst not make use of their Charter of Incorporation.

"Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray, That in regard, the p'mises are

sequestered as the Land of Sir John Pakington, and at the disposing of this Honble. House, and your petitioners having suffered great Losses by quartering of Soldiers & pulling down their houses, digging up their Orchards and fences to make away for the fortification, to the vallew of near £5,000. That this honble. House will be pleased to settle upon them the benefit of Common they formerly enjoyd as a marke of their favour, And will order they may make such use of their Charter of Incorporation as may be most for the good of the said Towne, And to the intent their libertyes may be secured from him, That the Royalty of the Town held of the Crown may be assigned to them, in such manner as your honble. House shall think fitt.

"And your Petitioners shall ever acknowledge their obligation to the honourable House, & pray, &c.

"(Signed)

"Mathew Cockman	Alexander Stephens	Robert Ffurbur	Wm. Wray
Richard Russell	Robert Winchester	John Lee	Wm. Pratt
Joseph Sexton	Richard Kingham	William Humphrey	John Horwood
John Dover	Richard Parrat	Henry Phillips	Manwaring Howes
Robert Edmonds	William Benson	John Payne	Thomas Cosberd
Rowland Brasbridge	John Chilton	Nicholas Higgens	Wm. Smyth
Wm. Baker	Michael Russell	Robt. Newnes	Henry Horwood
Samuell Ffreer	Holyman Veary	Ffrancis Wetherhead	John Harding
Wm. Rose	John Jennings	Richd. Jackman	Widd. Hall
Thomas Wray	Anthony Bell	William Todd	William Rolph
Ralph Eversley	Edward Hadgood	John Reymer	John Dorsett
Ffrancis Cleydon	Thomas Welch	Dunstan Paton	John Druce
John Banks	Wm. Cave	John Heawood	Widd. Porter
Robt. Speed	Mathew Dagnall	Leonard Freer	Wm. Worcester
Thomas Pratt	Nicholas Burnham	Richd. Grymes	Henry Bell
Leonard Coleman	Thomas Parish	William Wildgoose	Luke Hanley
Thomas Jordaine	Thomas Ffryer	John Alsonne	Edward Russell
Christopher Proctor	Henry Nicholls	Francis Andrew	John Cooper
Ffrancis Weaver	Jeremiah Peppiat	Henry Ardyn	William Ells
Henry Edmonds	Michael Trendall	Robt. Arnett	Widd. Wingrave
Richd. Meade	Thomas Wray	John Stratford	Widd. Edwards."
John Kingham	Richard Wray	John Gurney	

There are some vague remnants of proof that the inhabitants of Aylesbury at an early period enjoyed certain privileges arising from the Heydon Hill Estate, but that these rights were lost before Sir John Pakington's time is apparent from the statement of the petitioners, who lay the blame of despoliation on Sir Thomas Pakington, one of Sir John's ancestors. Reference is made in the parish accounts of the year 1657 to the trustees of Heydon Hill, when this entry appears :—"The towne stock was not delivered into Thomas Horwood, Thomas Humphrey, W. Tod, or Thomas Baldwin's hands, overseers of the poor of Aylesbury for the year 1657, but was lent to certain poore tradesmen of the towne by order of the Trustees of Heydon Hill, and the bonds for the money are in the hands of Rowland Brassbridge. Signed, Stephen Dagnall." What was the position or what were the duties of these trustees in reference to the poor of Aylesbury does not appear from this record.

Relics of the Civil War struggle have been discovered in recent times. In

the year 1818 on digging for gravel in a meadow adjoining the stream at Holman's Bridge—the meadow on the right hand of the high road on the town side of the water—there was discovered a large quantity of human bones, buried together, and in such a condition as to show that they were the remains of men who had fallen in battle, and that the battle was not of very early date. That the remains found were the consequence of a battle at the period assumed, there is no reason to doubt. The bones were collected and deposited in a tomb in the churchyard of Hardwick, at the instance of the late Right Hon. Lord Nugent, of Lilies, and the following inscription was, on his Lordship's authority, engraved on the tablet:—

"Within are deposited the bones of 247 Persons who were discovered A.D. 1818, buried in a field adjoining to Holman's Bridge, near Aylesbury. From the History and appearances of the place where they were found, they were considered to be the bones of those officers and men who perished in an engagement fought A.D. 1642, between the troops of K. Charles I., under the command of Prince Rupert, and the Garrison who held Aylesbury for the Parliament. Enemies from their attachment to opposite leaders and to opposite Standards, in the sanguinary conflicts of that Civil War, they were together victims to its fury. United in one common slaughter, they were buried in one common grave, close to the spot where they had lately stood in arms against each other. After the lapse of more than a century and a half their bones were collected, and deposited still in consecrated ground. May the memory of brave men be respected, and may our country never again be compelled to take part in a conflict such as that which this tablet records."

As to the oblivion into which the incidents of the battle of Aylesbury have fallen, it is not difficult to afford an explanation. After the Restoration all documents in the hands of individuals relative to the Parliamentary cause would be concealed; and among the inhabitants of a town, such as Aylesbury, which had taken part in the contest against a triumphant antagonist, probably no pains would be taken to preserve a memorial. Doubts have been raised by some as to the remains discovered being those of warriors, inasmuch as no weapons were found; accoutrements were not wanting, and as to arms, they were carefully collected after the battle, as all through the war, on the side of the Parliamentarians at least, there was a dearth of the ordinary implements of war, and arms of the most grotesque fashion were again brought into service; the long bow, the brown bill, and the cross bow resumed their places among the equipments of the men at arms.

Chapter XVII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE — 1649 TO 1660.

Oliver Cromwell—biographical notice of him—Council of State—The battle of Worcester.—Cromwell visits Aylesbury with his prisoners—a deputation meets him there—Earl Rochester visits Aylesbury—his narrow escape.—The Long Parliament dissolved.—The Verney Papers.—Phillips, member for Aylesbury.—Richard Cromwell's first Parliament—Whitelock and Tyrell returned for Aylesbury—Richard Cromwell retires.

OLIVER CROMWELL, one of the most extraordinary characters in English history, was the son of Robert Cromwell, a man of good property, though he carried on the business of brewer at Huntingdon, where Oliver was born in 1599. Having been educated at the free school in that town, and at Sydney College, Cambridge, he became a law student at Lincoln's Inn. Here he did not remain long; as in his twenty-first year he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, and settled at Huntingdon. In his youth he is said to have manifested a degree of wildness that too often marks that period of life; but as soon as he had married he assumed a staid aspect and deportment well calculated to obtain the esteem and confidence of his neighbours, one of the consequences of which was his being returned to Parliament for Huntingdon in 1625. In his Parliamentary career he was remarkable rather for his business-like habits and energy of character than for elegance of language or gracefulness of delivery. His appearance and dress, too, were plain and unprepossessing; but, notwithstanding, he acquired considerable influence in Parliament. The steps by which he ever kept continually rising until he obtained enormous power are matters of general history. His courage, his singular shrewdness, and his skill in selecting and employing agents maintained him in power.

Cromwell had several connections with Buckinghamshire; he was closely allied with the Russells of Chequers and the Hampdens of Great Hampden; Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Francis Russell, the third baronet, married Henry, the fourth son of the Protector; and there were other alliances between these families; he was also cousin to John Hampden, the patriot, by the marriage of Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, with William Hampden, Esq., of Great Hampden; again, he was related to the Fleetwoods of Chalfont, the Joneses and Bekes of Haddenham, the Ingoldsbys of Waldridge, and other county families.

The day following the execution of the King, the Lords sent a message to the Com-

mons, desiring a conference on the new settlement; no notice was taken of the communication, but in the following week the Commons resolved—"That the House of Peers in Parliament is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished," and at the next sitting of the House it was further resolved "That kingship in this nation has been found by experience to be unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people." The powers of the three estates of the realm were merged in the House of Commons under the name of the Parliament of the Commonwealth. A new Council of State, consisting of thirty-nine members, exercised the functions of the executive, and in their names, as keepers of the liberties of England, was all public business transacted. The gloomy enthusiasm of the Parliamentarians carried them to most ridiculous austerities. All recreations were in a manner suspended by their severities; holidays were abolished; upon application, however, of servants and apprentices, Parliament appointed the second Tuesday in every month for play and recreation. Hypocrisy was never so prevalent in England as in this period.

Cromwell was now engaged in suppressing outbreaks in Ireland and Scotland. On his return from Drogheda, where (according to Lord Clarendon's history) he put to the sword the whole garrison, consisting of 3,000, mostly Englishmen, and massacred every man, woman, and child of the citizens that were Irish, he was met in triumph at Hounslow Heath, and the palace of St. James's was alloted for his residence. Within a month he set out for Scotland, and at Dunbar, on the 3rd September, 1650, defeated the Scots, killed 3,000, and took 10,000 prisoners. Exactly one year after, the important battle of Worcester was fought, which destroyed the hopes of Charles II. Cromwell there took 8,000 prisoners, and left the streets strewed with the dead; 158 colours were captured, and the King, with great difficulty, escaped to Normandy. Cromwell on his way from Worcester passed through Aylesbury, on which occasion there were grand proceedings; he travelled with all the pomp and display of a conquering hero. Near Aylesbury he was met by a deputation from the Parliament, consisting of Whitelock and Leslie, the Keepers of the Seal; Chief Justice St. John, and Sir Gilbert Pickering, devoted adherents of the Protector. All the troops in the town and adjacent places were assembled, and a grand military array was formed. The object of the deputation was to offer Cromwell the ardent thanks of the Parliament, which had been voted in the House of Commons. Whitelock tells us that "Cromwell received the deputation with all kindness and respect. After ceremonies and congratulations had passed, he rode with them across the fields, where Mr. Winwood, the Member for Windsor, who was a-hawking, met them, and the Lord General went a little out of the way a-hawking. They then came to Aylesbury, where they had much discourse, especially my Lord St. John, the dark ship money lawyer, now Chief Justice, as they supped together." "To me," continues Whitelock, "and to each of the others, he gave a horse and two Scotch prisoners. The horse I kept for carrying me; the two Scots, unlucky gentlemen of that country, I handsomely sent home again, without any ransom whatever, and also gave them free

passes to Scotland." Next day Cromwell left Aylesbury, and proceeded on his journey towards London, driving before him some four or five thousand prisoners, like a flock of sheep.

The Earl of Rochester was a firm adherent to the King, and exceedingly anxious for his return and restoration; and he attempted to organise risings in his Majesty's favour in several parts of the country, more particularly in the north and west. He had great expectations of assistance in the north, and with a few friends made a journey from London to York for the purpose of accomplishing his object; he was premature in his movements, and met with nothing but disappointments and discouragements. On his return journey from York to London, Lord Clarendon in his history of the great rebellion tells us that—

"The Earl lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observ'd to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he seem'd to take some Survey, and had asked many questions of a Country Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Justice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of Salisbury, and the Proclamation thereupon, having put all Men on their Guard, came himself to the Inn where the Earl was; and being inform'd that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for Sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the Earl, and accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horses found they were the same which had been observ'd in the Ground. The Justice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one Gilvy, who besides that he was a Person notoriously affected to the Government, was likewise an Officer, 'that he should not suffer those Horses, nor the Persons to whom they belonged, to go out of the House, till he, the said Justice, came thither in the Morning, when he would examine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came.' The Earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the Morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the Master of the House, and no body being present but his Companion, he told him, 'he would put his Life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good will of many friends, who might be able to do him good.' Then he told him who he was; and as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold Chain, which was worth more to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a Man of a very good Understanding, and might consider the Changes which follow'd after, and in which this Service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their Escapes: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the Justices for their Horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, conducted them into London way; which put them in Safety. The Innkeeper was visited in the Morning by the Justice; whom he carried into the Stable, where the Horses still stood, he having still kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons while he kept their Horses; but the Inn-keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threaten'd loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferr'd the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a man so well

known as the Inn-keeper was. The Earl remained in London whilst the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders; and so return'd to Cologne." [Tradition points to the late White Hart as the Inn alluded to.]

On the 18th of November, 1651, the House of Commons met and fixed the date of their intended dissolution for November 4th, 1654, the interval to be employed in determining the qualification of the succeeding Parliament. The Parliament did not, however, reach that date; on the 1st of December following, Cromwell held a meeting of the leading men of the Commons and the Army at the Speaker's house, to deliberate on the future form of government. Notwithstanding the great and extraordinary changes in these eventful and exciting times, the Long Parliament continued its sittings until 1653; indeed it was not legally dissolved until 1660. On the 20th of April, 1653, Cromwell being informed by Colonel Ingoldsby that the House was then sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve itself, but to fill up any vacancies by new elections, and was at that very time engaged in deliberation with regard to this expedient, he, in a rage, immediately hastened thither, accompanied by a body of three hundred soldiers. He first addressed himself to St. John Long, telling him of his purpose. Listening awhile to the debate, he suddenly started up and loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches for its oppression and robbery of the public. "Get you gone," said he, "and make room for honester men. You are no longer a Parliament; the Lord has done with you—He has chosen other instruments for carrying on His work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and, ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

Abuses and oppression destroyed the character of the Long Parliament; still it found resources by which Cromwell was enabled to subdue Ireland and Scotland and defeat Charles II. at Worcester. It is to that Assembly we are indebted for the commencement of our naval renown and superiority. Its faults were a want of management in its attempt to disband the Army at the close of the Civil War, the selfishness of some of its members, its arbitrary acts of government, its endeavours to prolong indefinitely its sittings, and the religious hypocrisy by which it essayed to justify its proceedings. Disgusted alike by its members' cant and tyranny, the people beheld, without regret, their power annihilated by Cromwell. This crafty adventurer saw their errors with satisfaction, embarrassed them by fomenting the discontents of the military, and, by artfully working on the passions of the soldiers, made them the unsuspecting instruments of his ambition.

It is to Sir Ralph Verney, the member for Aylesbury, we are indebted for a record of the proceedings of that memorable Parliament, in the notes taken by him and known as "The Verney Papers." The feeling of the House was against allowing anyone to take notes of what took place, and the memoranda taken by Sir Ralph appear to have been made clandestinely. "The Verney Papers" were some years ago published in a volume by the Camden Society, being edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., who in the

introduction to his work remarks—"The resuscitation of such records as 'The Verney Papers,' goes to show how short-lived are all impressions, whatever care or toil may have been spent in producing them, which are not consistent with fact, and that a truth differs from a falsehood as much in the duration of its existence as in its very nature. History has its period of restitution. Truth, like nature, will reappear, however forcibly expelled, and when the time for its reappearance draws nigh, some heralds of its approach, some fragments and relics of the actual monuments of the past, will present themselves, and from them, broken and mutilated though they be, will be deduced immutable laws which it is not possible for error to withstand." The original notes are described as being written upon sheets, or parts of sheets, of foolscap paper, so folded as to be placed conveniently on the knee, and carried in the pocket. They are full of abrupt terminations, as if the writer occasionally gave up the task of following a rapid speaker who had got beyond him, and began his note afresh. When they relate to resolutions of the House, they often contain erasures, alterations, and other marks of the haste with which the notes are jotted down, and of changes which took place in the subject-matter during its progress towards completion. On several important occasions, and especially in the instance of the debate on the protestation, the confusion and irregularity of the notes give evidence to the excitement of the House; and when the public discord rose higher, the notes became more brief and less personal, and the speeches less frequently assigned to their speakers, either from greater difficulty in reporting or from an increased feeling of the danger of the times and the possible use which might be made of notes of violent remarks. On several of the sheets there are marks evidently made by the writer's pencil having been forced upwards suddenly, as if by someone in a full house pressing hastily against his elbow whilst he was in the act of taking his notes. No writer's name nor anything which indicates the writer appears in the MSS., but they have long formed part of a very large collection of family papers preserved at Claydon House.

In the same year the Long Parliament was dissolved, an assembly nominated by Oliver Cromwell and a Council of officers was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 4th of July, by letters under the hand of the Lord-General, Cromwell. This assembly declared itself a Parliament, and resigned its powers to the Lord-General on the following 12th of December. In the Parliament of 1654 several knights were ordered to be returned for each county; but not many burgesses. Cromwell deprived of their right of elections all the small boroughs—places the most exposed to influence and corruption. Of four hundred members representing England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties, the rest elected by London and the more important corporations. The populace were excluded from the elections; an estate of £200 value was necessary to entitle anyone to a vote. The elections of this Parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; no returns are published relative to the county of Bucks nor its boroughs in the official list, excepting that of Henry Phillips, Esq., as representative of Aylesbury.

The name of Phillips is by no means an unfamiliar one in connection with the town; it is met with in the annals of the earliest years of the sixteenth century. Henry Phillips was a leading inhabitant of the place about the middle of that century; he is found presiding at parish vestries, and was a Justice of the Peace. Under an Act passed by Cromwell, marriages were *solemnized* before the justices, and a Mr. Phillips was frequently called upon to perform the ceremony. As a Justice the name is also found attached to the formal passing of parish accounts. The presumption is that this last-named Phillips was the member for Aylesbury. Entries of names of several of this family occur in the parish register:—"William Phillips, buried 17th August, 1575; Matthew, son of Henry Phillips, gent., borne 17th August, 1646; William, son of Henry Phillips, gent., borne 4th November, 1652;" and the name of Henry Phillips occurs as one of the three Justices of the Peace, before whom John Jordan was sworn in as registrar, and to have the keeping of the register-books of Aylesbury, 23rd September, 1653. Henry Phillips, who endowed the Aylesbury Free Grammar School with the munificent donation of £5,000, was son of Henry Phillips, the Justice. Henry Phillips, jun., is described as of London and Aylesbury, and a native of the town; he died in the year 1714 at the age of 75 years, and is buried in Aylesbury Church.

In 1656 another Parliament was called; Cromwell used every art to influence the elections so as to fill the House with his own creatures. Notwithstanding these precautions he still found the majority would not be favourable to him, so he set guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from the Council, and about 100 members were rejected. No official returns from Bucks are published relating to this Parliament. Not answering the Protector's expectations, it was dissolved in January, 1657-8, having sat barely five months.

Cromwell died on the 3rd of September, 1658, worn out by excessive fatigue of mind and body; he was buried with more than regal pomp in Westminster Abbey. Charles II., looking upon him as an instigator in the murder of his father, wreaked his vengeance upon the decaying carcase. Cromwell's body, by order of the King, was dragged from its grave, and, with other bodies of regicides, exposed on the gallows at Tyburn, and then re-buried at the foot of the gallows, the heads of those thus exposed being set on poles, and exhibited on Westminster Bridge. This great outrage on public decency gave great and general offence, and was more degrading to the author of it than to the victims.

Richard Cromwell's first Parliament was summoned to meet in January 1658-9, on which occasion Sir James Whitelock, Knight, and Thomas Tyrrell, Esq., were sent to represent Aylesbury. Sir James Whitelock was a son of Bulstrode Whitelock, and a grandson of Sir James Whitelock, who possessed the Fawley estate, and died in 1632. Sir James Whitelock the elder was Chief Justice of Chester, and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. Bulstrode Whitelock was a Deputy Lieutenant of Bucks, one of the commissioners to treat of peace with the King at Oxford, and one of the

Council of State. He sat for Great Marlow in the early part of the Long Parliament. James, the member for Aylesbury, sold Fawley Manor to Colonel William Freeman about 1680. Thomas Tyrrell, afterwards Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Bart., was of Castlethorpe; he was third son of Sir Edward Tyrrell, Bart., of Thornton. Sir Thomas had been a Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, Judge of the Common Pleas, and one of Oliver Cromwell's Commissioners of the Great Seal. Having been educated to the law, he became a student in the Middle Temple, serjeant-at-law, and Justice of the Common Pleas. He died March 8th, 1671, aged 78 years, and was buried at Castlethorpe. This Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on the 22nd of April, 1659, after which Richard Cromwell withdrew to Hampton Court, and his authority ceased, though the Government continued to be carried on in his name.

On the 7th of May, 1659, the officers of the Army having, by a declaration signed by Lord Fleetwood and the Council of officers of the Army, invited the members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting until the 20th of April, 1653, to return, letters were sent "to the several members of this present Parliament, now out of town, who have subscribed to the Parliament roll of subscriptions to the engagement, and are not disabled to sit by the judgment of this Parliament." On the 13th of October, the late principals of the officers of the Army, whose commissions were vacated, placed guards about the doors of the Parliament House, and prevented the members from coming to the House; but, on the 26th of December, the Parliament was restored, and sat until the 16th of March, 1659-60, when an Act was passed "for dissolving the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the 3rd of November, 1640, after it had continued in several forms for nineteen years, and for the calling and holding a Parliament at Westminster on the 25th of April, 1660."

To the convention Parliament, which met according to the Act passed, Richard Ingoldsby and Thomas Lee were returned for Aylesbury. The elections went generally in favour of the Presbyterians and moderate party; the Republicans were mostly shunned. On the 1st of May following, the House declared that the Government ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons, and on the 8th, Charles II. was proclaimed in London and Westminster, both Houses of Parliament taking part in the ceremony.

It is hard to say whether a zeal for civil or religious freedom was most predominant in the strife with Charles I. Though the country was violently agitated during almost twenty years by different sects and parties, it does not appear that any of them evinced perfect notions of religious toleration. Presbyterians were just as intolerant of Popery and Prelacy, and the Independents of Quakers and Unitarians, as the Papists had been of the Lollards and Lutherans. All were persecutors when they had the power.

Modern writers are apt to indulge in the idea that the Protector earned immortal reputation by the tolerant spirit of his government towards all classes of Christians. This eulogy, however, which has no foundation in fact, is contradicted by the history of

his administration from first to last. Amongst other arbitrary acts, he declared that he would not permit any Presbyterian to have a seat in Parliament; and he finally prohibited every clergyman of the Church of England, who had been accused of attachment to the Royal Family, from performing any of the duties of his office, and even from teaching children to read. No person who had been ejected for delinquency was by proclamation, after the first of January, 1655, allowed to preach in any pubilc place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor to administer baptism, nor the Lord's Supper, nor to marry any person, nor perform any other of the Church services, nor to use the Book of Common Prayer upon pain of being proceeded against. The Protector's tolerance was of a conditional character; he was intolerant of anything or anybody, but himself and his own will; it must not be forgotten that the sects whom he excluded from power and placed under the ban of the law, constituted a large majority of the English people, the most intelligent, too, and the most opulent. Still he permitted the Jews to reside and trade in England, after their exclusion of some centuries; the Romanists also suffered little molestation during the Protectorate. Dr. Stoughton reminds us that "Pictures are drawn of the religion and morals of the Commonwealth, mostly of two kinds; rose-coloured, glowing with the bright tints, or dark and gloomy, crossed with deeper shades. Neither extreme receives support from a calm review of facts." Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy during the Commonwealth," states that during that period no less than 8,700 clergy perished, and all the Bishops but nine.

The history of this eventful period offers a lesson of political moderation. All parties reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries which they had suffered revenged on their enemies; and that, too, by the same arts which had been practised against them. The King had stretched his prerogative beyond just bounds, and had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The Presbyterians checked the progress of the Court and the clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocrisy, the populace, first to tumult, then to war against the King, the Peers, and all the Royalists. No sooner had they reached the summit of power, than the Independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the Army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The Independents, amidst their fanatical dreams, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insolence of an usurper and hatred of the people.

Chapter XVIII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

Reign of Charles II.—1660 to 1685.

Fall of the Commonwealth—Members for Aylesbury—Sir Richard Ingoldsby—Sir Thomas Lee—biographical notices of them—The Regicides—their local connections with Bucks—trials of Scot and Mayne—Scot's execution—Unfortunate career of the late Members for Aylesbury—Extraordinary county election—The Rye House Plot—address from Aylesbury thereon—Death of Charles II.—Notes on the reign.

THE Commonwealth fell, chiefly from its inability to subject the military to the power of the civil government. Amidst the anarchy which followed the death of Cromwell, internal peace and order could only be re-established by acquiescence in the ambition of a new military chieftain of corresponding ability, or by the return of the exiled family. Either regardless of the public liberties, or deceived by the dissimulation of General Monk, or carried away by the public impatience, the King was admitted to the full exercise of those dangerous prerogatives that had cost the people so arduous a struggle, first to abridge, and then to abolish.

On the 1st of June, 1660, Charles II. made a speech to both Houses of Parliament, and a Bill was passed for constituting the present convention a Parliament.

The Restoration brought with it a sad day of retribution to those who had been concerned in the trial and execution of the King. Doubtless, Charles, long before he regained his throne, meditated revenge on the murderers of his father, and had resolved on the destruction of the surviving regicides. Twelve years passed between the King's death and the Restoration. In the meantime many of those who had taken part in his trial and execution had died, and others had left the country for safety. No sooner was Charles firmly seated on the throne than preparations were made for the trials of the regicides. Even those who were dead did not escape his vengeance, and as regarded them he allowed his feelings to overcome his judgment by ordering the mouldering remains of several to be dragged from their graves and publicly exposed on the gallows. The names of the deceased regicides were included in the Act of Attainder, in consequence of which their estates were forfeited, and their families rendered destitute and helpless. Those who survived foresaw the fate which awaited them, and they endeavoured to make good their escape. Even if they succeeded in so doing, it was but to lead a life of misery, uncertainty, and degradation, in constant dread of being surprised and

taken into custody by the King's emissaries, as the most diligent search was instituted to bring them to trial and punishment, no matter to what part of the world they had absconded. Regicidal feelings must have held great sway in Buckinghamshire. Amongst those who took part in the King's trial, or were otherwise concerned in his death, the names of more than thirty will be found, who were either directly or indirectly connected with Bucks or Buckinghamshire families.

On the 6th of June, 1660, the King published a proclamation calling upon Owen Rowe, the son-in-law of Scot, the late member for Aylesbury, and thirty-one others named, to surrender themselves. An Act of free pardon was passed, but it was expressly provided that such Act should not pardon nor give any benefit to certain of the regicides whose names were published. The two regicidal members for Aylesbury, Thomas Scot and Simon Mayne, were amongst those excepted, but they both eventually surrendered. On the 9th of October, 1660, the trials of the regicides commenced at Hicks' Hall, Clerkenwell, when true bills were found against thirty-two,—indeed, all who were indicted. Thomas Harrison was the first tried; he was found guilty and sentenced to death, and two days after his trial underwent the cruel, barbarous, and revolting sentence which the law at that time inflicted on traitors. On the 12th of October, Scot was brought to the bar. It had been stated against him that he had said in reference to the late King's death, he had not repented anything he had done. In his defence he averred he had never said so, and went on to dispute the legality of the Court, calling in question the acts of a member of Parliament, and argued that, if the Parliament in which he sat was not a legal assembly, it was a legislative power, and its acts were binding. He was found guilty, and on the 17th of October he was executed at Charing Cross. In his "dying speech," when on the ladder, he said:—"Gentlemen,—I stand here a spectacle to God, to angels, and men. To God and angels, to whom I hope I am shortly agoing; and now to you I owe it, to God, and the nation, and myself, to say something. I think it may become myself to say something concerning each. For myself, to tell you how and why I came hither. In the beginning of these troubles I was, as many others were, unsatisfied. I saw religion and liberties in the nation in great danger, to my best apprehension; I saw the approaches of Popery in a great measure coming upon us. I saw ——" Upon which the Sheriff interrupted him in these words—"If you will betake yourself to prayer, you may." Scot replied—"I shall speak ——" The Sheriff interrupted him again—"I beseech you take yourself to prayer." After this contention had continued for some time Scot prayed; in his prayer he said—"I say again to the praise of the free grace of God, I bless his name. He hath engaged me in a cause not to be repented of. I say, in a cause not to be repented of." His prayer ended, he was turned off the ladder, and thus ended the life of the once member of Parliament for Aylesbury. Little can be gleaned respecting the private history of Scot (frequently spelt Scott), and even that is not to be depended on. He had three wives, one being the daughter of Sir Thomas

Mauleverer, of Yorkshire, a regicide. Scot's eldest son, known as Major Scot, is represented as having been even more violent than his father. Scot, at his death, left a widow and a somewhat young family. One of his daughters married Owen Rowe, another regicide.

Simon Mayne was tried with the other regicides. At first he pleaded not guilty, but afterwards modified his plea. His defence was weak and undeserving consideration; he said—

"When I was last here, my Lord, that I did speak not guilty, was not as to matter of fact, but my conscience telling of me, that I had no malice or ill intention to his Majesty, that was the reason. For matters of fact, I shall acknowledge what I have done, and lie at his Majesty's feet for mercy. I am an ignorant, weak man in the law. I will confess the fact."

Council—"Did you sign the warrant for summoning that Court? and did you sign the warrant for the execution of the King?"

Mayne—"I did sit in Court."

Council—"Did you sign the warrant for execution?"

Mayne—"My Lord, I knew not of the King's bringing up."

Council—"Look at the warrant, and see if your hand and seal be not to it."

Mayne—"My Lord, it is my hand."

Council—"Then, my Lord, we have done."

Mayne—"My Lord, I acknowledge it is my hand; by what importunity, it may be known to some here, I was very unwilling to it. I was told, what fear there was when forty were there before, and twenty was the quorum? I was therefore drawn in to set my hand to it. My Lord, I never plotted or contrived the business. There was a gentleman told me, if I did not offer to speak in that House—plucked me down by the coat, and he told me I should be sequestered as a delinquent (the name of the person I shall omit); saith he, 'You will rather lose your estate than take away the King's life!' I leave it to you."

The jury returned a verdict of guilty against him. He remained in confinement in the Tower of London, where he died the next year; his body was then removed to Dinton, and buried there in April, 1661, he being 49 years of age.

The careers of the representatives of Aylesbury at this period ended sadly and unfortunately. Sir Edmund Verney fell at the battle of Edge Hill. Sir John Pakington was imprisoned in the Tower of London, his property confiscated, and his mansion at Aylesbury destroyed. Ralph Verney was ejected from the House of Commons by a very unjust and ungracious proceeding. Scot underwent the cruel death of a traitor at Charing Cross; and Mayne died a State prisoner in the Tower, very narrowly escaping the like punishment awarded to his late coadjutor Scot.

The convention Parliament was dissolved in December, 1660, and a new Parliament summoned to meet in May, 1661. To this Parliament, which was known as the Pensionary Parliament, Aylesbury again returned Richard Ingoldsby, who was afterwards made a baronet, and Thomas Lee, Esq., of Hartwell. The Ingoldsbys were an ancient Buckinghamshire family seated at Lenborough. Sir Richard, the member for Aylesbury,

resided at Waldridge, Dinton; he was son of Sir Richard, of Lenborough, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Oliver Cromwell, so that he was cousin to the Protector; he was by another connection cousin also to John Hampden, the patriot, and he held a captaincy in Hampden's regiment. In 1644, he was taken prisoner by the King's forces, and on regaining his liberty was raised to the rank of Colonel in the Parliamentary Army. His near connections with Cromwell and Hampden made him a person of much confidence by the Parliament. He was one of the regicides, and the extraordinary explanation he gave in reference to his signature being attached to the King's death warrant saved him from the fate of many other of the regicides, and subsequently recommended him to the favour of the restored King. He declared that Cromwell forced him to sign the document, he, Ingoldsby, making all the resistance he could. Fortunately for Ingoldsby the warrant was not discovered until years after, when it was found that his signature had every appearance of genuineness, and, further, the seal to it was attached in the usual and regular manner, showing that the statement made at his defence was a subterfuge. Whatever may have been Ingoldsby's real sentiments, he certainly from some cause experienced more lenity from the Government than any other of the regicides. He also must have arranged good terms with the King, as he was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation. Previously to his being returned for Aylesbury he had served as one of the Knights of the Shire for Bucks. He died in September, 1685, and was buried in Hartwell Old Church.

Thomas Lee, Esq., who was subsequently made a baronet, and who sat in the same Parliament with Ingoldsby, was the fourth Thomas Lee who had represented Aylesbury. Ingoldsby married Lee's mother, the widow of Thomas Lee, Esq., of Hartwell; she was a daughter of Sir George Croke, Knight, of Chilton, who was one of the Justices of the King's Bench, a very learned judge, well known for his reports of cases in the times of Elizabeth, James, and Charles. The two members for Aylesbury were thus closely allied. From a lukewarm Parliamentarian, Thomas Lee became a zealous Royalist, and, in the convention Parliament, directly voted for the restoration of the King. As a reward for this service, the King in the same year raised him to the rank of a baronet by the style and title of Sir Thomas Lee of Hartwell, and also created him a K.B. He continued nearly to the close of his life to hold a seat in Parliament, and took a distinguished part in the debates. He was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in the year 1689, also in 1690, in which year he died. He married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir John Davies, of Bier Court, Pangbourne, Berks; she was granddaughter of Sir John Suckling.

The Parliament of 1661 sat until January, 1678-9. In that month there was an election, but there was no change in the representation of Aylesbury. In March following a new Parliament met, to which Lee and Ingoldsby were again returned, both now being baronets. In August, 1679, there was another election, but the same members retained their seats for Aylesbury.

The County Election of this year, according to the usual course, should have been held at Aylesbury. The popular candidates were Thomas Wharton and John Hampden. Party spirit ran very high at this election; Wharton had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Tories, and a ruse was played with the intention of defeating him. Notwithstanding the election had been proclaimed to be held at Aylesbury, the Sheriff at the last moment adjourned his court to Buckingham. Wharton was not the man to be outdone; he, with all his force, travelled from Aylesbury to Buckingham in the night, and they were the earliest at the Sheriff's Court, on the next morning. It was an exciting election; blows were struck between the contending parties. A description of a fracas at the time is given:—"A parson cried out 'A Wharton! A Hampden!' when the Sheriff was so transported with zeal for the Catholic cause, that he rode up and struck the parson across the face with his whip, who apprehending this affront to be too great to be borne by an English spirit and one of his cloth, he cokt his beaver, clapt spurs to his horse, rode up and smote the Sheriff with so great fury that in the rancounter the Sheriff fell from his horse and had like to have broke his neck." The trick of the Sheriff did not succeed, as Wharton and Hampden, the two popular candidates, were returned.

A Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford in March, 1680-1; Sir Thomas Lee and Sir Richard Ingoldsby still retained their seats; thus there was no change in the representation of Aylesbury during the whole reign of Charles II. In this reign it was unsafe to offend the Court party by liberty of speech. Sir John Coventry, in 1670, used a sarcastic jibe, which gave such umbrage that the unlucky knight was waylaid by a company of armed persons, and had his nose slit open; this assassin-like revenge naturally exited a storm of indignation in the House.

One of the incidents of this reign was the Rye House Plot. This was a conspiracy to assassinate the King at the Rye House, in Hertfordshire; it was discovered by a letter to Lord Dartmouth. The conspirators were to seize Charles and the Duke of York, and massacre the officers of State. The King usually passed the Rye House on his road from Newmarket. Here it was proposed to attack his Majesty and his guards. A fire, however, happened at Newmarket; the King returned sooner than was intended, and before the conspirators had matured their plot; thus the project failed. After the discovery of the plot the inhabitants of Aylesbury presented the King with a right Royal address as follows:—

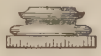
"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble address of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Inhabitants of the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks.

"DREAD SOVEREIGN,—It was easie to foresee a rebellion hatching under the wings of the Popish plot by the constant seditious practises of Dissenting parties and other ill men; and, doubtless, ere this time the cockatrice had come to perfection had not your Majesty's vigilent care and wise conduct given frequent interruptions. But so inhumane

and hellish a conspiracy lately discovered sure never entered into the hearts of men till these devils in flesh pitched upon it (we tremble and with the utmost detestation recount it) to assassinate your sacred Majesty, your dear and only brother the illustrious Duke of York, to raise a horrible rebellion in a moment to fill your kingdoms with blood and confusion. Oh! the dismal consequences of that day had the enormous villany prevailed! But God, who by many signal instances hath manifested His special care for His anointed, hath by His never-to-be-forgotten providence miraculously delivered your Sacred Majesty and Royal brother, and, in your persons, all your good subjects (whose lives were and are bound up in yours) from the hell-plotted machinations of bloodthirsty and deceitful men. Wherefore, with joyful hearts we adore and magnifie God for this His wonderful mercy, and we pray unto Him to continue His wonted protection to your Majesty, your illustrious brother, and your kingdom, and to strengthen your Majesty's hands to destroy the roots and seeds of this infernal plot (which we humbly conceive to have been first planted and sowed in seditious conventions by what higher influence soever since watered and cultivated), that the wickedness of the wicked may come to an end to the more firm establishment of your Majesty's crown and dignity, and to the unity and peace of the church and kingdom. And here we humbly crave leave to renew our solemn engagement of our lives and all that is dear unto us to defend your Majesty's sacred person, your heirs, and successors, and your excellent government, both in Church and State, as by law established; and with most loyal hearts we do assure your Majesty that no factious insinuations of causeless fears and jealousies, by pretended patriots or others, under what pretence soever, shall move us from these fixed and sincere resolutions of your Majesty's most obedient and loyal subjects."

Charles II. died at Whitehall, on the 6th of February, 1685; his reign was signalized by good laws, but bad government. The Habeas Corpus Act, by affording a more definite guarantee against arbitrary imprisonment, both as to time and place, was a valuable addition to personal security. An effort was also made to restrain the issue of general warrants of apprehension and seizure; that is, warrants wherein no names are mentioned; but this abuse remained unchecked, to be successfully battled with by John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury in 1764. Many of the occurrences of Charles's reign were unfortunate, some disgraceful. Corrupt Ministers directed the councils of the King, and he threw himself into the hands of unprincipled men, denominated the Cabal, who supported him in every attempt to make himself independent of the Parliament. All the worst acts of Charles originated in his pecuniary necessities. His personal character was disgraceful; his wit, licentiousness, gaiety, good humour, and indolence are traits which have been frequently emblazoned, much to his discredit. A confirmed voluptuary, he valued things as they ministered to his sensual enjoyment; without virtue himself, he was careless of it in others, in fact, he did not believe in its existence. Still he was popular, but popularity is no index to the sterling merits of a man. It is the social position, not the deserts of this profligate and heartless sovereign, that has given him a place in history. Posterity owes nothing to men who live only to themselves, save forgetfulness, if not contempt or execration.



Chapter XIX.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF JAMES II.—1685 TO 1688.

Members—Sir William Egerton, K.B.—Richard Anderson, Esq.—Sir Thomas Lee—Richard Beke, Esq —Simon Mayne, Esq.—Character of James II.—The Egertons—the Andersons—Another County Election trick — The Bekes of Haddenham—the Lees, of Hartwell—The King deposed—his death.

JAMES II. was a bigot, who, in the blindness of his zeal to introduce the Romish worship, overlooked every obstacle. It may be doubted, even, whether he sought absolutism, except as ancillary to the accomplishment of his ruling infatuation. Had the designs of this King been limited to the establishment of a secular despotism, it is probable he would have succeeded, for Charles had left the way open to him by his triumphs over the Whigs, aided by the doctrine of blind loyalty and passive obedience which the episcopal clergy had diffused through the community. But the conscience of the nation on religious matters was not to be forced. Churchmen and Dissenters, Tories and Whigs, all perceived, by the undisguised measures of the King, by the introduction of Papists into the Army, his councils, the magistracy, and on the Bench ; by the new modelling of corporations ; his forcible interference with the rights of the Universities ; his establishment of an Ecclesiastical Commission for the cognizance of spiritual offences ; his Embassy to the Pope ; his assumption of dispensing power in respect of the penal statutes ; and his insidious attempt to establish liberty of conscience —that is, liberty for his own sect first, and an intolerant ascendancy afterwards—that Protestantism was in danger ; and they at once, and unanimously, seceded from their allegiance. James's first Parliament was summoned to meet on the 19th of May, 1685 ; the House was so submissive that the King declared there were not above forty members but such as he himself wished for.

Sir William Egerton, K.B., who represented Aylesbury in the first Parliament of James II., was a grandson of Thomas, Lord Brackley, who was advanced to the title of Earl Bridgewater in 1627. Sir William, and his brother John, Lord Brackley, were made Knights of the Bath upon the coronation of Charles II. Sir William married Honora, a sister of Thomas, Lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, and a brother of his married into the family of Busby, of Addington, Winslow. Sir William Egerton represented Aylesbury in this Parliament only. A petition was lodged against his return by Sir Thomas Lee, but it was not heard.

Richard Anderson, Esq., afterwards Sir Richard, was of the family of the Andersons, who were proprietors of Putlowes, in Fleet Marston, and are also described as being connected with Pendley, Tring. In 1602, Sir Henry Anderson was Sheriff and Alderman of London; he married the daughter of Sir William Bowyer, Knight, and Lord Mayor of London; their son, Sir Richard, is described as of Fleet Marston; he died 1652, and was buried at Tring. His son, Sir Henry, was also buried at Tring in 1653. Sir Richard Anderson, the member for Aylesbury, was a son of Sir Henry, and he sat for Aylesbury in the first Parliament only of James II.; he died on the 16th of August, 1699, at the age of 64 years, and was buried with his ancestors. A daughter of Sir Richard married Simon, Viscount Harcourt, Lord Chancellor of England, and the estate of Putlowes, after some litigation, passed to him by such marriage. Putlowes was afterwards sold to the trustees of the Marlborough estate, and resold by them to William Williams, Esq., of Wandsworth, whose representatives disposed of it a few years ago to New College, Oxford.

At the county election of 1685, great opposition was made to the nomination of Wharton, and the trickery of the Sheriff in 1679 was repeated; on this occasion the County Court was suddenly removed to Newport Pagnell. The High Sheriff was influenced, no doubt, by Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, who about this period was the proprietor of Bulstrode, and consequently a freeholder. This was "bloody" Jeffreys. The Whig candidate, Thomas Wharton, eldest son of Philip, Lord Wharton, was a man distinguished alike by dexterity and by audacity, and destined to play a conspicuous, though not always a respectable, part in the politics of several reigns. He had been one of those members of the House of Commons who had carried up the Exclusion Bill to the bar of the Lords. The Court was therefore bent on throwing him out by fair or foul means. The Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys himself visited Buckinghamshire for the purpose of assisting a gentleman named Hackett, who stood on the high Tory interest. A stratagem was devised, which it was thought could not fail of success. It was announced that the polling would take place at Aylesbury, and Wharton, whose skill in all the arts of electioneering was unrivalled, made his arrangements on that supposition. At a moment's warning the Sheriff adjourned the poll to Newport Pagnell. Wharton and his friends hurried thither, and found that Hackett, who was in the secret, had secured every inn and lodging. The Whig freeholders were compelled to tie their horses to the hedges, and to sleep under the open sky in the meadows which surround the little town. It was with the greatest difficulty that refreshments could be procured at such short notice for so large a number of men and beasts, though Wharton, who was utterly regardless of money when his ambition and party spirit were roused, disbursed fifteen hundred pounds in one day, an immense outlay in those times. The unjust proceedings of the Sheriff, however, had an effect exactly opposite to that which they were expected to produce, and so roused the indignation and stirred up the courage of the stouthearted yeomen of Bucks, the sons of the constituents of John Hampden, that

not only was Wharton at the head of the poll, but he was able to spare his second votes to his friend, Lord Brackley, a man of moderate opinions, and to throw out the Chief Justice's candidate.

In the convention Parliament which met in January, 1688-9, Sir Thomas Lee represented Aylesbury ; he was the second Baronet of Hartwell, and son of Sir Thomas, who represented the Borough in the last reign ; he married Alice, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Hopkins, Esq., of London. Their sons rose to great eminence ; William became Lord Chief Justice of England ; John was a Colonel in the Guards ; and George was appointed Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and a Lord of the Admiralty. Richard Beke, Esq., who sat with Sir Thomas Lee, was a member of a family of Beke, then residing at Haddenham ; in 1644, Henry Beke, of Haddenham, the father of the member, held the office of High Sheriff for Bucks, and he was also a Justice of the Peace. Richard Beke had previously represented Coventry, and he subsequently sat for Wendover ; he was a Commissioner of Appeals for Bucks, and a Deputy Lieutenant of the county. He married as his first wife a niece of the Protector Cromwell ; and for his second, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Lee, of Hartwell. Beke entered the military service of the Commonwealth at an early age, but his youth could not well have allowed him to take any great share in the Civil War, in which so many of the gentry of his native county were such active participators. He was named by the Protector one of the visitors of his college at Durham ; by Richard Cromwell he was promoted to the command of his body-guard, and was knighted, being probably the last person on whom the honour of knighthood was conferred previous to the Restoration.

It may be easily imagined that after the Restoration Colonel Beke was content to drop his recently acquired title. He had been a partisan and near connection of the late Protector, and was also allied by marriage to two other of the judges of King Charles I., John Jones having married his wife's mother, and Robert Lilburne being the husband of his sister. It is not surprising that the general act of indemnity should have been deemed by him ineffectual, and that he should have applied for a special pardon under the great seal, which he did, and obtained it. After the Restoration he came again into favour, and was a Colonel in the Army ; he continued in the commission of the peace and a Commissioner of Appeals ; he removed from Haddenham to Hartwell, and afterwards to Dinton, where he took up his final residence. He died at Dinton in 1707, and was buried there. Colonel Beke's eldest daughter was the wife of Mark Antonie, Esq. ; Richard Antonie, the younger of their children, gave all his estates to William Lee, who took the name of Lee Antonie. The heir and representative of Lee Antonie was the Rev. Sir George Lee, Bart. His heir was the late Dr. John Lee, LL.D., whose representative is Edward D. Lee, Esq., the present possessor of the Hartwell estate.

James II. was deposed from the government of the three Kingdoms with as little

disturbance as a parish changes its overseers. So complete a national defection is without a parallel. A change of government was effected without bloodshed, or popular commotion. Profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the country, and the administration of the Prince of Orange was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received orders; the army, without murmur or opposition, allowed him to remodel them, and the city of London promptly supplied him with money for his present necessities. Such is the omnipotence of public opinion, and the ease and safety with which a great political revolution may be effected, when the people are unanimous in their resistance to tyranny. Liberty of speech was not yet established in the House of Commons. In the first Parliament of James, on the motion of Wharton, to consider the reply to the address, Mr. Coke stood up to support the motion. "I hope," said he, "we are all Englishmen, and are not to be frightened out of our duty by a few high words." Lord Preston took exception to this honest sentiment, and it was resolved "That Mr. John Coke, for his undutiful and indecent reflection on the King and this House, be committed to the Tower." The servile, spiritless members were dismissed by a prorogation two days after, and never met again. James survived his abdication for some years, dying on the 16th of September, 1701, at St. Germains, in the 68th year of his age. Sunk into the most abject extreme of superstition, he seemed to have relinquished the hope and almost the wish to recover his former greatness.

Chapter XX.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF WILLIAM III.—1688 TO 1702.

Members in this reign—More Lees of Hartwell—Simon Mayne—petitioned against—James Herbert—further petition—Election of 1698 *— more petitions — Sir Thomas Lee unseated—Robert Dormer—petition against his return—political fued—a duel fought —Thomas Wharton—his character—his electioneeriny exploits—further petitions — Bribery and corruption—The case of Ashby v. White and others—Death of the King —Progress in this reign.*

THE Prince and Princess of Orange landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688, and were proclaimed King and Queen in February, 1689. The Prince was a son of Mary, daughter of Charles I., and the Princess a daughter of James II.; consequently they were cousins, and grandchildren of Charles I. Parliament was summoned to meet in March following. In this Parliament Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., who was returned to the last Parliament, retained his seat for Aylesbury, accompanied by his son, Thomas Lee, Esq., who succeeded Beke. In April, 1691, there was a single election consequent on the decease of Sir Thomas Lee, when Simon Mayne filled the vacancy. A petition was lodged against the return of Mayne by James Herbert, Esq., but the House resolved "That Simon Mayne, Esq., is duly elected for Aylesbury." Mayne was son of Simon Mayne, the regicide. Notwithstanding his father's conviction for treason, he was permitted to enjoy the manor of Dinton, and it is conjectured that he was secured in the possession of it by a formal grant; but the reversion of certain lands in the neighbouring village of Haddenham was granted to others. This Simon Mayne resided at Dinton, and died there in 1725; he had ten children. In 1725, Simon Mayne, his son, sold the manors and estates of Dinton, Westlington, and Ford to John Vanhattem, Esq., who held these estates until his death in 1747. John Vanhattem, his heir, being High Sheriff for Bucks in 1760, presented a congratulatory address to George III. on his accession, and was knighted; dying in 1787, Dinton Hall became vested in the Rev. Wm. Goodall, who married his only daughter.

On the death of his father, Thomas Lee succeeded to the baronetage, and in the Parliament of 1695 retained his seat for Aylesbury; but Mayne was superseded by James Herbert, Esq. On this occasion matters were reversed; Mayne petitioned against the return of Herbert, when the House resolved "That the right of election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury is in all the householders

not receiving alms. That James Herbert, Esq., is a duly elected burgess to serve in the present Parliament for Aylesbury." James Herbert was of Tythorpe ; he was the eldest surviving son of James Herbert, Esq., and grandson of Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke. James Herbert the elder was M.P. for Malmesbury, and James the younger succeeded him in the representation of that borough previously to his being returned for Aylesbury. The son of the member for Aylesbury was unfortunately drowned in 1721, leaving two sons and two daughters ; one of his daughters married Philip, sixth Viscount Wenman. A moiety of their Kingsey estate passed to Sophia Elizabeth Wykeham, of Thame Park, who was created Baroness Wenman in 1832. Eventually, the entirety of the estate was acquired by Philip Thomas Wykeham, Esq., and the manor re-united.

The election of 1698 was contested between Lee, Herbert, and Mayne. On the 12th of December following, petitions from Simon Mayne, from Richard Cockman and other inhabitants of Aylesbury, on behalf of the said Simon Mayne against the return of Herbert, were presented, but with no determination. On the 22nd of December, a petition was presented by Richard Heywood and other inhabitants of Aylesbury, against the return of Sir Thomas Lee ; the House resolved "That James Herbert, Esq., is duly elected. That Sir Thomas Lee is not duly elected." Consequent on the unseating of Sir Thomas Lee a single election took place in February, 1698-9, when Robert Dormer, of Lee Grange, filled the vacancy, and the House reported him duly elected. Another petition was now lodged by Sir Thomas Lee against the return of Dormer, upon which there was no determination.

Robert Dormer was of the Lee Grange and Quainton family ; he subsequently became a Justice of the Common Pleas. He died in 1726, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried in Quainton Church, where there is a very elaborate monument erected, having figures of himself, his wife, and his son. The statues are all life-size ; the judge being represented in his ermined robes and full bottomed wig, standing with great dignity, his right hand pointing to the emaciated figure of his son. At the feet of the recumbent statue, a female is on one knee, in an agony of grief. Judge Dormer was the second son of John Dormer, Esq., of Lee Grange, being a branch of the ancient and noble family of the Dormers, which had so long flourished in Buckinghamshire; he twice represented that county in Parliament previous to his having been returned for Aylesbury, and several times sat for Northallerton, in Yorkshire, till such time as he was advanced to the Honourable Bench, which post he filled with great learning and integrity during twenty years, enjoying it to the end of his life. His estate, through failure of male issue, passed to his daughters, one of whom married the Hon. Sir John Fortescue Aland, afterwards Lord Fortescue, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

These petitions and counter petitions give us an insight into the bitterness and acrimony then existing at Aylesbury consequent upon electioneering differences. The ruling spirit was Thomas Wharton, son of Philip, Lord Wharton, of Upper Winchendon.

Simon Mayne, who was unsuccessful, was Thomas Wharton's adopted candidate. Wharton could not brook defeat, having been unused to it, and the rejection of his candidate led to interminable quarrels. At the county election a feud arose which nearly terminated fatally. Wharton, who was chief of the Buckinghamshire Whigs, succeeded in bringing in his brother, Goodwin Wharton, as one of the knights of the shire. Viscount Cheyney, of the Kingdom of Scotland, had been returned at the head of the poll by the Tories. The two noblemen met at the following Quarter Sessions. In England before the Union, Cheyney was merely an esquire; Wharton was undoubtedly entitled to take precedence of him, and had repeatedly done so without dispute hitherto. But angry passions now ran so high that a decent pretext for indulging them was hardly thought necessary. Cheyney fastened a quarrel on Wharton. They drew swords; Wharton, whose cool, good-humoured courage and skill in fence were the envy of all the swordsmen of that age, closed with his quarrelsome neighbour, and disarmed him, but spared his life.

Lord Macaulay tells us that:—

"Thomas Wharton was born in the days of the Covenant, and was the heir of a covenanted house. His father was renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts and a patron of Calvinistic divines. The boy's first years were passed amidst Geneva bands, heads of lank hair, upturned eyes, nasal psalmody, and sermons three hours long. Plays and poems, hunting and dancing were proscribed by the austere discipline of his saintly family. The fruits of this education became visible, when, from the sullen mansion of Puritan parents, the hot-blooded, quickwitted, young patrician emerged into the gay and voluptuous London of the Restoration. The most dissolute cavaliers stood aghast at the dissoluteness of the emancipated precisian. He early acquired and retained to the last the reputation of being the greatest rake in England. Of wine indeed he never became the slave; and he used it chiefly for the purpose of making himself the master of his associates. But to the end of his life the wives and daughters of his nearest friends were not safe from his licentious plots. The ribaldry of his conversation moved astonishment even in that age. To the religion of his country he offered, in the mere wantonness of impiety, insults too foul to be described. His mendacity and effrontery passed into proverbs. Of all the liars of his time he was the most deliberate, the most inventive, and the most circumstantial. What shame meant he did not seem to understand. No reproaches, even when pointed and barbed with the sharpest wit, appeared to give him pain. Great satirists, animated by a deadly personal aversion, exhausted all their strength in attacks upon him. They assailed him with keen invective: they assailed him with still keener irony; but they found that neither invective nor irony could move him to anything but an unforced smile and a good-humoured curse; and they at length threw down the lash, acknowledging that it was impossible to make him feel. That, with such vices, he should have played a great part in life, should have carried numerous elections against the most formidable opposition by his personal popularity, should have had a large following in Parliament, should have risen to the highest offices in the state, seems extraordinary. But he lived in times when faction was almost a madness; and he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of the leader of a faction. There was a single tie which he respected. The falsest of mankind in all relations but one, he was the truest of Whigs. The religious tenets of his family he had early renounced with contempt; but to the politics of his family he stedfastly adhered through all the temptations and dangers of half a century. In small things and in great, his devotion to his party constantly appeared. . . . Wharton was such

a master of the whole art of electioneering as England had never seen. Buckinghamshire was his own special province, and there he ruled without a rival. But he extended his care over the Whig interest in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Wiltshire. Sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty members of Parliament were named by him. As a canvasser he was irresistible. He never forgot a face he had once seen. Nay, in the towns in which he wished to establish an interest, he remembered not only voters but their families. His opponents were confounded by the strength of his memory and the affability of his deportment, and owned that it was impossible to contend against a great man who called the shoemaker by his Christian name, who was sure that the butcher's daughter must be growing a fine girl, and who was anxious to know whether the blacksmith's youngest boy was breeched. By such arts as these he made himself so popular that his journeys to Aylesbury to the Quarter Sessions resembled royal progresses; the bells of every parish through which he passed were rung, and flowers were strewed along the road. It was commonly believed that, in the course of his life, he expended on his Parliamentary interest not less than eighty thousand pounds, a sum which, when compared with the value of estates, must be considered as equivalent to more than three hundred thousand pounds in our time."

Thomas Wharton was the fifth baronet, created by letters patent, dated December, 1706, as Viscount Winchendon, of Winchendon, Bucks, and Earl Wharton, of Wharton, Westmoreland; in 1715, he was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Malmsbury and Marquis of Wharton, and at the same time was made an Irish peer as Baron Trim, Earl of Rathfarnham, and Marquis of Catherlogh. He had two wives, the first being Anne, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley; he died in 1715, leaving issue, by his last wife, two daughters and an only son; this son was the celebrated and witty Duke of Wharton, who was attainted in 1728, and died in a Spanish monastery in 1731, and on whose death the Buckinghamshire titles of the family became extinct, and they have not been revived.

The elections throughout the whole country were, in 1698, very closely contested, and went mostly against the Whigs and in favour of the Court party. Wharton, notwithstanding his acknowledged pre-eminence in the art of electioneering, underwent a succession of defeats in boroughs and counties for which he had expected to name the members. Even in his strongholds of Aylesbury and Wycombe he was unable to maintain his possession. Wharton also failed in his nominations for Brackley and Cockermouth; he was beaten in Oxfordshire, and the freeholders of Buckinghamshire, who had been true to him for so many years, and who in 1685, when the Whig party was in the lowest state of depression, had, in spite of fraud and tyranny, not only placed him at the head of the poll, but put their second votes at his disposal, now rejected one of his candidates, and could hardly be induced to return the other, his own brother, by a very small majority.

At the election which took place early in the year 1701, Sir Thomas Lee and James Herbert, Esq., were returned for Aylesbury. This Parliament was dissolved in the November following. This election produced a petition from Simon Mayne, Esq., and one also from Richard Cockman and other inhabitants of the Borough, complaining

of the constables having arbitrarily rejected legal votes, but no determination was come to. In December of this year there was another general election, on which occasion the candidates were Sir Thomas Lee, James Herbert, Esq., and Simon Mayne, Esq. Never did parties proceed with such heat against each other as at this election. Corruption was reduced to an open and avowed commerce, and had not the people been so universally venal and profligate that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success; these remarks apply to the country generally. Simon Mayne, the former defeated candidate, again contested the seat, and was again defeated. It was this election that gave rise to the important case of "Ashby v. White, and others," which led to such eventful results. There is no doubt that in this action Wharton was the real plaintiff, notwithstanding that the whole proceedings were carried on in the name of Ashby. The case, had not Mayne been defeated at this election, would never have been heard of.

The Borough of Aylesbury at this period was limited; it excluded Walton, but the franchise was in the commonalty. Not only did all householders vote, but also potwallers. Some are apt to treat householders and potwallers as identical, but they were not so. A potwaller was a man who boiled his own pot, and, notwithstanding that he occupied only a portion of a house, he was entitled to a vote; thus two voters might live in one house, if each "wabbled his own pot;" in fact, a potwaller was a lodger boarding himself. There were at this time no lists of voters to guide the returning officers in taking the poll. All they had to take note of was that the person tendering his vote had not received parochial relief during the year prior to the election, and that he had also been in occupation during the required term. The only document with which the officers were supplied was the overseers' pauper pay list. At this election a person of the name of Matthew Ashby tendered his vote. Who, or what his position in the town was, is open to doubt. He has been described as a cobbler turned ostler; as a mean person, whilst others say he was or had been a licensed victualler, and had served parish offices; in some instances he is dubbed an esquire; at all events he was what was called a Q'd man, that is one against whose name the returning officers had placed a Q, meaning that there was a query as to the legality of his vote. The names of the returning officers at this election were William White, Richard Talboys, William Bell, and Richard Heydon. Ashby tendered his vote for Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., and Simon Mayne, Esq.; but it was rejected. The particular reasons for this rejection are not mentioned in any of the proceedings, and it would seem to have been an act of caprice on the part of the returning officers objecting to it. The secret was said to be, that Ashby was very likely before long to become burdensome to the parish to which he belonged. There was some doubt as to his place of settlement, but had he been allowed to record his vote, it would have been tantamount to acknowledging that he belonged to the parish of Aylesbury, and if he became chargeable he would have to be supported at the expense of that parish. The parish records would lead to this conclusion. No sooner

was the election over than Ashby commenced proceedings at common law against the returning officers for rejecting his vote, and laid his damages at £200.

The case was heard at the Bucks Summer Assizes, when a verdict was given for the plaintiff with £5 damages and costs. This judgment was appealed against, and the following was the statement of the case on such appeal :—"The plaintiff, Matthew Ashby, brought his action against William White, Richard Talboys, William Bell, and Richard Heydon, defendants, constables of the Borough of Aylesbury, that on the 26th of December, in the twelfth year of King William III., a writ issued out of Chancery, directed to the Sheriff of the county of Bucks, reciting that the King had ordered a Parliament to be held at Westminster on the 6th of February then next following, and commanded the Sheriff to cause two Knights to be elected for the county, two citizens for every city, and two burgesses for every borough; which writ was declared to the Sheriff, who made a precept in writing under the seal of his office, directed to the said constables of the Borough of Aylesbury, commanding them to cause two burgesses of the said borough to be elected, &c., which precept was delivered to the defendants, to whom it belonged to execute the same. By virtue of which writ and precept, the burgesses of that borough, being summoned, did assemble before the defendants to elect two burgesses, and they being assembled in order to make such election, the plaintiff, Matthew Ashby, then, as burgess and inhabitant of the said borough, and duly qualified to give his vote at that election, was there ready, and offered his vote to the defendants for the choice of Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., and Simon Mayne, Esq., and the defendants were then required to receive and admit of his vote. That the defendants not being ignorant of the premises, but contriving, and fraudulently, and maliciously intending to damnify the plaintiff, and to defeat him of that his privilege, did hinder him from giving his vote, so that the two burgesses were elected without any vote given by the plaintiff to his damage of £200. Upon not guilty being pleaded, issue was joined, and the cause was tried at the assizes for the county of Bucks, and the plaintiff obtained a verdict, and £5 damages, besides costs."

The defendants thereupon moved the Court of King's Bench in arrest of judgment, insisting that the action did not lie, and this point being argued by counsel, and afterwards by the Court, three of the judges, viz., Powel, Gould, and Powys, were of opinion that the action would not lie, for the judging of elections belonged solely to the House of Commons, adding that this was the first action of the kind that had been brought, and if these suits were encouraged it would make the returning officers liable to an infinite number. Lord Chief Justice Holt, however, differed from his brethren, being of opinion that every man had a right to sue the returning officer (if he had a legal vote) where his vote was refused ; but there being three judges against one, the constables carried their point, and it was adjudged that the plaintiff had no cause of action.

This matter being brought before the House of Lords afterwards, by a writ of error, the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions. Whereupon Sir Thomas Trevor, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and several other judges, declared it to be their opinion that the House of Commons only had a right to judge of elections, and consequently who were the electors, and observed that petitions to that House were frequently founded on allegations; that some of the voters had no right, and that others were refused that had a right; nor had it ever been disputed that the Commons were the only proper judges of this matter, adding that if two independent jurisdictions should be allowed to the same case, it must frequently occasion contrary judgments and create great confusion in the execution of such judgments.

To this it was answered that a voter had no other remedy but in a court of law, for supposing the person was returned for whom he would have voted, he had no pretence to complain to the House; and if they could admit of such a complaint they could give him no damages to make him satisfaction for the officers refusing his vote. And since this was a right inherent to every voter it was reasonable that an action should be brought for it in the courts of law, where all other rights were tried. That, if this determination of the King's Bench was allowed, it would amount to an indemnity for the returning-officers, however partial or unjust soever they should prove, and exceedingly multiply these disorders; and to this latter opinion their Lordships, agreeing, confirmed the verdict given for Ashby, the plaintiff, at the assizes, over-ruled the determination of the Court of King's Bench, and gave judgment for Ashby, the plaintiff.

The Commons, upon this decision of the House of Lords, resolved:—"That, according to the known laws and usage of Parliament, it was the sole right of the Commons (except in cases otherwise provided for by Act of Parliament) to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members. That neither the qualification of an elector, or the right of any person elected, is cognizable or determinable elsewhere than before the Commons, except as aforesaid. That the examining and determining the qualification or right of any elector, or any person elected, in any court of law, or elsewhere, than before the Commons, except as aforesaid, will expose all mayors and other returning-officers to a multiplicity of actions and vexatious suits, and subject them to different and independent jurisdiction and inconsistent determinations. That Matthew Ashby, having brought his action against White and the other constables of Aylesbury for not receiving his vote, was guilty of a breach of privilege. That whoever shall commence or prosecute any action, indictment, or information, which shall bring the right of the electors or elected to the termination of any other jurisdiction than the House of Commons, except as aforesaid, such persons, and all attorneys, solicitors, councillors, and serjeants-at-law, soliciting, pleading, or prosecuting in any such case, are guilty of a high breach of the privilege of this House." These resolutions were ordered to be fixed on Westminster Hall Gate, and signed by the Clerk.

On the other hand the Lords resolved—"That by the known laws of this kingdom every freeholder or other persons having a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament, and being wilfully denied or hindered so to do by the officer who ought to receive the same, may maintain his action against such officer, and recover damages for the injury. That the asserting that a person having a right to give his vote at any election, and being hindered so to do by the officer who ought to take the same, is without remedy for such wrong by the ordinary course of law, is destructive of the property of the subject against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tends to encourage corruption and partiality in officers who are to make returns in Parliament, and to subject the freeholders and other electors to their arbitrary will and pleasure. That the declaring Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons for prosecuting his action against the constables of Aylesbury, after he had obtained a judgment in a court of law for recovery of his damages, is an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature in Parliament; and is, in effect, to subject the law of England to the votes of the House of Commons. That the deterring electors from prosecuting actions in the ordinary course of law, where they are deprived of their right of voting, and the terrifying attorneys, solicitors, councillors, and serjeants at law, from soliciting, prosecuting, and pleading in such cases, by voting their so doing to be a breach of privilege of the House of Commons, is a manifest assuming a power to control the law, to hinder the course of justice, and subject the property of Englishmen to the arbitrary votes of the House of Commons."

Although the Commons had resolved that Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege in commencing the action, they did not proceed to take him, his counsel, attorney, or agents into custody. The position taken by the House was very unpopular, and under the pretence of leniency they proceeded no further, and here the matter might have ended. The partisans of Ashby, however, were not content that the matter should rest here, and further it seems that they really had grounds of complaint of partiality against the returning officers, for Bishop Burnet, in the "Memoirs of his own Time," brings the accusation against the returning officers of Aylesbury of "making a bargain with some of the candidates and then managing matters so as to be sure that the majority should be for the persons to whom they had engaged themselves; they canvassed about the town to know how the voters were set, and they resolved to find some pretence for disabling those who were engaged to vote for other persons than their friends, that they might be sure to have the majority in their own hands, and when this matter came to be examined by the House of Commons they gave the election always to him who was reckoned of the party of the majority in a manner so barefaced that they were scared out of countenance when they were charged for injustice in judging elections."

Upon the decision of the House of Lords, Mr. Robert Mead, of Aylesbury, the attorney for Ashby, proceeded to take the defendants in execution under the judgment obtained against them. How the returning officers eventually got out of their scrape is

not recorded. As Ashby was not the real plaintiff so it may have been that the returning officers were not the real defendants, and it is probable that they had some substantial supporter to whom they looked to indemnify them, as enormous expenses must have been incurred. The matter was not allowed to rest here, but was resumed in the next reign.

King William died in March, 1702, having survived the Queen seven years. In this reign the Commons acquired complete power over the national purse. Prior to the Revolution, the whole supply of the public service was placed at the disposal of the sovereign; but it was now resolved that a definite sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the King and his government, or what is now called the Civil List, the rest for the public defence and contingent expenditure. The censorship of the Press was suffered to expire without renewal; no restraint was now imposed prior to the publication of literary works. An approach was made to religious toleration, by exempting Dissenters from penalty for non-attendance at the Established places of worship, and protecting their meeting-houses from insult. Parliaments were made triennial in 1694. During the reign of William, the constitution assumed a new aspect. The power lost by the Crown in this reign, and which Parliament acquired, was productive of great practical improvements in the government of the country, and contributed to the extension of the liberties of the people.

Chapter XXI.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

Reign of Queen Anne.—1702 to 1714.

Members in this reign—James Herbert, Esq.—Sir John Pakington—The Bishop of Worcester and Sir John—Simon Harcourt, Esq.—Election petitions—Sir Henry Parker—The case of Ashby v. White resumed—The five Aylesbury men—committed to Newgate—the case breaks up the Parliament—Sir John Wittewrong—John Essington, Esq.—Death of the Queen.

IN the first Parliament of Queen Anne, summoned to meet in August, 1702, James Herbert, Esq., continued as one of the representatives of Aylesbury; Sir John Pakington was likewise returned, but, being also chosen for Worcestershire, he sat for that constituency. Notwithstanding that Sir John Pakington, like his ancestors, was a firm adherent to the constitution, he was violently opposed in his Worcestershire election by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester. The Bishop had sent threatening letters to the clergy and freeholders, in which he severely censured Sir John's conduct in Parliament; not only did the Bishop interfere greatly in the election to the disadvantage of Sir John, but so did Mr. Lloyd, the Bishop's son; the Secretary to the Bishop also aspersed him. An enquiry into the Bishop's conduct was instituted by the House of Commons, and the charges made by Sir John being fully substantiated, the House resolved "that the proceedings of the Bishop, Mr. Lloyd, his son, and their agents had been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England," and it was resolved to address the Queen to remove the Bishop from his place of almoner to Her Majesty, with which request the Queen complied.

On Sir John Pakington electing to serve for the county of Worcester, his seat at Aylesbury was filled by Simon Harcourt, Esq., who was the only son of Sir Simon Harcourt, of Wraysbury; he subsequently represented Abingdon. Sir Simon, the father, was Solicitor General in 1702, Attorney-General in 1707, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; he was created Viscount Harcourt, and he died in 1727, having survived his son, who died in 1720 at Paris. George Simon Harcourt, Esq., of Ankerwycke, who was Sheriff for Bucks, and one of the representatives of the county

in 1837, was a member of this family, he being the only surviving male heir of Sir Philip Harcourt, the father of Sir Simon, the Lord Chancellor.

On the 26th of October, 1702, a petition from Thomas Cockman, an inhabitant of Aylesbury, was read in the House of Commons, on which there was no determination. There was also a petition from the inhabitants of Aylesbury, and on the 8th December following it was ordered by the House "That the inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury have leave to withdraw their petition touching the election of the said borough." In November, 1704, there was a single election, on which occasion Sir Henry Parker, Bart., was returned to take the place of James Herbert, Esq., deceased. Sir Henry was father of Lady Pakington, wife of Sir John; he was also nephew of Alderman Hugh Parker, of London, and was descended from a Devonshire family.

The case of Ashby v. White and others, which occupied the attention of the House of Commons in the last reign, was resumed. When the House met in October, 1703, it was informed that five more actions had been commenced by Aylesbury men, similar in character to that of Ashby. Emboldened by the ultimate success of Ashby, and without doubt instigated by other parties, five other electors, whose votes also had been Q'd by the returning officers, now came forward to do battle with the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the decisions of that House in the case of Ashby, these men proceeded in the same course, and each of them caused writs to be served upon the returning officers, and took the usual steps to obtain damages at common law. Their names were John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton the younger, Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne. The House of Commons now saw that in their lenity towards Ashby they had made a mistake; on this occasion they adopted a very summary and decisive course.

At the sitting of the House on the 23rd of November, it was ordered that Mr. Mead, the attorney, of Aylesbury, John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne, also of Aylesbury, do attend this House. On the 5th of December, the Sergeant-at-Arms reported that a copy of the order had been served at Mr. Mead's house, at Aylesbury, and also at his Chambers in Thaives Inn, that he did not attend in pursuance of the order, but that all the other persons had been summoned and were in attendance. Mr. Crabb, the attorney for the Aylesbury returning officers, was also brought to the bar by the mace-bearer; he stated to the House that he had served Mr. Mead with a copy of the resolutions of the House of last session relative to the case of Ashby v. White and others, and that he afterwards had from Mr. Mead five declarations in the new actions against the returning officers. A copy of one of the declarations having been read, John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, jun., Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne were severally called in to the bar, examined, and then ordered to withdraw. The House then resolved "that John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, jun., Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne have been guilty of commencing and prosecuting actions at common law

against William White and others, late constables of Aylesbury, for not allowing their votes in the election of members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the declaration, in high contempt of the jurisdiction, and in breach of the known privileges, of the House. That John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, jun., Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne be committed prisoners to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrants accordingly, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms, attending this House, do take care that the said warrants be executed. That Robert Mead, attorney-at-law, is guilty of high contempt of the jurisdiction and privileges of this House, by prosecuting these actions against the said returning officers, and that the said Robert Mead, for his said offence, be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms attending this House." They were all (excepting Mead, who could not be found) committed to Newgate.

At the sitting of the House on the 1st of February, 1704, it was ordered "that the keeper of Newgate do bring up to this House John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, jun., Henry Basse, and Daniel Horne." The keeper duly attended with his prisoners, who were severally called in and examined and ordered to be remanded to Newgate. They were so remanded, upon which they proceeded, by the advice of their attorney and counsel, to take a step which they were strictly entitled to according to their ancient rights as Englishmen, that was to obtain a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. It should be explained to those readers who are not accustomed to legal phraseology that a writ of *Habeas Corpus** is a form by which a person, who is detained in alleged illegal confinement, directs this writ to his accusers, and claims to be brought before one of the Courts of Law upon a given day, so that he may be informed of the specific charge against him, and the cause of his capture and detention ; and, further, for the prosecutor to submit to any directions as to giving bail, &c., that the Judge or Court may direct in the case. Here the proceedings of the House of Commons became arbitrary in the extreme, and even persecuting. The men were undoubtedly entitled to their writs of *Habeas*, but the House, on hearing of the steps they had taken to obtain their release, once more had them brought before them, and, fearing the *Habeas* might be effective against the keeper of Newgate, took the prisoners out of his custody and delivered them into the custody of their own Sergeant-at-Arms, at the same time giving the sergeant instructions to take no notice whatever of any writ of *Habeas* which might be served upon him ; they even went further by ordering into custody all persons who had been concerned in the pleadings in connection with the application for the *Habeas*. It appears, however, that the *Habeas* was granted, and by the unanimous decision of the Judges who heard it. The next step of the prisoners was to obtain a writ of error. The counsel and attorney engaged in these proceedings were—Mr. James Montague, Mr. Nicholas Letchmere, Mr. Alexander Denton, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Harris, and on the 26th February the House of Commons ordered all these parties to be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. These persons, being cognizant of the unfair proceedings of the

* *Habeas Corpus*—"Thou mayst have the body."

Commons against them, instigated their clients to appeal to the House of Lords, refusing to prosecute the matter unless under the protection of that House. The following petitions were therefore presented to the House of Lords :—

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

"The humble petition of Daniel Horne, Henry Basse, and John Paton, jun., sheweth,—

"That your petitioners, having a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, were refused their votes, to their great wrong and damage.

"That the Lords having given judgment in the case of Ashby and White, viz., that by the known laws of this kingdom every freeholder or other person, having a right to give his vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament, and being wilfully denied or hindered so to do by the officer who ought to receive the same, may maintain an action in the Queen's Courts against such officer, to assert his right and recover damages for the injury ; your petitioners thereupon brought the like actions in their own cases.

"That they have for so doing been committed to Newgate, by virtue of a warrant from the Speaker of the House of Commons.

"That your petitioners have endeavoured to obtain their liberty by such legal methods as by their counsel they have been advised, without success ; so that they have been deprived of their liberty for about twelve weeks for no other reason but the endeavouring to pursue their legal remedies according to the judgment of your Honourable House.

"Wherefore your petitioners humbly beseech your Lordships to take the premises into consideration, and to do therein as in your great wisdom you shall think fit.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

"Daniel Horne,
"Henry Basse,
"John Paton, Jun.,
"His X Mark."

A similar petition, but going more into the details of the case, was also presented to the House by John Paty and John Oviatt on the 26th of February.

On these petitions being read, the House resolved "that upon reading the petition of Daniel Horne, Henry Basse, and John Paton, jun., as also the petition of John Paty and John Oviatt, prisoners in Newgate, in relation to some proceedings for obtaining the writs of error, and praying (amongst other things) the protection of this House for their counsel and agents, it is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, that the said petitions shall be taken into consideration to-morrow at twelve o'clock, and all the Lords summoned to attend, as also the judges in town, who are to come prepared to speak to the point, whether a writ of error be a writ of right or a writ of grace, and that the petitioners have notice that when they send to this House the names of their counsel and agents they desire to be protected,

they shall have the protection of this House for them." In pursuance of the order of this day made, Daniel Horne, Henry Basse, John Paton, jun., John Paty, and John Oviatt, prisoners in Newgate, sent the names of their counsel and agents, namely :— James Montague, Esq., Nicholas Letchmere, Alexander Denton, Francis Page, Counsellors-at-Law ; William Lee, John Harris, Attorneys-at-Law. Whereupon—" It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, that James Montague, Esq., Nicholas Letchmere, Alexander Denton, and Francis Page, Counsellors at Law, and William Lee and John Harris, Attorneys-at-Law, shall, and they have hereby the protection and privilege of this House, in the advising, applying for, and prosecuting the said writs of error, and that all keepers of prisons and gaolers, and all sergeants-at-arms and other persons whatsoever, be, and they are hereby (for, or in respect of any the causes aforesaid) strictly prohibited from arresting, imprisoning, or otherwise detaining, or molesting, or charging the said James Montague, Nicholas Letchmere, Alexander Denton, Francis Page, William Lee, and John Harris, or any or either of them, as they and every one of then will answer the contrary to this House."

The House of Commons then called upon the Sergeant to report what he had done in the execution of the orders of the House, and he reported that he had received into custody the five persons who were committed to Newgate, and had found Mr. James Montague at his own house, and taken him into his own custody ; but that he showed a protection from the House of Lords, upon the petition of the said persons, by which the said Mr. Montague and Mr. Page, Mr. Letchmere and Mr. Denton, and William Lee, and John Harris (who were ordered to be taken into custody) were assigned counsel and attorneys for the said persons, and protected by the House of Lords ; and that all officers, sergeants-at-arms, and other persons were thereby forbidden to meddle with them ; with which the Sergeant told Mr. Montague he would acquaint the House. That he had also like to have taken Mr. Nicholas Letchmere, but that he got out of his chamber in the Temple, two pairs of stairs high, at the back window, by the help of his sheets and a rope ; and that the said Harris was also taken into custody ; but that Mr. Page, Mr. Denton, and Mr. Lee were not then found.

The House, being informed that there had been endeavours to bring a writ of error on the proceedings in the Court of Queen's Bench upon a *Habeas Corpus* granted there for the persons committed by the House to Newgate for breach of their privilege, and thereby to bring the commitments of the House under the examination of the House of Peers, resolved—" That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to lay before her Majesty the undoubted right and privilege of the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, to commit for breach of privilege ; and that the commitments of this House are not examinable in any other Court whatsoever ; and that no such writ of error was ever brought, nor doth any writ of error lie in this case. And that as this House hath expressed their duty to her Majesty, in giving dispatch to all the supplies,

so they have entire confidence in her Majesty's goodness and justice, that she will not give leave for the bringing any writ of error in this case, which will tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England." At a subsequent sitting, Mr. Secretary Hedges acquainted the House that their address in relation to the writs of error therein mentioned having been presented to her Majesty according to order, her Majesty was pleased to give this gracious answer, viz. :— "Her Majesty is much troubled to find the House of Commons of opinion that her granting the writs of error, mentioned in their address, is against their privileges, of which her Majesty will always be as tender as of her own prerogative; and, therefore, the House of Commons may depend her Majesty will not do anything to give them any just occasion of complaint. But this matter, relating to the course of judicial proceedings, being of the highest importance, her Majesty thinks it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what may be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern."

The further the case proceeded the more inextricable it became. In the end, the Commons requested a free conference with the Lords. Several conferences were accordingly held for adjusting their respective privileges. The Lords resolved one point, and the Commons resolved just the contrary. At last the conference broke off very abruptly, and as the Commons had addressed her Majesty not to grant a writ of error, the Lords drew up an address and statement of the case, and requested her Majesty to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of writs of error, to which address her Majesty answered, "My Lords, I should have granted the writs of error in this address; but finding an absolute necessity of immediately putting an end to this session, I am sensible there could have been no further proceedings in that matter."

There is no doubt but that the Aylesbury case broke up the Parliament, as on that same day it was prorogued, which prevented further proceedings, and both Lords and Commons were in some measure satisfied; at least, neither House had reason to censure her Majesty's conduct on this occasion. The five prisoners obtained their liberation, which was one end of their bringing writs of *Habeas*, and the Commons were satisfied, because no writ of error was granted, nor did the five Aylesbury men think fit to prosecute their actions against the constables afterwards; and so the matter has slept ever since.

The second Parliament of Queen Anne was summoned to meet on the 14th of June, 1705, when Sir John Wittewrong and Simon Mayne, Esq., were returned for Aylesbury. Mayne was petitioned against by Simon Harcourt, but the petition was subsequently withdrawn. The same members held their seats in the Parliament of 1708; on this occasion a petition was presented by John Essington, but it was withdrawn. In the year 1709 Sir John Wittewrong was made a colonel in the Army, and had to be re-elected; he was of Stanton Barry, or Bury, near Newport Pagnell. The first Sir

John purchased the Stanton Bury Estate; the second Sir John died in 1693; the third baronet was the member for Aylesbury; his son was a most unfortunate gentleman. In May, 1721, having barbarously murdered one Joseph Griffiths, a mountebank, at the Saracen's Head Inn, Newport Pagnell, he fled beyond seas, but came over again to England a few years after, got into the Fleet Prison, and there died of wounds which he had received by being sadly beaten in a drunken quarrel in the year 1743. This reckless member of the family squandered the estate, and he was probably the means of breaking up a hitherto highly respected and worthy connection. A relic of Sir John Wittewrong's connection with Aylesbury lasted many years after his death, in the gift of a handsome brass chandelier to the church; it was suspended in the nave, and continued in use until candles were superseded by gas, and it was not removed from its accustomed position until the restoration of the building in 1849. It had an inscription on it—"The gift of Sir John Wittewrong." Simon Harcourt, Esq., retained his seat in the election of 1710, and John Essington, Esq., succeeded Sir John Wittewrong, and both were again returned in 1713. Essington was made a Master of the Crown Office; at his election in 1713 he was petitioned against by Nathaniel Mead and John Deacle, who were also candidates, but the petition was withdrawn.

The Parliament of 1713 was Queen Anne's last. She died on the 1st of August, 1714, of a dropsy, in the 50th year of her age, and the 13th of her reign.

Chapter XXII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.—1714 TO 1727.

Members during this reign—Sir Nathaniel Mead, Knight—the family of Mead—Meads of Soulbury and Aylesbury—John Deacle, Esq.—his family—Trevor Hill, Lord Hillsborough—Richard Abell, Esq.—the Abells of Middle Claydon, Padbury, and London—their charities.—John Guise, Esq.—The Septennial Act—Poor relief—Workhouses—cost of inmates.

GEORGE I. was crowned on the 20th of October, 1714, and his first Parliament met in March 1714-15. In order to understand the political occurrences of this reign, it will be necessary to remind the reader of the state of parties. The Jacobites, or partisans of the House of Stuart, were numerous; even Queen Anne, as well as her ministers, Oxford and Bolinbroke, are represented as having been favourable to the exiled family. The partizans of the Pretender, however, never openly avowed their designs, but were mostly included among the Tories, who, with the Whigs, formed the ostensible parties into which the nation was divided. Many of the Tories were not from principle opposed to the Hanoverian succession, but only dreaded the accession of that family from an apprehension that the Whigs would then predominate, and engross all places of trust and emolument. The strength of the Tories lay among the nobility and gentry, with the populace of London, Bristol, Manchester, and the chief towns and cities of the kingdom. The Whigs leaned for support on the Dissenters, the bank, and the monied interest.

The Whigs having dexterously availed themselves of the divisions of the Tories on the death of Queen Anne to pave the way for King George, that Prince threw himself entirely into the hands of the friends who had most efficiently served him; and from his accession the principle may be considered to have been first attempted of carrying on the government, not by a balance or even unequally mixed administration, but by a Cabinet composed exclusively of one party.

The first period of the reign of George I. was troubled with the "rebels," or adherents to the "Pretender." In February, 1716, the Earls of Derwentwater and Kenmure, two adherents of his, were executed as traitors on Tower Hill; twenty-two Preston prisoners were also executed; many others died in prison through the severity

of the weather and the want of necessaries of life, and several were subsequently hanged or transported, for having embraced and supported the cause of the Stuarts.

In the first Parliament of George I., Sir Nathaniel Mead, Knight, and John Deacle, Esq., were returned for Aylesbury; both were petitioned against by Simon Harcourt and Philip Herbert, the opposing candidates. Sir Nathaniel Mead was connected with Aylesbury, being a cousin of Henry Phillips, who endowed the Free Grammar School. A William Mead, Esq., of Aylesbury, served the office of High Sheriff for Bucks in the year 1716. In Phillips's will, referring to the Free School endowment, the name of Mead is frequently mentioned, and members of that family are described as of Aylesbury and London; Nathaniel Mead, of the Inner Temple, London, is also spoken of. The Mead family were originally settled at Bragenham in Soulbury, where they resided in 1523. Robert Mead lived at Aylesbury in the early part of the last century, where he practised as an attorney. He was concerned in the celebrated election case of Ashby v. White, and declared by the House of Commons to be guilty of a breach of privilege, in prosecuting, as an attorney, several actions against White and others, the returning officers of Aylesbury; he was brother to Sir Nathaniel Mead, the member for Aylesbury, who was a serjeant-at-law, and was knighted in the first Parliament after the accession of the House of Hanover. It will be thus seen that the Meads were essentially a local family; the last of them residing at Aylesbury were the parents of Mrs. Wilkes.

John Deacle, who apparently was much mixed up with the Aylesbury elections at this time, is met with as a descendant of a family once the owners of the Manor of Colwich, in Waddesdon. A John Deacle, of Wingrave, left an estate there to a nephew, John Deacle, which estate afterwards passed to the Rev. W. Deacle, of Astrop, Northampton. At the election of 1714-15 Deacle was returned for Evesham as well as Aylesbury, and as his election for Aylesbury was petitioned against, he resolved to serve for Evesham. Sir Trevor Hill took his place, and thus the petition against Deacle's return for Aylesbury was disposed of. Sir Trevor Hill was born in 1693, and had his education in England; he was created Baron Hill, of Kilvarlin, and Viscount Hillsborough, in Ireland. He was a Privy Councillor, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Down. He married Mary, daughter and coheiress of Anthony Rowe, Esq., of Muswell Hill, in Middlesex, and of North Aston, in Oxfordshire, widow of Sir Edward Denton, Bart. His Lordship died on the 3rd of May, 1742.

In the Parliament of 1722, Aylesbury was represented by Richard Abell, Esq., and John Guise, Esq. In the reign of Edward III., the manor of East Claydon was in the Greys of Rotherfield, afterwards successively in the Deincourts and Lovels, and, at a later period, in the families of Lea and Abell. It was purchased of the latter in 1728, by Lord Fermanagh, and passed to his niece, Mary Baroness Fermanagh. The Abells also once held the Manor of Padbury under All Souls' College, Oxford. In 1640 William Abell, Esq., was a citizen and alderman of London; his eldest son was Lord of East Claydon, and served as High Sheriff for Bucks. Mary, daughter of the High

Sheriff, married Edmund Verney, of East Claydon, eldest son of Sir Ralph Verney, and grandson of the Standard-bearer. William Abell, a nephew of the citizen, sold East Claydon. It was Richard Abell, the son of the last named William, who represented Aylesbury; he was a benefactor to East Claydon parish, and there is a tablet in the church of that village containing several of the names of the family. Bridget Abell, described as of Southampton Row, Middlesex, devised, in 1736, £200 to the poor of East Claydon, and appointed her brother, Richard Abell, then residing at Walton-on-Thames, as trustee, with instructions to invest the said sum, which was done by the purchase of a freehold rent-charge on six houses near Rosemary Lane, London; the charity is now lost. In 1721, Richard Abell was appointed one of the trustees of Phillips's Free Grammar School at Aylesbury. Guise, the other member for Aylesbury, held the Manor of Great Marlow, from 1718 to 1736, when he sold it to Sir William Clayton, Bart.; he was a colonel in the foot guards; eldest son of the third Bart., of Boymore, Gloucestershire; he succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1734, and died in 1769; the title is now extinct.

There were but two Parliaments in this reign; this is explained by the passing of the Septennial Act of 1717, by which the Parliament elected in 1714 added to its existence. This Parliament was elected for three years by the people, but they elected themselves for four years longer. This usurpation of the franchise of their constituents has been defended on the ground of the prevailing excitement and disaffection consequent on the Revolution settlement, which might have been endangered by a general election. Others have vindicated the act as a permanent improvement, by rendering less frequent the tumult of a general election.

The King died on the 9th of June, 1727. One statute affecting the poor was passed in this reign; it checked the facility with which justices had granted orders for parochial relief. The Act stipulated that no person be relieved, till on oath made before a justice, of reasonable cause, and till the applicant had applied to a vestry, or two overseers, and been refused relief, and the justice had summoned the overseers to show cause why such relief was not given. It also provided that the parish officers, with the consent of the major part of the parishioners, might purchase or hire any house in the parish, and contract with persons for the lodging, employment, and keeping of poor persons. Many parishes availed themselves of the power to farm out the poor, granted by the Act. Immediately after the introduction of this workhouse system, such was the aversion of the poor to the confinement and employment it subjected them to that the number of claimants for parochial relief was, in many places, reduced a half. At this period the workhouses maintained the poor at a very low rate. At Hampstead, 2s. per week each; at Hanslope, in 1724, the average cost of diet, lodging, and maintenance of each person in the workhouse was 1s. 6d. weekly; at Westham, £5 the year; at Stroud, 1s. 8½d. per week; at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, 1s. 9d.; at St. Giles', Bloomsbury, 1s. 7¾d.

Chapter XXIII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF GEORGE II.—1727 TO 1760.

Members for Aylesbury during this reign—Sir W. Stanhope—his little election bill.—Edward Rudge, Esq.—Philip Lloyd, Esq.—he is petitioned against—Thomas Ingoldsby—G. Champion, Esq.—Christopher Tower, Esq.—Charles Pilsworth, Esq.—a contested election—The Earl of Inchiquin—Edward Willes—John Willes—Thomas Potter—John Wilkes.

THE first Parliament of George II., was summoned to meet on the 28th of November, 1727; the return for Aylesbury is dated August, 1727, when Sir William Stanhope and Philip Lloyd, Esq., were the representatives. Sir William Stanhope was also returned for the county of Bucks, and he electing to serve as a knight, Edward Rudge, Esq., succeeded him in the representation of Aylesbury, February, 1727-8. In February, 1729-30, Philip Lloyd being appointed to a Crown Office, Thomas Ingoldsby, Esq., took his place. Sir William Stanhope was the second son of the third Earl of Chesterfield, and was created by King George I. one of the new knights, upon the revival of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath. He resided at Eythorpe, and was distinguished by his wit, humour, and literary talents. He expended large sums in the improvements of his house and grounds at Eythorpe, and lived in great splendour and hospitality. He was one of that noted club of wits and *bon vivants* who assembled at Medmenham, under the frivolous and in some respects, as has been alleged, disreputable character of Monks of La Trappe; dying without male issue, his estate at Eythorpe and Wing reverted to his surviving brother. The following is an abstract of a portion of his expenses on account of Aylesbury election:—

1727, July.		£	s.	d.
11th.	Drawn at the publichouses when yr honor went about the town ...	43	17	0
	Mr. Smith, at the George, his bill	18	5	6
13th.	Drawn at all the publichouses	33	2	9
	Mr. Smith, at the George, his bill	3	17	0
14th.	Spent discretionally	0	12	0
	Mr. Smith, at the George, his bill	3	2	6
15th.	Spent	0	11	4
17th.	Mr. Dawney, at the Crown, his bill	39	3	8
	Spent, &c.	1	17	0
18th.	Spent, &c.	0	5	0
19th.	Drawn at the publichouses when your hon. was in the town canvassing	30	10	0
	Spent, &c.	0	6	6

	£	s.	d.
1727, July.			
21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th. Spent as pr bills of p'ticulars...	29	19	0
28th. Drawn at the publichouses when yr. hon. was in the town	30	10	0
Spent (Sunday)	0	1	0
29th. Spent as by p'ticulars.....	4	14	0
30th. Spent, &c. (Sunday)	0	13	6
31st. Spent as by p'ticulars	2	15	6
August.			
1st, 2nd, 3rd. Spent as pr p'ticulars	1	8	0
4th. Ditto	2	3	6
5th, 6th, 7th. Ditto	6	8	0
8th. Spent as pr p'ticulars when your hon. was in the town canvassing .	30	19	0
9th, 10th, 11th. Ditto	2	16	0
To the messenger that brought the precept.....	0	5	6
12th, 13th. Spent as by p'ticulars	2	18	6
14th. The same	1	12	0
15th. The same	19	2	0
16th. Wednesday, on the election day, as pr p'ticulars, at the publichouses	173	9	3
	£485	5	0
His honor paid to Mr. Welsh	25	0	0
His honor paid to Mr. Odell	31	10	0
	£541	15	0

Edward Rudge was the possessor of the Worminghall estate, which was disposed of to Samuel Horne, Esq., and afterwards conveyed to Lord Cliefden. Rudge was a son of Edward Rudge, a London merchant; he represented Evesham in 1741; he is subsequently described as of Whitfield, Oxon; a sister of his married Sir William Stanhope; their daughter Elizabeth became the wife of Welbore Ellis, Esq., who subsequently represented Aylesbury. The return of Philip Lloyd was challenged by John Guise, a former member for Aylesbury, but the petition was withdrawn, to be renewed in the next session; in the meantime Guise having taken office, the petition against Lloyd's return was consequently abandoned. Thomas Ingoldsby, Esq., succeeded Lloyd; he was of the Waldridge family in Dinton, a grandson of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, the Regicide, who represented Aylesbury in the reign of Charles II. Thomas Ingoldsby served the office of High Sheriff for Bucks in 1720, and died in 1760.

There was a general election in 1734, being the second Parliament of George II. At this election the representatives returned for Aylesbury were George Champion, Esq., and Christopher Tower, Esq. Christopher Tower was of Iver; he was a justice of the peace for Bucks, and joint auditor of His Majesty's revenue. He sat for Lancaster in 1727, and for Bossiney in 1741; his second wife was daughter of James Tash, of Delaford Park, Iver; he died in 1771, aged 79 years; he was great grandfather of Christopher Tower, Esq., who was one of the members for the county of Buckingham in 1845. Champion was a citizen and alderman of London.

In the Parliament of 1741, Sir William Stanhope again became a candidate, and,

with Charles Pilsworth, Esq., was returned for Aylesbury. Pilsworth was a barrister-at-law ; he was owner of the manor of Oving, which came to him by his marriage with Parnell, eldest sister of Francis Tyringham, Esq., of Nether Winchendon. Pilsworth had to contest this election, and polled 344 votes, against Sir William Stanhope, who polled 320, and James Herbert, Esq., who polled 135.

In 1747, the members returned for Aylesbury were William Earl Inchiquin and Edward Willes, Esq. Earl Inchiquin was of Taplow Court, of which he became possessed by his marriage with a daughter of Lord Orkney. Her ladyship, his wife, became Countess Orkney, and the estate passed to their grandson, Earl Orkney.

Edward Willes was the second son of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1726. He is often confounded with his namesake, who was Lord Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer. He acquired the rank of King's Counsel in 1756, and in 1766 was made Solicitor-General. On the death of Lord Bowes, Chancellor of Ireland, attempts were made to confer that appointment upon Willes, but he was obliged to content himself with a seat in the King's Bench, to which he was promoted in 1767. Mr. Justice Willes did not accept the usual honour of knighthood. He outlived all his colleagues except Lord Mansfield, and after nineteen years of judicial life, unmarked by any peculiar characteristics other than a certain flippancy of manner and a neglect of costume; he died January 4th, 1787, and was buried at Burnham. One of his sons, the Rev. William Shippen Willes, was presented to the rectory of Preston Bissett in 1795, and was also Prebendary of York ; his grandson, William Willes, Esq., married a daughter of William Ralph Cartwright, Esq., of Aynho, M.P. for the county of Northampton ; he resided at Astrop House, was a magistrate for the counties of Northampton and Oxford, and a Deputy-Lieutenant of the former, for which county he served the office of Sheriff in 1837. On the south side of the chancel in Burnham Church is a very fine monument, in memory of Mr. Justice Willes, with a medallion of the Judge in profile, supported by a female figure, seated, the scales of Justice falling from the hand of the figure. In the background, a pyramid of white marble rises to a considerable height, and bears the following inscription :—

"Near this place are deposited the remains of the Hon. Mr. Justice Willes, appointed one of his Majesty's Counsel in the year 1756, his Solicitor-General in 1766, and one of his Judges in the King's Bench, December, 1767, which office he filled during nineteen years ; he died the 14th of January, 1787, aged 63 years."

In the Parliament of 1754, Thomas Potter and John Willes, Esqrs., were returned. John Willes was another son of Chief Justice Willes, and an elder brother of Edward Willes, who was one of the members for Aylesbury in 1747 ; he held the office of Filaser* of the Common Pleas, and once sat for Banbury. Thomas Potter was a son of a late Archbishop of Canterbury, and he resided at Ridgemount in Bedfordshire ; he is

* An officer who filed writs whereon he made out process ; the office, being a sinecure, was abolished.

represented as having been very liberal in his theological ideas, never having joined in communion with any sectaries. He was a man of great abilities, and a most useful member of Parliament. He was exceedingly lively and witty, had a great deal of vivacity and power of conversation which made him an agreeable companion, but he was often coarse in his language. He was a frequent visitor at the house of John Wilkes, at Aylesbury, with whom he was intimately acquainted; he was no favourite with Mrs. Wilkes, who was a lady of peculiar delicacy. His elder brother marrying indiscreetly, the father gave the bulk of his patrimony to Thomas, having also bestowed on him the lucrative post of Registrar for the Province of Canterbury. Potter was brought up to the law, and, turning his attention to State affairs, soon made himself conspicuous; he became Recorder of Bath. At Christmas, 1754, Potter made a distribution to his constituents and others at Aylesbury of a bushel of wheat to every housekeeper there who would accept it, and three hundred bushels were distributed in the borough.

This letter from Potter was written about six months before the resignation of his seat for Aylesbury in 1757, and just after his re-election of 1756. The discharge referred to was probably from the Army; Ray is an old Aylesbury name:—

"Hanover Street, January 29th, 1757.

"Dear Sir,—I am drawn into a scrape by the note given to Ray for the discharge of his brother. I have asked it, but am not able to obtain it, so that I shall be obliged to pay fifteen pounds for Ray's vote, which is rather more than it was worth to me.

* * * * *

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"Tho. Potter.

"To Mr. Dell, Ailesbury, Bucks.

"Free, T. Potter."

At the end of June, 1757, Potter was appointed one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, which vacated his seat. The writ for a new election for Aylesbury was issued on the 1st of July. There were a great many manœuvres and tricks practised on this occasion. A private agreement was made between Mr. Potter and Mr. Wilkes, that if Potter could secure a seat in Parliament for another borough, Wilkes should be elected for Aylesbury. Sir Robert Henley (afterwards Earl of Northington), member for Bath, had lately been appointed lord-keeper, in the room of Lord Hardwicke, who had resigned the chancery; and Mr. Pitt, who was member for Oakhampton, was invited to the representation of Bath, which he accepted. Mr. Pitt's writ was moved for on the same day as Potter's, and thus Oakhampton was left open. The business was very adroitly managed, and Potter being elected for Oakhampton, Wilkes succeeded him as member for Aylesbury.

Potter's name is connected with an unsuccessful attempt made, in 1753, to pass a very useful measure enacting an annual registration of the whole population, with their births, marriages, and deaths, in fact, to take an annual census. After considerable

opposition he succeeded in passing it through the House of Commons. It was not popular in either of its objects, and its author did not stand high in the public esteem. The census was regarded as ominous and unlucky by a superstition more generally felt than avowed, and the register was viewed by the nation in the odious light of a French institution; therefore, when the Lords threw out the Bill on the second reading, no disappointment was exhibited, and no effort made to revive it. Still, the attempt to obtain the Act showed that its author was a man of some reflection, and it was a misfortune that the prejudices of the public should have hindered the passing of so useful a measure.

John Wilkes represented Aylesbury in the last Parliament of George II., but the principal events of his life are connected with the following period. He became so conspicuous a character in the reign of George III., and was so intimately connected with Aylesbury, that a special chapter must be given to his biography.

The constitutional events of the reign of George II. were not of prominent interest. Whig ascendancy continued, and public men were divided only by struggles for power, not by the conflicting claims of prerogative and legislation, the boundaries of which had been settled. A longer residence in England had made the King more familiar with our language and constitution than his predecessor had been; still he was so much a stranger as to be very dependent upon the ministers assigned him by a Parliamentary majority; and he seems to have been generally indifferent to any question of government beyond the interest of his electoral dominions, which he pertinaciously upheld and greatly advanced by the successive agency of his chief servants, Walpole, Pulteney, Pelham, Newcastle, Granville, and Pitt, the future Earl of Chatham. The condition of the great body of the people during this reign was good. Wheat, in 1750, was 32s. the quarter; malt, 3s. the bushel. The wages of agricultural labourers were 6s. in winter, and 7s. in summer. In 1740, the wages of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plumbers, and other domestic artificers were 16s. per week. In 1760 wheat rose to 41s. per quarter. There was a great deal of crime and immorality in this period. Assassinations, robberies, assaults, and incendiary fires were unusually prevalent, and the people generally were degraded by habits of intemperance, riot, and debauchery.

Chapter XXIV.—JOHN WILKES.

BORN 1727; DIED 1797.

The Wilkes and Mead families—Wilkes marries Miss Mead—contests Berwick—his letters to Mr. Dell—candidate for Aylesbury—is returned—bribery at the election—again returned for Aylesbury—publishes the "North Briton"—is arrested—discharged—brings actions—obtains damages—riots—speech in the House—fights duels—wounded—retires to France—returns and contests Westminster—again arrested—petition from Aylesbury—elected several times for Middlesex and expelled—retires from Parliament—elected Alderman—Lord Mayor—Chamberlain—his biographers—his writings—private life—separation from his wife—his daughter—his death.

JOHN WILKES was descended from the Wilkes family, described as of "Layton Beausart." Their residence, although near Leighton, was in Bucks. Edward Wilkes, who resided there in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., had three sons and a daughter. They were all persons of reputation and respect; Luke Wilkes, the third son of Edward, occupied the office of chief yeoman of his Majesty's wardrobe, and from him was descended Israel Wilkes, the father of John Wilkes. Israel Wilkes was a distiller; he lived in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, and married Sarah Heaton, daughter of John Heaton, Esq., and by her became possessed of Hoxton-square, London, and other property; she was very amiable, and a rigid Dissenter. Among the numerous persons who visited this family, were Mr. Mead, an eminent drysalter on London Bridge, with his wife and daughter. Mr. Israel Wilkes had three sons and two daughters; his eldest son was Israel; the second son John; the youngest son was named Heaton, his mother's maiden name. The Mead family are referred to at page 209. The property of this family descended to Mr. William Mead, the drysalter, who married Miss Sherbroke, daughter of — Sherbroke, Esq., a gentleman of considerable property, living in the neighbourhood of Chenies; they were Dissenters. By his wife he had several children, but only one survived; this was a daughter, who became the wife of John Wilkes.

John Wilkes was born on the 17th of October, 1727; he received the rudiments of his education at Hertford: it appears also that he was at Thame School. As he was a youth of very sprightly talents, and great promise, his father intended him for the profession of the law, and became so partial to him that he spared no expense on his education. Having stayed some time at Hertford, he was placed under the tuition of a private preceptor, a Dissenting minister, named Leeson, who had kept a small

seminary for a select number of young gentlemen at the Vicarage house at Aylesbury. Of Wilkes's academical acquirements no eulogy need be attempted; he owed more to his own application and to study than to the assistance of the University. When he had finished his studies at Leyden, he made a tour through the Dutch provinces, the Austrian Netherlands, and part of Germany.

While Wilkes was thus engaged abroad, another scene was preparing at home. Miss Mead, being known as a young lady of considerable wealth, did not want for suitors. As the friendship between Mrs. Mead and the Wilkeses continued as cordially as ever, it was settled between them that, as soon as young Wilkes returned to England, he should pay his addresses to Miss Mead. In 1749, Wilkes returned, and, agreeably to the request of both his parents, paid frequent visits to Mrs. Mead, at Aylesbury. His manners were elegant and polite, and his conversation gay and entertaining. In a short time Miss Mead found herself attached to him, and in the month of October of the same year they were married, to the apparent satisfaction of all parties. Mr. Mead being dead, Mrs. Mead now quitted Aylesbury for London, and young Mr. and Mrs. Wilkes lived in very comfortable circumstances at the Prebendal House at Aylesbury.

Wilkes now entered on his career as a public character, and further notes on his private history must be deferred in order to follow him in his political and other adventures. The general election of 1754 approaching, Wilkes's friends strongly urged him to enter Parliament. Acting on this advice he went to Berwick, which he contested. He polled 192 votes, and, notwithstanding his fine speeches about virtue and patriotism, the experiment cost him between £3,000 and £4,000, in addition to which he was unsuccessful. His defeat at Berwick did not dishearten him, and it is evident from his letters to Mr. John Dell that he contemplated representing the Borough of Aylesbury on the occasion of the first vacancy.

The letters from Wilkes to Mr. John Dell, of Aylesbury,* and from which the following extracts are taken, are preserved by the Dell family; there are about 70 of them; they treat of various subjects relating to Wilkes's private as well as to his public matters. Those only are quoted which relate to public affairs. The Mr. Dell to whom they were addressed was father of the late Messrs. Thomas and John Dell, for many years of the Old Brewery in Bourbon-street. The first portion of these letters, unfortunately, does not give the year in which they were written, but the month only; some only the day of the week. In a letter dated January 15th, no year, but which must have been 1754, since Wilkes was appointed High Sheriff for Bucks for that year, as he intimates, he writes:—

"Dear Dell,—* * * I am to serve as High Sheriff this year. Be as silent as the grave, only whisper Stephens† when you see him that he is to be my chaplain if

* The originals have been kindly lent to the Author by Joseph Parrott, Esq.

† The Rev. John Stevens, or Stephens, was the Vicar of Aylesbury, and Master of the Grammar School there; the Rev. W. Pugh, A.B., subsequently referred to, was curate; they were intimate friends of Wilkes.

he pleases. Price will be under-sheriff. I am going to the Duke of Marlborough's. You see I declare myself throughout a friend to liberty and will act up to it.

"Your friend and humble servant,

"JOHN WILKES."

In 1754, Wilkes was engaged in the Berwick-on-Tweed election before referred to, and he makes an apology for not being able to attend personally at Potter's election for Aylesbury; he gave Potter his assistance, hoping that Dell would take the lead in everything; he concludes—"Adieu, Dear Jack, God bless you.—To Mr. John Dell, in Aylesbury, Bucks." In writing from Berwick, under date October 6th, 1754, Wilkes acknowledges a letter from Mr. Dell:—"Your letter is the most extraordinary one I ever read, for I never before knew a farmer talk of being easy and contented;" he then goes on to tell of his bright prospects as to the Berwick election.

In January, 1755, Wilkes was appointed one of the Feoffees of the Aylesbury Grammar School. He states in a letter to Mr. Dell that he had been paying a visit to Mr. Potter in Bedfordshire, and would have come on to Aylesbury, but *the roads between Leighton and Aylesbury were so bad*, he could not reach Aylesbury. In November, 1755, he writes from London:—"I am told there are many expensive customs at Aylesbury in Christmas time, particularly about St. Thomas's day. I wish you would let me know, and what is expected from me. Pray write me all the nonsensical news of A. It diverts me here amid graver things." This note shows that he then had some inclination to become member for Aylesbury.

The following letter was written a year and a half before Wilkes's election for Aylesbury. The Willes he proposes to sink was the sitting member, who was in expectation of obtaining a Government appointment. The date of the letter points to a probable distribution of *metal* amongst the voters at the coming Christmas as was usual:—

"London, December 1, 1755.

"DEAR DELL,—* * * * Depend upon it, I will sink Willes by the weight of *metal* and we shall be thought heroes to turn a man out, the moment he has kissed hands for a place, that is to be made a tool to Fox or Newcastle. Potter thinks it absurd to declare till I see whether Jack Willes gets anything or not, for he says I shall feel all the bad consequences of an election without a choice perhaps. I think he is right. I approve of your scheme of a shilling for a widow and half-a-crown for a poor family. What will it amount to? I am sorry Bigg's affair is not finished; tell him I will not stop till I have served him. I only mean Aylesbury *for this time*, and should laugh, when the rabble had got my money, to have the wretches come to ask favours of me. I will carry it with a high hand at the time and a higher afterwards. Charles Lowndes is my warm and steady friend. I think the fable of the Fox and Goose is reviv'd, but tho' the fox has often carried off the goose, I never heard of the goose taking the Fox on his back as Newcastle has done. I do not know if our Buckinghamshire friends play a *safe* game but they play a *great* game.

"Dear Dell, your sincere friend and humble servant,

"JOHN WILKES."

The following letter is without date :—

"Dear Dell,—* * * W——* at last has gone out in a stink! I always despised such an opponent. Ellis† will *lend* 5, and I think at present of 4, and that in a very few days. Pray, with Smith, and Bob Neale, and the parish books, make me out a list of all you think worthy of my charity, to whom you would have me really give, as soon as possible. * * * Does my forty pounds worth of half-crowns do me sixpenny worth of good? Good night—adieu. Monday." (Not signed.)

It is doubtful whether the following letter, which is not dated, refers to the election of 1757 or that of 1761; prior to 1757, "important business of the House" could not have affected Wilkes, as at that period he was not a member of it :—

"Dear Dell,—I send Samuel with 810 guineas; I shall follow with the rest; but I am afraid important business of the House will keep me 'till to-morrow noon; therefore, do not begin at Aylesbury 'till to-morrow noon if I am not come to Missenden, and adjourn till Wednesday morning. Nothing to be done by candle light. I would not risk too much by one conveyance. What Samuel has, in all events, will last to-morrow's operation, and begin late, or, if you chuse it, stay 'till Wednesday to finish.

"Ever yours,

"Monday afternoon." "John Wilkes.

In April, 1757, Wilkes asks—"How does the affair of the churchwarden go on, and what new speeches have you had from your great orator Bass, or Hemp Horwood?‡ * * * The city is in the greatest uproar about the removal of Pitt, and Byng's affair is luckily already forgot."

In a note, dated St. James's Place, Tuesday, May 21 (no year), but it must have been 1757, as Potter's appointment was made that year, Wilkes informs Mr. Dell of the appointment of Potter as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Potter, it would seem, had become unpopular at Aylesbury, and Wilkes tells him he has no chance of being again returned.

Mr. Dell must have been Wilkes's confidant, as he makes this request of him—"Be on your guard, and pray do not go from home an hour; I mean not out of town." Another note, dated May 28th, written in 1757, Wilkes writes to Dell—"I mean to give a supper at the White Hart, and pray speak to Hill§ accordingly. Tell Dr. Stephens my intention, and invite to the supper, at eight, *all* the independents. You remember that Saturday is the King's birthday. If any persons are disposed to meet me, let it be only a mile or two from the town."‖ Two days after, he wrote Mr. Dell a second note respecting the supper, in which he says—"Pray desire Hill to let us have a

*The W—— here referred to was John Willes, the sitting member for Aylesbury. The lending system was well understood; the day for repayment never being expected to arrive.

† Welbore Ellis, who was the other candidate.

‡ "Hemp" Horwood was the rope maker; he lived in Walton, at the rope and sack factory, afterwards and for many years known as "Cheese's." Mr. John Cheese married Horwood's daughter.

§ Hill was the landlord at the White Hart.

‖ This infers a public entry. It was customary, when a candidate was expected, to meet him at the town's end, and detach the horses from the carriage; ropes were then substituted for harness, and the occupants were drawn in triumph through the principal streets.

good supper. I will give a rout, and will bring you bank or cash, as you like, for it. * * * Dear Dell, your sincere friend, JOHN WILKES."

From the following letter, which must have been written in 1757, Wilkes appears to have arranged matters with Potter :—

"St. James's Place, Wednesday, June 22nd (no year).

"DEAR DELL,—I have been this morning with Potter, and he entirely relinquishes to me your good Borough. * * * I am determined to offer my services, and will give two guineas per man, with the promise of whatever more anyone else offers. * * If you think two guineas not enough, I will offer 3, or even 5, to be secure.

"Dear Dell,

"Your sincere friend,

"JOHN WILKES."

Next day another note arrives, saying that Charles Lowndes recommends 3 guineas per man. "If you are of the same opinion, don't hesitate. * * * I am determined to carry my point. Be attentive to every whisper. I suppose you had my letter by Sherriff."

The next letter refers to the formation of a new administration in June, 1757 :— "DEAR DELL,—All our Buckinghamshire friends are out, with Mr. Legg, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Lord Chief Justice bids fair to get Jack Willes into some paltry place. I am determined to oppose him, and will attack him with the utmost spirit in every way, particularly the *true Aylesbury way of palmistry*. Be sure I will, at any expense, carry my point. The Pakingtons are with us, but above all *Sir Thomas Guinea*."*

Here the series in the correspondence with Mr. Dell is broken, probably in consequence of Wilkes taking up his residence at Aylesbury, in preparation for the expected election. Every fortnight he invited select parties of his constituents to dinner at his house, whom he entertained with the greatest hospitality ; and he paid the most polite and constant attention to all the inhabitants. He frequently remarked that he never would advise any gentleman to represent the town in which he lived, for his constituents would be a heavy and perpetual incumbrance on his table and his wine cellar. Wilkes succeeded Potter unopposed. The return to the writ for the election is dated July 6th, 1757. Wilkes is supposed to have paid the expenses of the whole of the arrangements with Potter, which cost him some £7,000, and that for a seat in a Parliament having but about three years to last at most. Although there was no contest a "rumpus" arose out of the election proceedings ; the particulars are not recorded. Wilkes writes to Mr. Dell on the subject :—"I have written to young Burnham to get up evidence against the persons who broke Spur's windows, and I intend to move the King's Bench against them." Wilkes proposed publishing a reward to find the miscreants, but there was no printer at Aylesbury at that period, and he recommends the required printing to be done at Northampton. Subsequently, his friend, "dear Dell," appears to have given him

* Wilkes used to say that the main body of his constituents always preferred his guinea to anyone else's pound.

wholesome advice which apparently related to some report of gambling transactions, to which Wilkes replies :—

"Dear Dell,—I assure you I have not lost five guineas these six months, and you know I have gained (by mortality) some hundreds. Never disturb yourself with idle reports. Time is the great confuter of this kind of lie. Sir W. St.* told me Terry mentioned it to him, and he laugh'd at it. These things hurt merchants, not gentlemen, at least like me, who do not to my knowledge owe six pence.

"Your most affectionate friend,

"John Wilkes.

"Great George Street, Feb. 28, 1758."

The following note has reference to the Aylesbury Free Grammar School, of which Wilkes was one of the trustees :—

"Dear Dell,—With yours came a letter from Matthias Dagnall, to acquaint me of Mr. Williams' death, and that the surviving trustees have been long under an engagement to continue the succession in the same line, whose ancestors the Donor thought at first agreeable. They had therefore unanimously pitched upon Mr. Archdale Williams, &c., &c. I am forced to acquiesce, and have accordingly wrote to Dagnall. Good night ; eleven.

"May 2nd, 1758." (Not signed).

Nearly all the letters to Mr. Dell were forwarded by private conveyance, particularly those dated from London. They may have been sent by coach or wagon ; it is not impossible that Wilkes had servants going to and from Aylesbury and London frequently. One dated Kirby-over-Carr, September 8th, 1758, is sent by post ; it is franked and marked "Free, John Wilkes." In 1759, the Pakingtons' Aylesbury Estate was in the market, and Wilkes seemed very desirous of purchasing it. He writes Mr. Dell to obtain particulars. In a P.S., he adds—"Tell our good friends, the parsons, there will be an additional tax on tobacco, therefore let them smoak away while they can, so cheap."

"Great George Street, August 25th, 1759.

"Dear Dell,—I have ordered a buck to Aylesbury, to be there to-day, and if it is come I wish you to call on Mr. Hill, at the White Hart, and desire him to get a dinner on Tuesday next for all the independent voters. I shall return that morning, and wish dinner to be ready by one. Be so good as to call on Smith, and settle the persons to be invited, for if one is omitted he is a certain enemy. Let me beg of you to invite Mr. Bell, Mr. Pugh, and Mr. Rowland.

"I am, ever yours affectionately,

"John Wilkes."

The general election of 1761 was now approaching, and the correspondence on election matters is resumed :—

"Great George Street, Feb. 19, 1760.

"Dear Dell,—* * * Do you advise me to give a rout and declare at once ? It may have disagreeable consequences as to filling empty houses, making poor widows merry, &c. Ch. L.,† I fear, wants the spirit necessary, though not the ammunition,

* Sir William Stanhope, of Eythorpe.

† Charles Lowndes.

for the siege. Has Willes been to Aylesbury, or done anything since the races? I will bet he dies dunghill.

"Yours sincerely,
"JOHN WILKES."

"Great George Street, Nov. 27th, 1760.

"DEAR DELL,—* * * Welbore Ellis being disappointed by Doddington of coming in at his old place has humbly petitioned his father-in-law, Sir W. St., to recommend him to Aylesbury. Sir W. catches at it, and will come down himself and canvas with the said Wild-boar.* I have cautioned him against taking Sir W. with him as the most fatal step, and have reminded him of the famous declaration 'Not a vote there but what I paid for.'† Next Monday you will have the red ribbon and the solemn gravity of Ellis with you. I beg you to trumpet loud my neutrality. I will be armed complete, not with steel but gold. Dick Lowndes proposed Aylesbury to Sir Francis Dashwood,‡ from what right I know not; but Sir Francis is engaged otherwise."

(No signature.)

"Nov. 28th, 1760.

"DEAR DELL,— * * * * Dick Lowndes§ is thoroughly with me, and will speak in the best terms of me. Sir W. S. has pressed him for Ellis to the utmost. Charles will not let Dick write a line for Ellis. Adieu."

(Not signed.)

"Great George Street, Dec. 23, 1760.

"DEAR DELL,—* * * * Pray engage every *independent* you can to dine at the White Hart with me on the election day—4 certain, 10 if necessary.‖

"Your most affectionate
"JOHN WILKES."

"Great George Street, Dec. 27th, 1760.

"OLD STEADY,—I long for the account, what say you to 300 trees at 5 guineas a tree? Will that do? Then I have only good trees, but must take every vile pollard, all the crazy wood too of the whole forest.¶ Adieu."

(Not signed.)

"Tuesday, Dec. 30th (*Qy.* 1760).

"DEAR DELL,—* * * I shall very soon bring down my great cannon, for I will carry the town at all events, yet should they be charged with four or five pounders** I am clear at present with you for 4, and run the risks. * * *

"Ever your affectionate friend,
"JOHN WILKES."

The following note refers to the election of 1761; the general election took place in

* A parody on the name of Welbore.

† He had previously stood for Aylesbury, and probably spoke from experience.

‡ Of West Wycombe, an intimate friend of Wilkes.

§ Dick Lowndes was of the Winslow branch, and was an exceedingly busy politician at this period, but mostly engaged in county, rather than borough politics.

‖ This refers to guineas, not voters.

¶ For "trees" read "voters," for "5 guineas a tree" read "5 guineas a vote," and for "the forest" read "the whole Borough," and the letter will then be better understood.

** For "pounders" read "guineas."

March of that year, although Parliament did not meet until the month of May; it was customary to make preparations long before the election took place:—

"Great George Street, Jan. 1, 1761.

"Dear Dell,—I am almost determined to batter with five pounders.* I think that is the clearest and most certain method of success. I set at defiance new voters and certificate men! Three hundred picked men, and let the mongrels yelp their hearts out. Adieu."

(Not signed).

"Great George Street, Jan. 3rd, 1761.

"Dear Sir,—I beg of you not to tear your beard off as you threaten, and would you have the barbers starve? * * * I hear this poll is to be taken in golden letters. I think I am fixed for 5 pounders. Select 300, and let the rest do their worst. Sir W—— and the Wild-boar will start first. Shall I get them to exclude the certificates and new ones; throw the odium on them, but follow the example? Good night."

(Not signed.)

"Jan. 24th, 1761.

"Dear Dell,—* * * I have agreed to the exorbitancy of 5,† even against your opinion. I should be unworthy of the protection you give me if I was bullied by a mob, * * but I am a philosopher, and I will sooner sell my estate among such wretches, and represent better men,—worse I cannot. I never will be ill-used, especially by those we both despise. Adieu."

(Not signed.)

"Great George Street, April 21, 1761.

"Dear Dell,—* * * I will not be the dupe of the mob nor a few wretched impertinents. I was tired when last in the country with the stories I was told, some of which I found true, of the insolence of some of the innkeepers, &c., and the imposing spirit of others. * * *

"Your affectionate friend,

"John Wilkes."

This next letter does not state the year; but it must have been written in 1761, as in that year Wilkes's father died. It refers to the expected general election. It is dated Saturday, Jan. 31st, and Wilkes writes to "Dear Dell," informing him of the death of his father; he further complains of the shameful reports propagated against himself at Bierton. He offers to lend five guineas to the worthy objects of charity at Aylesbury, and goes on to say:—

"The Parliament cannot rise two days before the Easter holy-days. * * * If Mr. W—— comes sooner than me, and *lends* 5 to the poor I will *lend* 6; if he does 6, I will 7; if he 7, I will 8; and so on. Let this be known to all my good friends at Aylesbury, whom I will support to the last. * * * I know the nature of Aylesbury perfectly, and I feel at my heart the kindness of the independents to me, but for the mercenaries I am to buy them. If W—— gives any sum, the next day I will (for I know I can) go beyond it, and upon that, with the support of my disinterested friends, I

* £5 notes.

† Five guineas to each voter; there appears to have been some agency at work in this matter on the part of the *independent* voters, or a combination amongst themselves to accept no less than a certain stipulated sum, and all to share and share alike.

will carry Aylesbury. I beg you to show this letter, if not too foolish, to Mr. Bell, Mr. Stephens, &c., &c. * * *

"I am, ever your affectionate and humble servant,
"JOHN WILKES."

The following letter was probably written just prior to the election, and there is but little doubt as to the purpose for which the remittance was made:—

"Blackwell's, Great Missenden (no date).

"DEAR DELL,— * * * Mr. Stephens's bag contains only 510 guineas; you would have had 500 more had a friend of mine, who has them, kept his word as to his hour, but I could not wait. I have inclosed notes for £200, which you may use as you have occasion. * * *

"I am, ever gratefully and affectionately yours,
"JOHN WILKES."

Wilkes was not altogether on good terms with Willes, and was suspicious of an opposition from him up to the last moment prior to the election; thus his liberal treatment of the electors, and his squandering *gratifications* and *benevolences*. Willes did not, however, appear as a candidate, and Wilkes, having Welbore Ellis as his colleague, had the Government influence added to his own. There was at last no contest at Aylesbury, notwithstanding one was threatened. Wilkes and Ellis were returned, and thus the borough contributed to the House of Commons two of the most conspicuous members of the new Parliament.

When Lord Bute advanced himself to the head of the Treasury (May 29, 1762), he immediately engaged a number of literary characters to vindicate his measures. If these writers had confined themselves to the mere task of defence, no notice would have been taken of them; but, on the contrary, they seemed to have been hired also for the express purpose of calumniating the Ministers of the late King. On the very day of Lord Bute's entering into office was published the first number of the weekly political paper called *The Briton*, written by Dr. Smollett. Nothing could betray more evidently his lordship's conscious weakness and inability than the circumstance of publishing this paper before he had performed a single act of Government. He might have foreseen that an avowed and scurrilous ministerial paper must excite opponents, and this was in fact the case. Wilkes was highly incensed at seeing his friends so vilely and bitterly traduced by Lord Bute's mercenaries, and immediately resolved to counteract the effects of this by instituting another paper, which he called the *North Briton*. The wit and severity of the latter instantly gave it a very extensive circulation, and it was followed by another publication in support of Lord Bute, more scurrilous than the first. This was called the *Auditor*, and was written by Mr. Arthur Murphy, but neither it nor the *Briton* was approved by the public. They were dull and vulgar, and in a few months ceased to exist. On Lord Bute's resignation, which took place on the 8th of April, 1763, Mr. Grenville was appointed his successor, and Lord Sandwich took the vacancy thus occasioned at the Admiralty. The writ for supplying Mr. Grenville's seat was not moved

for till the 19th, the day on which the Parliament was prorogued, although he had been appointed immediately on Lord Bute's resigning. This delay arose from his being obliged to apply to his brother, Earl Temple, for *permission* to be re-elected for the borough of Buckingham—a request which was peculiarly distressing to himself, because at this time there subsisted the most bitter animosity between the brothers. This application was made on the 18th, and Mr. Charles Lloyd, Mr. Grenville's private secretary, carried the letter, in which was enclosed a copy of the king's speech (perhaps as a compliment), to be delivered from the throne the next day. Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was at his lordship's house in Pall Mall when this message arrived, and he added his personal entreaty that Earl Temple would consent to his brother's re-election, with which his lordship complied. But it does not seem probable that his consent would have been given without Mr. Pitt's intercession.

Earl Temple and Mr. Pitt were much displeased on reading the King's speech, which they had thus received. Mr. Pitt spoke with warmth and indignation on the passage respecting the King of Prussia, and Lord Temple adopted his sentiments. At this instant Wilkes happened to call upon his lordship, having just returned from Paris. Wilkes agreed with their opinions concerning the speech ; and when he returned home he penned a sketch of the conversation which passed on the subject while he was present. From this sketch, and some additions of his own, he wrote his celebrated paper, the 45th number of the *North Briton*, which was published on Saturday, the 23rd of April, 1763. In this number of his henceforth notable paper, Wilkes had ventured to describe the Royal speech on the closing of the session as the Minister's speech, and as even a greater imposition on the Sovereign than on the nation, and he had otherwise applied to this document some rather caustic observations.

The Ministry immediately laid the number before the Attorney and Solicitor-General, for their opinions. They considered the paper was an infamous and seditious libel, tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and excite them to traitorous insurrections against his Government. The Ministry resolved to prosecute, with the utmost severity, the authors, printers, and publishers of this offensive paper. The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Lord Halifax) issued a general warrant, without any information upon oath, and in which only the publisher was mentioned by name, to seize "the authors, printers, and publishers," with their papers, and bring them before his lordship.

The first person seized by the authority of this warrant was Mr. Dryden Leach, printer, of Crane Court, Fleet Street, London. The messengers entered his house in the night, and took him out of bed from his wife, while his child lay dangerously ill in the room. They likewise seized all his papers, and apprehended even his journeymen and servants. On that morning too the same messengers apprehended Mr. Kearsley, who was the real publisher of the *North Briton*, together with all his servants, his papers, and account books. The very same general warrant was now issued a third time, for

taking Mr. Balfe and all his workmen and his papers. Mr. Balfe was the forty-eighth person attached by this precept. By the return before-made this famous warrant had already done more than its duty, and therefore it was clearly *functus officio*. Every justice of the peace knows that to apprehend Wilkes another warrant should have been issued. Wilkes went out very early in the morning, to make inquiry concerning Kearsley and Balfe; and when he returned, the messenger arrested him at his own door.

As soon as Earl Temple received the information of the arrest of Wilkes he did not hesitate an instant in pursuing the proper measures. He sent, with all possible dispatch, to his attorney in the city to request him to apply immediately to the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to bring Wilkes before the court. Wilkes was taken to Lord Halifax's. Lord Egremont, the other Secretary of State, came there directly afterwards. John Walsh, Esq., at that time member for Worcester, and Richard Hopkins, Esq., of Oving House, afterwards member for Dartmouth, happened to be in the Court of Common Pleas when the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was applied for and granted. The Secretary of State, after some consultation, thought proper, in order to evade the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, to shift the custody of Wilkes from the messengers who had taken him, into the hands of other messengers; and in this manner was the custody of Wilkes changed no less than four times in half a day. He was eventually delivered to the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower, to be kept a close prisoner. The answer of the two messengers to the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was "that they who had arrested him had him not in their custody." As soon as it was known that Wilkes was sent to the Tower, the Duke of Bolton and Earl Temple went to that place, but they were not permitted to see him. They offered to become his bail, to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds each, but no notice was taken of their proposal.

On the morning of May 3, 1763, Wilkes was brought to the bar of the Court of Common Pleas. He instantly laid his case before the Court in an able speech. His counsel, Serjeant Glynn, pleaded very eloquently in his behalf, asserting that his commitment was not valid. This being a case of great importance, the Court took time to consider it, and Wilkes was remanded to the Tower, but not to be kept a close prisoner. His friends had now full liberty to see him in his confinement. The Court adjourned to the 6th of May. During this interval, his Majesty gave orders to remove Wilkes from his post of colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia.

On Friday, the 6th of May, Wilkes was again brought up from the Tower to the Court of Common Pleas, when he made a suitable address to the bench, at the conclusion of which the Lord Chief Justice (Pratt) pronounced in an eloquent manner the unanimous opinion of the court, which was that Wilkes's arrest was illegal, and he was at once ordered to be discharged. There were great public rejoicings, and the evening concluded with bonfires and illuminations.

The same persons who had procured the removal of Wilkes from the command of

the Bucks militia advised his Majesty to displace Earl Temple as lord-lieutenant of that county. Lord le Despenser, of West Wycombe, who had been Lord Bute's Chancellor of the Exchequer, was appointed to the vacant lieutenancy; the dismissal took place on the 7th of May, and the new appointment was made on the 9th. Earl Temple's conduct had always been marked with the utmost devoted loyalty towards the Crown, and an endearing deportment to the county, for these were the natural features of his political principles and his private manners; no one was more patriotic, none more amiable.

After Wilkes was discharged by the Court of Common Pleas, Earl Temple resolved that actions at law should be commenced against the King's messengers, the Secretaries, and the Under-Secretary (Wood) of State, and the Solicitor of the Treasury (Webb), for the illegal seizure of Wilkes, and all the other persons apprehended under the general warrant. The trial came on in the Court of Common Pleas, at the Guildhall, before Lord Chief Justice Pratt, on the 6th of July, when the jury found a verdict, with three hundred pounds damages, for the plaintiff, who, in this cause, was one of the journeymen printers. All the other persons attached by the same authority brought actions, and they all recovered damages.

It is to Earl Temple, and to him alone, that the nation owes the condemnation of general warrants and the arbitrary seizure of persons and papers. He spared no expense; he relaxed in no exertion. Inflexible in his principles, firm in his resolution, he was the sinew of that authority which gave security to every man in his own house.

Actions were also brought against Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, and Mr. Wood, the Under-Secretary of State, before Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, when the jury gave Wilkes four thousand pounds damages as against Lord Halifax. The action against Mr. Wood was tried before Lord Chief Justice Pratt, when the jury gave Wilkes one thousand pounds damages.

On the meeting of Parliament on the 15th of November, No. 45 of the *North Briton*, being laid before the House of Commons, was voted to be a seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the common hangman at the Royal Exchange, on which occasion a great riot ensued, and considerable damage was done; Harley, the Sheriff, was obliged to take refuge in the Mansion House. The mob hissed, groaned, and pelted the sheriff and hangman. The people, rescuing the half-burnt libel, carried the smouldering pieces to Temple Bar, where they made a triumphant bonfire. According to Horace Walpole's account, the hangman was about to drop the paper into the flames, when suddenly a shout of "Wilkes and Liberty!"—for long afterwards so familiar in men's ears—arose from the dense crowd assembled in front of the Royal Exchange, and almost as suddenly the peace officers were put to flight. Spectators were seen to encourage the mob from the windows of adjacent houses; the glass of one of the Sheriff's coaches was smashed, and the Sheriff wounded in the face by a burning brand, while a jackboot and a petticoat—

emblematical of the vulgar scandal of the time regarding the Queen mother—were cast into the fire, amidst the cheers of the multitude.

On the same day that this disturbance occurred Wilkes appeared in his place in Parliament, and made the following speech :—

"Mr. Speaker, I think it my duty to lay before the House a few facts which have occurred since our last meeting, because, in my humble opinion (which I shall always submit to this House), the rights of all the Commons of England and the privileges of Parliament have, in my person, been highly violated. I shall at present content myself with barely stating the facts, and leave the mode of proceeding to the wisdom of the House. On the 30th of April, in the morning, I was made a prisoner in my own house by some of the King's messengers. I demanded by what authority they had forced their way into my room, and was shown a warrant in which no person was named in particular, but generally the authors, printers and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled *The North Briton*, No. 45. The messengers insisted on my going before Lord Halifax, which I absolutely refused, because the warrant was, I thought, illegal, and did not respect me. I applied, by my friends, to the Court of Common Pleas for a *Habeas Corpus*, which was granted, but as the proper office was not then open, it could not immediately issue. I was afterwards carried, by violence, before the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, whom I informed of the orders given by the Court of Common Pleas for the *Habeas Corpus*; and I referred upon this subject to Mr. Webb, the Solicitor of the Treasury. I was, however, hurried away to the Tower by another warrant, which declared me the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, entitled *The North Briton*, No. 45. The word "treasonable" was dropped, yet I was detained a close prisoner, and no person was suffered to come near me for almost three days, although my counsel, and several of my friends, demanded admittance, in order to concert the means of recovering my liberty. My house was plundered, my bureaus broke open, by order of two of your members, Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb, and all my papers carried away. After six days' imprisonment I was discharged, by the unanimous judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, 'That the privilege of this House extended to my case.' Notwithstanding this solemn decision of one of the King's superior Courts of Justice, a few days after I was served with a subpœna upon an information exhibited against me in the King's Bench. I lost no time in consulting the best books, as well as the greatest living authorities; and from the truest judgment I could form, I thought that the serving me with a subpœna was another violation of the privilege of Parliament, which I will neither desert nor betray, and therefore I have not yet entered an appearance. I now stand in the judgment of the House, submitting, with the utmost deference, the whole case to their justice and wisdom, and beg leave to add, that if after this important business has in its full extent been maturely weighed you shall be of opinion that I am entitled to privilege, I shall then be not only ready, but eagerly desirous, to waive that privilege, and to put myself upon a jury of my countrymen."

Every stage of the indiscreet contest between Wilkes and the Government assisted to make him more popular. He now came to be regarded as the apostle of liberty and the champion of the people. Nor were they the lower orders only who espoused his cause. When a motion to the Sheriffs for their spirited conduct in executing the order of Parliament was proposed in the Common Council of the City of London, it was negatived. Wilkes had his hands full of business in connection with the *North Briton*. Not only were the civil, or rather uncivil, powers attacking him, and the wrath of both

Houses of Parliament being poured on his head, but he had little private affairs to settle with those who considered themselves libelled by his publication. Earl Talbot sent him a challenge, and a duel was fought between them in the garden of the Red Lion Inn, Bagshot, in October, 1763. As this was a moonlight scene both parties escaped. In November of the same year Wilkes was concerned in a much more dangerous affair with Mr. Martin, one of the Secretaries of State. Mr. Martin complained in public that he had been "stabbed in the dark" by the *North Briton*. Wilkes wrote to him and acknowledged that he wrote the article complained of, upon which Martin replied, calling Wilkes a malignant and infamous scoundrel, and demanded satisfaction. A duel was fought between them in the ring in Hyde Park. Wilkes missed, but received the ball of his antagonist in his abdomen. Being dangerously wounded, he was removed to his home, and next morning, finding himself in a very precarious state, he returned all letters to Mr. Martin relating to the duel, lest in case of a fatal termination of his hurt they might be used as evidence against Martin.

While Wilkes lay dangerously ill of his wound, it was given out by the advocates for the Ministry that as soon as he came to the House he would be expelled; and in such a case there would be a vacancy in the representation of the borough of Aylesbury, and the following letters appeared in the *London Evening Post*:—

"*Extract of a letter from Aylesbury, Dec.* 1.

"We have had great canvassing here since there has been a talk of expelling Mr. Wilkes. Sir William Lee has been very busy in behalf of his friend the Captain; but it is not believed he will succeed, because it is very ungenerous and ungentleman-like, in such a particular case as this, to solicit interest to succeed a man before it is certainly known whether he will be expelled."

"*To the Printer of the London Evening Post.*

"Sir,—Having seen in your paper of last Saturday a reflection upon me, for having interested myself in behalf of a friend, upon the supposition of a vacancy likely to happen for Aylesbury, I desire you to inform your anonymous correspondent, that I have done nothing therein, or upon any occasion whatever, that I am not ready to vindicate as a gentleman to anyone that shall require it.

"W. Lee.

"Hartwell, December 6th, 1763."

Although Wilkes was very innocent of the paragraph alluded to, yet he could not help taking notice of so extraordinary a letter, to which he immediately wrote the following answer:—

"*To Sir William Lee, of Hartwell, in the County of Bucks, Bart.*

"Sir,—Give me leave to congratulate you on your having commenced author, and the *London Evening Post* on the great acquisition made of such talents as your's for that paper. I doubt not of your soon distancing all the other *ministerial* writers; and though you may not regularly on Saturday nights have your pay counted out to you, yet some little snug sinecure, or a ministerial mandate to a county, for what you were very

lately so awkwardly gaping after (though, thank Heaven, you were disappointed), may, in the end, recompense your labours.

"I must, however, recommend to you rather more temper—you *start* too furiously; you should first play with bended reins, then urge by degrees more rapidly, and at last try the whole fury of the course. As a young man, you are entitled to pity, but you should have laughed at an idle paragraph in a news-paper, in which your GREAT name is not at length. Did the conscientiousness of having merited that little satire sting you? I have a right to ask you; for in your curious letter you say, '*I have done nothing therein, or upon any occasion whatever* (bravo! W. Lee de seipso) *that I am not ready to vindicate as a gentleman to any one* THAT (not WHO) *shall require it.*' Now I will only remark *that, that that* worthy baronet urges it the very pink of chivalry, and *that that* is very brave. But do you mean to *vindicate* it by your *pen* or your *sword?* if by your *pen,* as you offer to *vindicate it to any one,* I, *A. B.* beg to ask you a few questions. Was it consistent with *honour* and *humanity* to begin a canvass in the borough of Aylesbury, when there was no certainty of any vacancy, and the present member lay dangerously ill from an affair of *honour*? Was this Christian-like, pouring oil into his bleeding wounds; or was it not, as far as you could, planting thorns under a sick man's pillow? Was it fair, candid, or just, ordering application to be made to one of the returning officers, who is Mr. Wilkes's tenant? Have you ever had any provocation from Mr. Wilkes? Have you not always been upon terms of civility with him? Justify then to the world the propriety, the decency, or even the humanity of your conduct.

"But, perhaps, I mistake you, and you meant to justify it by your *sword.* You have just begun by *inking* your *maiden pen,* and you might possibly mean at the same time to contrive to *flesh your maiden sword.* Pray be explicit, and let me know if you meant to send a challenge to all the world by the *London Evening Post.* Was ever any thing so truly noble and great?

"But I tire you and myself; I shall therefore conclude, with only begging of you, that, instead of beginning any disturbances at Aylesbury, you would keep your own little parish of Hartwell quiet, and be reconciled to a worthy clergyman, who never offended you, and whom your good father cherished and honoured.

"White Hart, Aylesbury, December 16th, 1763."

On the 24th of December following, Wilkes, having somewhat recovered from the wound he had received in the duel with Mr. Martin, retired to France. He had also other reasons for leaving England; there was his outlawry, and his affairs also had become seriously embarrassed, and for a considerable time nothing was heard of him in public.

On the assembling of Parliament in January, 1764, the case of Wilkes became a primary object of attention. The order of the day being read for his attendance, the Speaker produced a letter from him enclosing a certificate from two physicians in France, stating that he was prevented by his wound from attending in his place in Parliament. The House rejected his plea of absence, and after a discussion, which lasted until three o'clock next morning, it was resolved, "That No. 45 of the *North Briton,* which had already been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his Majesty, the grossest aspersions against both Houses of Parliament and the most audacious defiance of the authority of

the whole Legislature ; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the King, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws and to excite them to traitorous insurrection against the Government." Wilkes was consequently expelled the House, and a new writ ordered for Aylesbury.

Aylesbury bore its loss with comparative meekness, and the friends of the Government congratulated themselves on having at last got rid of Mr. Wilkes. Wilkes, however, was by no means "got rid of." The great struggle on the question whether the House had the right to exclude a member deliberately chosen by one of the constituencies was yet to be begun, and Wilkes had probably come to the conclusion that the battle must be fought by the representative of a more stubborn and influential constituency than that of Aylesbury.

On the same day, a complaint was brought against Wilkes in the Upper House by Lord Sandwich for violating the most sacred ties of religion, as well as decency, by printing, in his own house, a book or pamphlet entitled "An Essay on Women, with Notes," to which the name of the Bishop Warburton had been scurrilously affixed. On this charge the House voted Wilkes guilty of a breach of privilege, and resolved on an address to his Majesty, recommending a prosecution against him in the King's Bench, which was instituted on the two-fold charge of libel and blasphemy. Wilkes was found guilty on both the counts, and was afterwards outlawed for not appearing to receive judgment.

On the 14th of February, 1765, Williams, the printer of the *North Briton*, was condemned to stand, in glorious ignominy, in the pillory at Palace Yard. He proceeded to the place of punishment in a hackney-coach, the number of which was forty-five ! While he stood in the pillory the sympathising mob erected a gallows opposite him, on which dangled a jack-boot crowned by a straw bonnet, an exhibition which was well understood, and which gave great annoyance to some high personages. The crowd then sent round a box, and collected nearly £200 for the patriotic printer.

In the early part of the year 1768 Parliament was dissolved, and the country was in considerable agitation consequent upon the general election. Wilkes, who by his absence on the Continent was almost forgotten, again appeared on the public stage, and had the presumption, notwithstanding his outlawry, to offer himself as a candidate for the City of London. At the poll he was in the minority, though he obtained 1,247 votes. The people, enraged, broke the iron gates at Guildhall, and smashed the lamps. Reckless as ever, Wilkes tried the county of Middlesex, and was returned by a large majority. To express their joy, the London mob broke Lord Bute's and the Lord Mayor's windows.

On the 27th of April, 1768, Wilkes was arrested and sent to the King's Bench. On Westminster Bridge the mob, shouting "Wilkes and Liberty !" stopped the carriage, took out the horses, and dragged the patriot all the way to Spitalfields, where they left

him near midnight. Wilkes then surrendered himself. Horse-guards were stationed near the prison, and every day for nearly a fortnight a mob assembled, abusing the soldiers.

On the 10th of May, when Parliament opened, the mob mustered to escort Wilkes to Westminster. The crowd, finding he was not to be released, began to pelt the soldiers with stones and gravel. A detachment of the 3rd Foot Guards (Scots) were roused by this, and three of them broke from the ranks to pursue a young man in a red waistcoat, who had been foremost in the attack. They chased him into the cow-house of a stable-keeper in Blackman Street, in the Borough, but unfortunately shot an innocent man, who was there at the time in a similar dress. The riot outside the prison increasing, the Scotch soldiers, hating Wilkes and his abettors, fired too readily and too hotly, killing six more persons and wounding badly fourteen or sixteen. This became known as "the massacre in St. George's Fields" and furnished fresh causes of discontent.

Wilkes, though still a prisoner, became the idol of the people. Twenty thousand pounds were raised in a few weeks to pay his fines and his debts. The Society for the Support of the Bill of Rights presented him with £300; wine and plate were heaped upon him. One patriotic citizen sent him 500 guineas in a handsomely embroidered purse! a fervid *bourgeois* forwarded him forty-five dozen of candles. Trinkets of every description were worn by the Wilkites; some with a cap of liberty over the patriot's crest; others with the device of a bird hovering over a cage, and the motto, "I love liberty." His name was chalked on walls and hackney-coaches; his bust was on every chimney-piece; his hideous visage adorned hundreds of sign-posts.

Wilkes was, whilst in prison, sympathised with by the townsmen of Aylesbury, as may be seen from the following letter, sent to their representatives at a time when it was reported that Wilkes would not be allowed to enter the House of Commons:—

"*To John Durand, Esq., M.P. for Aylesbury.*

"Sir,—Fully persuaded that the clemency of the best of princes will, if necessary, be at length extended to Mr. Wilkes, we hope that, should an attempt be made to deprive him of his seat in Parliament, you will, from your connexion with us, who are sincere in our friendship for him, prefer lenity, and, from your regard to the public, justice to his constituents, before rigour and severity; and use your utmost endeavours to prevent the success of such a measure.

"We are, Sir, your most humble servants,

"Edward Terry,	John Brett,	William Pugh,	Thomas Smith,
William Hickman,	Daniel Lathwell,	Benjamin Bates,	E. Price,
John Dell,	John Turvey,	John Fowler,	John Woodcock,
Dev. Dagnall, jun.,	Francis Howse,	Rod. Hobbes,	H. Stone,
Richard Terry,	Henry Russell,	Thomas Hill,	Robert Patten,
John Smith,	John Preston,	John Hill,	Robert Jemmett,
Joseph Grimes,	Robert Neale,	William Brooke,	Francis Neale,
Thomas Kirby,	John Burnham,	John Russell,	Hen. Sherriff.
John Perkins,	John Stevens,		

"Aylesbury, April 30th, 1768."

A similar letter was addressed to Anthony Bacon, Esq., the other member for Aylesbury. A petition was also got up in favour of Wilkes, which was signed by 1,800 freeholders of the county of Bucks, amongst whom were Henry Grenville, John Aubrey, John Calcraft, Edm. Burke, Esqrs., Sir W. Stanhope, K.B., all M.P.s, and other leading gentlemen of the county.

On the 8th of June following, Wilkes's outlawry was reversed by the Judges of the King's Bench; on the 18th he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, and to be imprisoned for ten months, for the re-publication of the *North Briton;* and for publishing the "Essay on Women" a further sum of £500, and to be imprisoned twelve calendar months.

In all his misadventures his friend Dell continues his attentions to him, as we find from this correspondence:—

"King's Bench Prison, July 9th, 1768.

"Dear Sir,— * * * The old bottled beer you were so kind to send me is much liked, and I have a particular pleasure in drinking your health and the county town of Bucks in its good produce. I desire my best respects to your family and to your two excellent parsons, Dr. Stephens and Mr. Pugh. Miss Wilkes presents her compliments to you and Mrs. Dell. Gillam, the justice who gave the order for the firing, at the late massacre here, is to be tried this afternoon.

"I am ever, Dear Sir,
"Your affectionate humble servant,
"John Wilkes.

"Franked—Mr. John Dell, at Aylesbury, in Bucks.
"Free—John Wilkes."

"King's Bench Prison, Nov. 10, 1768.

"Mr. Wilkes presents his compliments to Mr. Dell, and has only time to return many thanks for the obliging letter of the 6th, and to assure him and all his family of the regard Mr. W. ever bears them."

In the summer of 1769 the spirit of discontent ran high. The administration respecting the Colonies had its due share in exciting dissatisfaction; yet another cause was the proceedings against Wilkes, particularly in the matter of the Middlesex election. A letter written by Lord Weymouth, recommending the prompt and effectual employment of the military in case of riot, fell into Wilkes's hand; he published it in several of the daily papers, accompanied by severe strictures. This was declared, on the motion of Lord Barrington, to be a scandalous and seditious libel, and again was Wilkes, who had previously been re-elected, expelled the House of Commons, and a new writ ordered for Middlesex. A meeting of the freeholders was called, and it was resolved to re-elect Wilkes without any expense to him. He was accordingly again chosen, and without any opposition; but this election was again declared void on account of his former expulsion.

A third election taking place in the same year (1769), Colonel Luttrell appeared as

an opponent to Wilkes. The Colonel polled only 296 votes, as against 1143 for Wilkes; notwithstanding which the House of Commons voted Colonel Luttrell as duly elected. This decision of the House produced very great discontent, not only amongst the electors of Middlesex, but a ferment spread throughout the kingdom, and numerous county meetings were held, at which petitions were carried, calling on his Majesty to dissolve a Parliament so regardless of the rights of the people in the election of their representatives. In the following November the long pending cause between Lord Halifax and Wilkes respecting the seizure of his person and papers was brought to trial in the Court of Common Pleas, before Justice Wilmot, when, after a full hearing, the jury brought in a verdict for Wilkes, with £4,000 damages.

On the 17th of April, 1770, Wilkes was liberated from prison; in the year 1774 he was again returned for Middlesex, on which occasion he took his seat without molestation, as he did again in 1780. The final triumph of constitutional principles did not come till some years later. It was not till the 3rd of May, 1782, the Ministry of Lord North having shortly before been succeeded by that of the Marquis of Rockingham, that Wilkes, after repeated attempts, renewed from year to year, carried his famous motion by which the House of Commons, by a majority of 115 to 47, not only confessed the illegality of the vote of Wilkes's incapacity to sit in the House, but directed all the resolutions and orders of the House during the period of the struggles with the electors of Middlesex to be expunged from its records. At the general election of 1784, Wilkes was again returned for Middlesex; he finally retired from Parliament in 1790.

Few men have had more biographers than Wilkes, nor were opinions ever more diversified than on his character. Lord Stanhope, Lord Brougham, Lord Russell, and most of the writers of the present century have followed the example set by Dr. Johnson in heaping abuse upon his memory. Lord Russell has denounced him "as a profligate spendthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political," or "as one whose impudence far exceeded his talents, and who always meant licence when he cried Liberty." Lord Brougham says his whole public life was a lie. Mr. W. F. Rae is more just. "Wilkes was," he says, "neither a perfect man nor a perfect monster. In his life, which was not that of an ascetic, and in his actions, which were not always defensible, he was but a type of the society in which he lived, and a natural product of the age in which he lived." Mr. Rae proceeds to show that if Wilkes was to be reproached for falling in debt, the same blame must attach to Pitt, Fox, Chatham Burke, and a host of others. If his conversation was free, so was that of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Chesterfield and Lord Sandwich, not to mention Lord Chancellor Thurlow himself. Yes, Wilkes was but a child of his time, with great natural gifts, goaded into notoriety by the insane policy of his persecutors. There can be little doubt that John Wilkes, whatever his natural abilities were, was, as a politician, a very overrated man. He made, indeed, a great noise in the world, but most of the clamour which proclaimed his fame was contributed by the frantic efforts of the King

and his Ministers to decry him. Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers represents Wilkes as a man who was living by his wits, and he describes him as an unprincipled adventurer. Even if Wilkes had been all this, the mistakes and malice of the Government converted the adventurer into a popular hero, for the issue of the General Warrant by which Wilkes, with printers, publishers, and others, was arrested, without being designated by name, led to all the triumph which ensued. The judgment of Chief Justice Pratt, that such warrants were illegal, the protection which the *Habeas Corpus* afforded to persons so accused and imprisoned, and the heavy pecuniary damages which they who had acted illegally were condemned to pay were triumphs for which the public were indebted, and continue to be indebted, to the result of the case of Wilkes. But for that case we might still be liable to arrest and to being kept in prison at the mere will of a couple of envious secretaries. In his determined manner in contesting his Middlesex elections, Wilkes fairly vanquished the House of Commons, and taught that representation was in the hands of the electors and not of the House of Parliament.

Of the effects of Wilkes's political struggle, it is said that, by abolishing general warrants and compelling even from Lord Mansfield an acknowledgment of their illegality, and by subjecting the jurisdiction of the Serjeant-at-Arms to a more constitutional authority, he strengthened the rights of the subject, and gave additional force to the maxim that "An Englishman's house is his castle." It is not true that his patriotism was mere vapour, and the great object of his life to become conspicuous; for he boldly endured poverty, opprobrium, and banishment, as well as imprisonment (when mere pliability of temper would have enabled him to avoid them), that he might effectually resist corruption and overcome tyranny. He taught the public to consider the speech delivered from the Throne to Parliament as the speech of the Ministry, and therefore open to animadversion, without the indecency of using such freedom with the speech of the Sovereign. He thus boldly manifested his love of freedom without disrespect to the Crown; and it would have been perhaps advantageous both to the Monarch and his subjects never to have lost sight of this important distinction.

Mr. Rae says Wilkes weakened arbitrary power, secured liberty for the people, asserted the freedom of the Press, prepared the way for a change in the once atrocious law of libel, and not only stood up for free election by a free people, but was among the first who saw the necessity for Parliamentary Reform. Gibbon, the great historian, thus describes Wilkes:—"I scarcely ever met with a better companion. He has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge." He adds, however, this condemnatory postscript to his praise:—"A thorough profligate in principle as well as in practice; his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency."

Whether self-interest or vanity did or did not first make Wilkes a patriot, certain it is that he never ceased in public matters to take the right side and to uphold liberty.

In Parliament he steadily opposed the fatal war with America, and pleaded for the peace of 1783; he disapproved of the war with France; he moved for a more fair and equal representation of the people in Parliament. He spoke more than once against the interference of peers in elections, and gave his warm support to Bills for the relief of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics.

Wilkes was a great pamphleteer; he issued numbers of political and other tractates. As an author he wrote to and for the people. He was a classical scholar, and his letters to his daughter are the product of a highly educated and refined intellect, while his editions of Theophratus and Catullus, published in 1790, were much admired. Italian he knew well, and in French might have contested the palm with Gibbon. He undertook to edit a history of England, and had contracted with Mr. Almon, the publisher, for its production, but it was not proceeded with. Of his earliest papers published was one on the subject of the death of John Hampden, in which he took exception to the cause of the Patriot's death, as related by Lord Clarendon, and giving full credence to the account known as the "Pye" version. Clarendon states that Hampden was "struck by two carabine balls, which entered the shoulder and brake the bone." The Pye version is that Hampden's fatal injuries arose from the bursting of his own pistol. The exhumation of the body of Hampden in 1828 entirely confutes the Clarendon theory, and sustains that adopted by Wilkes. On a careful examination of the body it was clearly seen that no shoulder bones had been broken; the right hand was found severed by amputation, and a part of the forearm showed evident signs of extensive injury. The severed hand had been carefully preserved in sear cloth and placed in the coffin. It can now be safely affirmed that the account of the cause of the death of Hampden, as related by Clarendon and his host of modern copyists, is not the correct one.

Having dealt fully with subjects relating to the public life of Wilkes, incidents concerning his private life can now be resumed. Wilkes made that false step in his early years which embitters life. He married without having any affection for his bride; the union between Wilkes and Miss Mead was arranged by the parents on either side; there was nothing in common between the young couple; he was a man of gallantry, and sacrificed much to his pleasures at the expense of his happiness, and perhaps reputation; was the life of all social parties in which political differences did not interfere with the pleasantry of the company. There was a circumstance of no small moment—the disparity in the ages of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkes. When they were married, she was above thirty-two, and he was not quite twenty-two. Ever since the time of his emancipation from school, he had been familiarized to juvenile gaities; and he was still too young to cast them off suddenly. Mrs. Wilkes, on the contrary, had lived the life of a recluse, under the roof and subject to the restraint of her mother, and she was now too far advanced in life to alter habits which had been so long contracted under the esteem and affection of a parent whom she dutifully loved and almost adored.

During Wilkes's residence at Aylesbury, he was active in his duties as a magistrate

and a townsman ; he presided at parish vestries, passed overseers' accounts, and took his share in any public duties required of him. He was a communicating member of the Church, a constant attendant at the Sunday services, and mostly twice on that day ; the Vicar and the Curate were his most intimate friends. He subscribed annually, for many years, twelve guineas to a fund for supporting the civil and religious rights of Dissenters. He presented a pair of new doors to the West entrance of Aylesbury Church, which remained until the year 1849, when they were superseded by the present ones ; he also subscribed to, and was active in erecting, a new gallery in the church, and carrying out other additions in the edifice. These facts do not evince any bigoted or obstinate tenacity concerning religion. Few relics of Wilkes now exist in the town ; perhaps the most lasting will be a tablet erected by him in the Churchyard wall, to the memory of William Smart, his gardener; there is a small statuette of him at the Prebendal House, which passes down to each purchaser of the property, and is considered as belonging to the estate. The last Wilkite in Aylesbury was an ancient man of the name of Guest ; he died in 1834, at a very advanced age ; the old dog would sometimes get "mellow," and under such influence he would wear a mourning coat presented to him by his employer on the occasion of the death of George II., and he would swing over his head a three-cornered hat, a present from Wilkes ; thus equipped, he would sally out into the street, shouting "Wilkes and Liberty !" much to the fun of many and consternation of others.

After residing at the Prebendal House, Aylesbury, a short time, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkes followed Mrs. Mead to London, and resided with her in Red Lion Court, where, on the 5th of August, 1750, Mrs. Wilkes gave birth to a daughter. Wilkes, disliking Red Lion Court, and wishing to reside in the fashionable part of the town, took a house in Great George Street, Westminster. This was his first error, and hence arose the causes of the subsequent disagreements between him and his wife. His new house required an expensive establishment, and he introduced a style and manner of living very different from what she had been accustomed to. A variety of company and splendid dinners almost every day were indeed such scenes of dissipation as must have been distressing to a mind that had from early life been habituated to economy. But what was infinitely worse, and beyond the power of forbearance, was his introducing into his house a number of juvenile, gay Bacchanalians, of dissolute manners and vulgar language. Mrs. Wilkes remonstrated ; he retorted ; she abandoned his table and left him to treat his guests as he pleased. Subsequent to the Berwick election, Wilkes principally resided at Bath and in London, indulging in gay and fashionable scenes of dissipation with Lord Sandwich, Sir Francis Dashwood, Sir William Stanhope, Thomas Potter, Paul Whitehead (not the laureate), and others; at the Dilletante, in Palace Yard ; Medmenham Abbey, near Marlow ; Beef-steak Club, in Covent Garden ; and other places. This conduct made Mrs. Wilkes very unhappy ; she anxiously wished for a separation, and they having agreed to part, a deed of separation was determined upon. The style of living

which Wilkes found himself obliged to maintain as a member of Parliament considerably exceeded his income, and his pecuniary embarrassments increased every year.

In reference to his marriage, he, in 1778, writes :—"In my nonage, to please an indulgent father, I married a woman, half as old again as myself, of a large fortune—my own being that of a gentleman. It was a sacrifice to Plutus, not to Venus. I never lived with her, in the strict sense of the word ; nor have I seen her for nearly twenty years. I stumbled at the very threshold of the temple of Hymen—

'The God of Love was not a bidden guest.
Nor present at his own mysterious feast.'"

One of Wilkes's acts admits of no excuse nor palliation, and stamps him with a want of principle. On their separation an annuity of £200 per year was legally settled on Mrs. Wilkes ; to relieve himself of his pecuniary difficulties Wilkes attempted to deprive his wife of this income, but after an ineffectual effort he abandoned the step ; they never afterwards met. As for the immorality of Wilkes's private life, can we go further than he went himself when he wrote these words ?—"I do not mean to be impertinent enough to the public, whom I respect, to descend to those particulars of private life, the frailities of which I have repented, I will not justify."

One of the main charges brought to vilify the character of Wilkes was his connection with the Medmenham Club. Sir Francis Dashwood, of West Wycombe, founded this once notorious Club. The nominal qualification, according to Horace Walpole, was having been in Italy ; but the real one was, getting drunk. Each of the members sat for his portrait, which was surrounded by peculiar symbols and devices. That of their founder represented him in the habit of St. Francis at his devotions before a copy of the statue of Venus de Medici, from which issued a stream of light that shed its rays upon the kneeling libertine. Of this fraternity of debauchees Sir Francis was the master spirit. Under his auspices they had part of the ruins of Medmenham Abbey restored and fitted up, adopted the monastic garb at their convivial gatherings, and instituted, if all tales be true, the most immodest rites and ribald mock mysteries within the once sacred walls of the place. They slept at the Abbey in cradles ; a portion of the hood of Wilkes is still preserved. The accusations against the Medmenham Club have been contested by Dr. Bates, M.D., one of the last surviving members of it. Dr. Bates was at one time a resident at Aylesbury, and well known as a medical practitioner of long experience and a man of unimpeachable character, who would be the last to associate himself with any fraternity against which accusations of immorality could be sustained, but he was always reticent on the subject. Another charge, for which Wilkes was prosecuted, was that of printing and publishing an obscene libel—a fragment of a poem called an "Essay on Woman ;" this charge was not clearly brought home to him ; it was never published till a copy stolen from Wilkes's house was read in the House of Lords by

Lord Sandwich, one of the Medmenham Brotherhood himself, who had previously heard it read in private, and expressed his delight at what he afterwards affected to read with disgust. Wilkes has been a mark for every kind of unwarrantable abuse; yet we think that, upon examination, many of the apparently most weighty of the accusations that have been brought against him would prove worthless. Those who wish to study the uninviting subject of his private character will find all the darker lines of the portrait brought out in Lord Brougham's Memoir and Lord Mahon's "History of England," and if anxious to form an impartial judgment they may temper these sombre traits and correct not a few unquestionable errors of fact by the aid of the interesting biographical papers on Wilkes included in the collected essays of that indefatigable inquirer and acute critic, the late Mr. Dilke.

Wilkes lived and died in straitened circumstances. In 1764, he writes from Paris to Mr. Cotes, his then solicitor:—"My private finances are much hurt by three elections —one at Berwick and two at Aylesbury. I had agreed with Mr. Thompson to have removed the mortgage for Aylesbury. Mr. Swale, an attorney, whom my brother Heaton knows, can assist you as to my titles. He was recommended to me by Potter, who was plunged much deeper than me in annuities, and gave me the worst advice. Mr. Bateman, master of Wills's coffee house, has all my plate on condition of being paid £320 before Lady-day next. The value is considerable. It would, methinks, be better to sell the whole. My library is very good; if it can be saved I should be glad; if not, it must go." In subsequent letters he writes to Cotes—"I waited till I had your account of the sale of the Aylesbury estate, and have drawn on you for £374 10s. 0d. You told me in a former letter that I should have £500 per annum clear, Mrs. Wilkes and everybody paid. Since that you tell me the Aylesbury estate sold for £1000 more than you could possibly imagine; yet, in your last, you mention my affairs as desperate. There is £3 12s. 6d. due for tithes, from Aylesbury; I beg you to pay it, or Aylesbury will be distrained for that trifle. Aylesbury is held of Lincoln College for three lives, but there is a freehold besides. The lives are Mrs. Wilkes, Mr. Baskerville, of Leighton, and my own."

In the year 1770 the Society of the Bill of Rights voted £4,500 to pay Wilkes's election expenses, a further sum of £2,500 to pay his debts, and £300 was also given him by the same Society for his personal use. His debts at this time amounted to £17,000. He had several legacies left him, and gifts made of considerable amount.

The happiest portion of Wilkes's life was that spent in the companionship of his affectionate and beloved daughter; their correspondence during his retirement to France and upon other occasions of his absence from her is voluminous; throughout, the letters are couched in the most endearing language and expressions of ardent love to each other, and they go to prove that although Wilkes lived unhappily with his wife, it is

clear that he was one of the best of fathers; that his statement in a letter to Junius in 1771, when he was only forty-four years of age, "I live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter," was literally true; and his daughter herself, a woman of high conduct, seems to have found her mother as unamiable a person as even her father did, and in her will gave directions that she should be buried, not by her, but by his side. Had Wilkes been more careful in his financial matters he would have been more deserving the abiding love of his child; but she inherited the fruit of his better action. "When the great pro-consul," says Mr. Rogers, alluding to Warren Hastings, "was under impeachment, Wilkes faithfully supported him; and Hastings was not forgetful of benefits, least of all of benefits conferred at that crisis." Nor was his wife. Mrs. Hastings offered Miss Wilkes a home at Daylesford; and the offer could be accepted without humiliation.

In reading Wilkes's letters to his daughter, it is as necessary to remember the manners and outspokenness of the times, as it is, when criticising him in other respects, to judge from a contemporary point of view. Undoubtedly, subjects are mentioned in that correspondence which no father would now bring to the notice of his child; but, this objection apart, the letters display the wit, the scholar, the thinker, and the experienced politician. There is one subject which it appears extraordinary that Wilkes should allude to in writing to a young and virtuous daughter. He had two illegitimate children, a boy and a girl, of whom his housekeeper was the mother; he consults Miss Wilkes as to the management of these children, adopting them as his nephew and niece, by the name of Smith, whilst Miss Wilkes refers to them as her cousins, but she must have been fully aware of their relationship to her father. Wilkes did not abandon these children, as many fathers in a similar position do, but he put them to school, brought them up properly, and treated them affectionately. Jack, as Wilkes called the boy, was sent to Harrow; in due time a commission was obtained for him, and he filled a reputable position in one of the Colonies. The daughter, who was also well educated, became the wife of a barrister, and moved in good society. Miss Wilkes never married.

In his lengthy correspondence with Mr. Dell, Wilkes makes many references to his daughter, but only one to his wife. Writing from St. James' Place, in April, 1757, he expresses his joy that his daughter is recovering the small-pox, and he here alludes to Mrs. Wilkes—"I wrote to Mrs. Wilkes, recommending Miss Wilkes to her mother's care, but she has never once come near her. I am greatly obliged to my mother Wilkes and others for their daily care." This note goes to show that not only were the husband and wife estranged but also that there existed no affection between the mother and her only child.

In 1769 Wilkes was elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without; in 1771 he was chosen Sheriff; in 1774, Lord Mayor; in the same year was elected for Mid-

dlesex, and took his seat unmolested. In 1775, as Lord Mayor, he presented a remonstrance against ministers to the king; and in 1779 was elected Chamberlain of London —a very lucrative office, to which he held steadily for life. Perhaps he outlived both his reputation and popularity; and if he had closed his life with the American war, his memory might have been more respected; for crowds who had once followed him with deafening applause afterwards beheld without emotion *the Man of the People*, who had once excited their highest enthusiasm, only remarkable in his declining years by the singularity of his dress, the old-fashioned cocked hat with its button and loop, scarlet coat, and military boots, which he constantly displayed in his daily walk from Kensington, where he resided, to Grosvenor Square, the residence of his daughter, where he died, in 1797, aged 70 years. He was interred in Grosvenor Chapel, South Audley Street. According to his wish, eight labouring men, dressed in new mourning, bore his coffin to the vault. The bearers received, in addition to their clothes, a guinea each, as Wilkes had directed. A tablet, written by himself, bore this inscription:—

"The remains of John Wilkes, a Friend to Liberty. Born at London Oct. 17, 1727, O.S.; Died in this Parish 26th Dec. 1797." On his Coffin-plate—"John Wilkes, Esq., F.R.S., Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, Chamberlain of London and Lord Mayor 1775; Died Dec. 27, 1797, aged 70 years."

An obelisk was set up, in token of respect to Mr. Wilkes, at the intersection of his Ward, by the line through Fleet-street to Ludgate-hill, inscribed—

"The Right Honourable JOHN WILKES, Lord Mayor, MDCCLXXV."

Chapter XXV.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY *(resumed)*.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

Members for Aylesbury 1760 *to* 1802—*Wilkes—Welbore Ellis, Esq.—his peerage—his character—Anthony Bacon, Esq.—John Durand, Esq.—John Aubrey, Esq.—Thomas Orde, Esq.—created Baron Bolton—Distribution to electors—Sir Thomas Halifax—elected Lord Mayor of London—William Wrighton, Esq.—Further distribution to voters—they demand* THEIR *money—Election and ribbon bills—Scrope Bernard, Esq.—the Bernard family—Colonel Lake—his military achievements—Election riot—Further distributions—Old Aylesbury song—Bent's election—his partizans—bribery—Excitement at Bent's election—Petition against Bent—he is unseated.*

GEORGE III. came before the nation under promising auspices. He had the advantage of his predecessors in not being an alien monarch. His character was without reproach; all that was known of him was creditable; his manners were free and popular, and he was too young to have formed binding ties with any section of politicians. The customary dissolution of Parliament on the death of the Sovereign did not take place on the death of George II. The King died suddenly, and Parliament having but one more session to sit, according to the Septennial Act, it was resolved by the Ministry to permit it to exist until its legal expiration in the following March. The general election consequently was postponed until 1761, upon which occasion there was no contest for Aylesbury. It was arranged for Sir William Stanhope and Mr. Richard Lowndes to be returned without opposition for the county of Bucks, and Wilkes and Mr. Welbore Ellis for the borough of Aylesbury. Of Wilkes we have already said enough.

Mr. Ellis was the only surviving son of the Right Rev. Welbore Ellis, Bishop of Meath; he was educated at Westminster School, whence he was elected, in 1732, to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford. In a short time after quitting the University he went into Parliament, and was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty under Mr. Pelham's administration, succeeding to that office in the room of Mr. George Grenville, father of the Marquis of Buckingham, who was promoted to a seat at the Treasury Board. In 1763, he was appointed Secretary for War, on Mr. Grenville becoming First Lord of the Treasury. On the accession of Lord North to the first seat at the Treasury Board in 1770, Mr. Ellis was appointed a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, a post he had previously held; in 1797 he was made Treasurer to the Navy. At the close

of Lord North's Ministry, in February, 1782, at the express wish of a great personage, he was prevailed on to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. His stay in that office was very short, and it was the last political situation he filled. In the letters of "Junius," Mr. Ellis is frequently and unsparingly attacked, and he is treated by the author of those letters with great contempt, being by him nicknamed "Grildrig," "Manniken," &c., &c. Mr. Ellis might be considered as the Nestor of the Ministry and the House of Commons. In his figure, manner, and deportment the very essence of formality; he regularly took his seat on the Treasury Bench, dressed in all points as if he had been going to a Drawing Room at St. James's. His eloquence was of the same description as himself, precise, grave, and constrained; he supported the Ministerial measures for a rigid continuance of the American War, long after the struggle had been virtually and hopelessly decided against the mother country. Mr. Ellis was created an English peer by the title of Lord Mendip, with remainder, in failure of issue male, to his great nephews, Henry Lord Viscount Cliefden, the Hon. and Rev. John Ellis Agar and the Hon. Charles B. Agar. After his elevation to the peerage this veteran statesman spent many years in learned ease and dignified retirement, contenting himself with the society of his private friends and enjoying the fruits of a good education and well spent life.

His Lordship was always of an active and diligent turn of mind, a correct and accurate, though not an elegant speaker, and, notwithstanding his long familiarity with official life, was of spotless and irreproachable integrity. He was one of the best classical scholars of the age, and on every subject a well informed man; his library was one of the most numerous and valuable collections in the Kingdom. In private life his virtues were not to be exceeded. He was of a very domestic disposition, an affectionate husband, and a father and friend to every branch of his family. Lord Mendip married a daughter of Philip Dormer, fourth Earl of Chesterfield; he died on the 2nd of February, 1802, in the 89th year of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew, Lord Cliefden, the son-in-law of the Duke of Marlborough.

In January, 1764, there was a single election caused by the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, when Anthony Bacon, Esq., was returned. He was a gentleman of much activity, energy, and enterprise, and, obtaining a long lease of a large tract of iron and coal country near Merthyr Tydvil, South Wales, entered into large contracts with Government for supplying the arsenals with cannon. Mr. Bacon was the originator of one of the most striking examples of modern creations of manufacturing enterprise. Merthyr Tydvil is situated in a wild part of Glamorganshire, barren of everything, except subterranean wealth; it was known in distant times as a place for smelting iron ore, but the operations were never carried on to any great extent, and the place remained an inconsiderable village until about the middle of the last century. Mr. Bacon erected extensive works in different parts, which rapidly diffused industry and attracted population. After acquiring an immense fortune he disposed of the

tract in separate leases to various parties. Mr. Bacon had a family seat in Aberanium, near Merthyr Tydvil; also a residence and estate at Benham Park, Newbury, Berks.

At the general election of 1802, a Mr. Anthony Bacon contested Great Marlow in the Independent interest; but he only obtained 45 votes, whilst his opponents, two members of the Williams' family, polled 185 and 190 respectively. In 1835 Colonel Thomas Peers Williams, of Temple House, M.P. for Great Marlow, married Emily, youngest daughter of Anthony Bacon, Esq., of Benham Park. They were the parents of the present member for Marlow.

At the election of 1768 Mr. Bacon retained his seat for Aylesbury, and Mr. John Durand took the seat previously filled by Mr. Ellis. Of Mr. Durand little can be gleaned; he is described as of Carshalton, Surrey; he had slight or no local connection with Aylesbury. He was a wealthy West Indian merchant, and father of Mr. John Hodson Durand, M.P. for Maidstone; both father and son were connected with the India trade, and they may be classed amongst those numerous merchants who in the last century acquired fortunes in the East, and on returning home secured seats in Parliament. Mr. Durand died at Woodcote Lodge, Carshalton, in July, 1788; he had been an elder brother of the Trinity House, a Director of Greenwich Hospital, and had sat in Parliament as member for Aylesbury, Plympton, Seaford, and some other borough. The election of 1774 was contested, when Mr. Durand lost his seat, the poll standing—Bacon, 222; Aubrey, 215; Charles Lowndes, 196; Durand, 187.

John Aubrey, Esq., subsequently made a baronet, was of Dorton; he was LL.D. and D.C.L. After representing Aylesbury in one Parliament only, he was in 1780 returned for Wallingford, and in 1784 as one of the Knights of the shire of Bucks. He succeeded his father, Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart., in 1786; he married, first, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir James Colebroke, by whom he had issue one son, who was poisoned by misadventure when an infant; he married, secondly, Catherine, daughter of G. R. Carter, Esq., of Chilton. Sir John was appointed by his Majesty, in July, 1782, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and in 1783 one of the Lords of the Treasury, which last office he resigned in 1789. He died in 1826, at the advanced age of eighty-six years. At the time of his death he was member for the borough of Horsham; he was the father or senior member of the House of Commons, and had possessed a seat in the House during thirteen Parliaments, being first returned for Wallingford in 1769; he was on the popular side in the question of the Middlesex election, and voted in the minority of 123 in the dispute between Wilkes and Luttrell. Leaving no issue he was succeeded in his title and hereditary estates by his nephew, Sir Thomas Digby Aubrey, Bart., of Oving House.

Mr. Bacon was again returned at the general election in September, 1780. In the first session of that Parliament we find him bringing up a report from the Committee of Privileges of the House, wherein it appeared that the Duke of Chandos had written

between 300 and 400 letters to freeholders in Southampton to influence them in their choice of a representative in Parliament for that county. Mr. Bacon does not appear to have succeeded in appeasing the wants of his constituents, for we find recorded in "Local Occurrences" that in 1782, he gave "such of the voters as would accept it the sum of 10s. each at the Bell, and no supper at all!" With Mr. Bacon on this occasion Thomas Orde, Esq., was returned. Mr. Orde was second son of George Orde, Esq., of Morpeth, Northumberland; was educated at King's College, Cambridge; A.B. 1770, A.M. 1773. He married Catharine, natural daughter of Charles Poulett, Duke of Bolton, and, after his Grace's decease, took, by Royal license, the names and arms of Poulett, and was, in 1797, created Baron Bolton of Bolton, county of York, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Hants, and Vice-Admiral of the coasts of Hampshire and Dorset; he died at Hackwood Park, near Basingstoke, in 1807.

From "Local Occurrences" and other authorities, we obtain an insight into the mode of conducting elections at Aylesbury in the latter part of the last century. In January, 1768, Mr. Bacon made a present of six guineas to all voters who would accept it; a few days after Mr. Durand made a similar distribution. In 1770 Mr. Durand gave away large quantities of pork; at Christmas, 1774, he made a further gift of six guineas to each voter; and John Aubrey, Esq., also one of six guineas, which he supplemented by another guinea in January, 1775. About Christmas, 1780, Mr. Bacon and Mr. Orde "gave twelve guineas to such of the electors as would accept that sum, and those who could not prove themselves legal voters two guineas each." In 1781 the same gentleman gave the voters ten shillings each at the Bell Inn, and a supper, and it is added, "a very handsome company there was." In 1782 a like distribution was made, and doubtless on many other occasions not recorded; indeed, the probability is that these gifts were made annually, or nearly so. With so much certainty were these payments looked forward to, that landlords waited for their rents; tradesmen would give credit on the faith of benevolences, and some of the expectants would even raise loans on the security of their deferred election money.

In 1784 a change took place in the representation; both the old members disappeared and their places were filled by Sir Thomas Halifax and Thomas Wrighton, Esq. Sir Thomas Halifax was a native of Yorkshire, apprenticed to a grocer at Barnsley, but, before the expiration of his term, removed to London, where, by unremitting industry, he acquired an ample fortune. He married the eldest daughter of Thomas Saville, Esq., of Enfield, by whom he had two sons; was a banker in Birchin Lane, Cornhill, Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, Sheriff of London and Middlesex 1769, Lord Mayor 1777; he died March, 1789, and was buried in great pomp at Enfield, his hearse being drawn by six horses, with escutcheons of arms, followed by a numerous train of coaches, the pall being borne by six aldermen of London, and the Deputy, with his two sons as chief mourners. William Wrighton, Esq., was of Cusworth,

Yorks; he was High Sheriff for Yorkshire in the year 1821; he married, first, a daughter of James Bland, Esq., of Hurworth, Durham, and, secondly, a granddaughter of Samuel Barnardiston, Esq.; his local connection with Aylesbury is not traceable.

After the election of 1784, it is recorded that a dinner was provided at the County Hall for the friends of Mr. Wrighton and Sir Thomas Halifax; the writer adds his lament that "only fourteen attended out of the hundred and odd invited, owing to the party spirit which has always stamped this town." The sitting members had probably given offence in some way, or had not conformed to the established usages of the borough. This is explained in the same entry, as the writer goes on to say that "the money for the voters was to have been paid next day, but about nine in the morning the two gentlemen who had the care of it set out towards London; at the Bell corner they were stopped and severely handled by a mob collected for the purpose." It was something like a highwayman's demand to "stand and deliver;" the mob looked upon the money as theirs; they demanded their rights, and the gentlemen promised to distribute it next day, when it was duly paid at the George Inn, and the chronicler tells us "it amounted to twelve guineas each voter. Several substantial voters were denied, particularly Richard Pearson the younger, W. Berry, Alstone, Quartermaine, John Stone, B. Horwood, jun., John Titt, and Stodworth; but Stodworth, Titt, and Horwood received it afterwards. Of the ribbon bills and the publicans' bills some received half, some a quarter, and some nothing at all, owing, it was said, to the accounts being so extravagant. In March, 1785, more of the publicans' bills were paid by the agents from London. Some were still disputed; John Bull claimed £40 and they offered him £5; William Cook, at the White Horse, not paid at all." It is respecting the publicans' bills at this election that an odd story is told. One publican sent his account in in a lump sum; the agent called for particulars; he was shown all the doors of the house covered with strange hieroglyphics in chalk, and only to be understood by those who had made them. The agent disputed with the landlady, when the old landlord interposed, "Don't have no row with 'em missus; give 'em a door or two in." So she cleaned a door or two with her dish cloth, took the difference, and the election account was thus amicably settled.

In February, 1789, there was a single election, owing to the death of Sir Thomas Halifax, when Scrope Bernard, Esq., was returned. The Bernards are descended from an ancient family, whose ancestor was Godfrey Bernard, of Wansford, Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry III. Sir Francis Bernard was, in 1758, appointed Captain-General and Governor of the Province of New Jersey, in North America, and in 1760 Governor of Massachusetts Bay, where he continued in the exercise of the duties of that station for ten years with great credit and honour, receiving marks of approbation both from the Ministers of the Crown, during successive changes of administration, and from the

inhabitants of the province, until the differences between the American colonists and Great Britain provoked hostilities, when his popularity abroad naturally declined in proportion to the satisfaction which his conduct afforded to the British Government. His behaviour was, however, duly appreciated by his Sovereign, by whom, in 1769, he was created a baronet. He was made D.C.L. at Oxford in 1772. After his return from America, he resided for a short time at Nether Winchendon, whence he removed to Aylesbury, and died there in 1779, and was buried in the chancel of that church. Sir Scrope Bernard was the fifth son of Sir Francis and the fourth baronet ; he was born at Pestel-Amberg, New Jersey, North America ; he afterwards added the name of Morland, which was his wife's maiden name ; he was A.M. of Christ Church, Oxford ; he sat for Aylesbury in three Parliaments ; was a Judge of the Episcopal Court of Durham ; Under Secretary of State ; once sat for St. Mawes ; succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his brother in 1818 ; died in London in 1830, aged 72 years.

The election of 1789 was contested between Mr. Bernard and Colonel Lake, of Aston Clinton, Mr. Bernard being successful by a majority of 77 votes ; each candidate made presents to the electors both before and after the election. A riot arose out of this election. On the 18th of May, a large concourse of the electors went to meet Colonel Lake on the Aston Clinton road. On their return they came into collision with a party of Bernard's supporters, and Bernard's men are reported to have behaved very badly. So great was the contention and disturbance that Edward Terry was called upon, as constable, to read the Riot Act, and it is recorded that "he got a black eye for his pains." The riot led to a prosecution ; "William Purssell, of Walton Mill, James Tuckwell, Nat. Kinch, and E. Budd were summoned before the magistrates for assault, and were bound over to appear at the Quarter Sessions ; at the following Midsummer Sessions a bill was found against James Tuckwell for riot and assault on Osborne, and a bill against E. Budd for an assault on E. Terry, constable. No bill was found against Purssell and Kinch. Kinch had a warrant against Osborne for an assault, and Osborne was obliged to give bail in £40 for his appearance at the next Quarter Sessions at Aylesbury. Budd and Tuckwell's trial was put off that time. In March, 1790, Tuckwell and Budd were tried and acquitted, to the chagrin of Osborne and Edward Terry. Kinch's trial was put off to Buckingham Assizes, but dropped. Osborne had had enough of Tuckwell."

In 1789 Mr. Bernard gave five shillings each to his voters as a kind of "handsel." Very shortly afterwards he gave them five guineas each ; this brought out the late unsuccessful candidate, Colonel Lake, who gave his late supporters six guineas each, with an extra guinea to all who would promise to support him at the next election. On the 1st of January, 1790, Mr. Bernard gave his voters one guinea each, and on the following day Colonel Lake distributed a like sum. At Christmas of that year Mr.

Bernard made his friends a further present of seven guineas each and Colonel Lake forthwith gave his party seven guineas.

"Oh, these were the good old 'lection days,
The good old days of yore,
When every vote brought a ten pound note
And a barrel of beer to your door;
When golden guineas rained hard and fast,
And Boro's were bought with beer:
When the bowl went round 'til we rolled on the ground,
'Cause our heads were giddy and queer."

—Old Aylesbury Song.

In 1790 Mr. Scrope Bernard was again returned; at this period he was Under Secretary of State for the Home Department; with him in the representation of the Borough was associated Colonel Gerard Lake, the unsuccessful candidate on a former occasion. In 1787 Colonel Lake was equerry to the Prince of Wales; Major General of the 1st Foot Guards in 1790; was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Berwick; Colonel of 53rd Regiment; Governor of Limerick; Lieutenant-General; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; Governor of Dumbarton Castle; Commander-in-Chief of Bengal Army; Colonel of 80th Regiment; Governor of Plymouth; Master of the Horse to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales; and Treasurer of the Duchy of Cornwall. In 1804, he was by patent created Baron Lake of Delhi, Laswaree, and Aston Clinton, and in 1807 Viscount Lake. His military exploits in India are matters of history. In the Orders of the Governor-General in Council, dated Fort William, 1st October, 1803, the Marquis Wellesley directed the public thanks of the Supreme Government of the British Dominions in India to be given to his Excellency, General Lake, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's and the Hon. Company's forces, who, with unexampled alacrity, eminent judgment, and indefatigable courage under extraordinary difficulties, prepared the Bengal army for the field, conducted it, by a rapid succession of glorious victories, to the defeat of a powerful army, and maintained the honour of the British name in India, by humane attention towards the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and by a due respect and reverence towards the unfortunate representatives of the House of Timur and his Majesty's royal family, and commanded these orders to be publicly read to the troops under arms at every station of the land forces in the East Indies. The battle of Laswaree completed the subversion of Scindia's power in Hindostan, restored the Peiswat to his sovereignty, and liberated the country. In consequence of these eminent services General Lake was elevated to the peerage, Delhi and Laswaree supplying the titles of Baron and Viscount, with which Aston Clinton had the honour of being associated, to give dignity to one of the most gallant officers and accomplished gentlemen whose names have been recorded in the history of Britain; who, besides receiving the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and of the East India Company, acquired the esteem of all ranks, the admiration of a grateful country, and that imperishable fame which is the meed of heroism when united with benevolence and awarded in the calm, deliberate applause and the just and impartial judgment of succeeding ages. General

Lake was succeeded by his son Francis Gerard, the second Viscount, who was a Lieut.-General in the army; he died in 1836, and leaving no male issue the title devolved upon his brother Warwick, the third and last Viscount, at whose death, in 1848, it became extinct, there being no male issue. The family residence of the Lakes stood on the site of the present mansion in Aston Clinton Park. The first Lord Lake died in 1808, and is buried at Aston Clinton. At the election of 1796 the representation of Aylesbury was not disturbed.

No election at Aylesbury ever caused more excitement or was so long remembered as that of 1802; it was known as Bent's. Late elections had passed off quietly, and there were appearances that this would also be a very quiet one—a state of affairs the Aylesbury potwallers did not believe in; they wanted a change, something more moving, and were determined to "open the borough," as they termed it. Pressure was put on some of the leading townsmen, and a preliminary meeting was held at the Crown Inn, on the 13th of January, 1802, when the following, with others, were present:—Neale, Dudley, John Wilson, Thomas Dawney, George Creed, William Farmbrough, Robert Dell, Robert Kirby, Richard Kirby, Foster Ray, Robert Gibbs, John March, John Defraine, Thomas Defraine, Richard Miles, Thomas Smith, William Homeyer, Thomas Hatton, Thomas Ivatts, John Bailey, John Stone, Thomas Capel, John Barker, &c., &c. All these appear to have been active partizans of Bent's throughout the election. At this meeting it resolved that a third man should, if possible, be secured to contest the borough. Mr. Ing, then landlord of the Crown Inn, had a relative residing in London, named Cole; this Mr. Cole was deputed to find a gentleman willing to contest Aylesbury; a Mr. Crawford Bruce was named, but he was not forthcoming. Mr. Cole told the meeting that a Mr. Bent was prepared to stand, and if his election could be secured he would spend £3,500. Some present disapproved of this "No cure, no pay" principle, and Mr. Cole was deputed to see Mr. Bent on this objection; in a day or two a letter was received from Cole, expressive of Mr. Bent's acceptance of their terms, which were £3,500, win or lose, and that amount to be posted at Neale's Bank. A kind of requisition was then got up to Mr. Bent, and in a few days that gentleman was announced to be a candidate. Bribery at elections was not then considered at all disreputable. It was openly and "honestly" done, and all, or nearly all, partizans engaged in it, either as dispensers or recipients of money; indeed, so open was it that the town-crier was often engaged to announce that Mr. So and So's "benevolences" would be distributed at such a time and such a place; the free and independent electors would then flock in crowds to receive money from every party, well knowing how impossible it was to "serve" all. It was no unusual circumstance for a "potwaller" to make some £15 or £20 of his vote, not hesitating for a moment to levy "black mail" on all candidates, many or few.

The Aylesbury electors at this period exacted no pledges from their candidates, cared nothing for Peace, Retrenchment, or Reform; they only required a definite

answer to one question—"How much money have you got?" In Mr. Bent's case the answer was satisfactory; he was just the man wanted. Not that they cared for his £3,500—Oh, no! that was a mere fleabite to them. They calculated that if Mr. Bent spent the sum he promised, the other candidates could but behave as handsomely as he, and thus they saw some 10,000 glittering guineas within their grasp. Mr. Bent visited the town; he was met by a great concourse of people; his horses were detached from his carriage, ropes were affixed, and a lot of men dragged the conveyance round the principal parts of the town, preceded by a band of music; he was "drawn in" to all intents and purposes. The cavalcade drew up at Mr. Neale's bank, from the front of which Mr. Bent and a Mr. Moore addressed the assembly. The other candidates on this occasion were Scrope Bernard, Esq., the late member, and James Du Pré, Esq. Although the names of Thomas F. Fremantle, Esq., — Alexander, Esq., and — Bent, jun., Esq., appear they were merely nominal candidates, put forward to answer the electioneering manœuvres of the others.

James Du Pré, Esq., one of the new candidates, was of Wilton Park, Beaconsfield. From the published report of the Committee of the House of Commons, it is evident that he was much averse to the system of bribery then carried on, and he thus jeopardised his election. On one occasion an appointment to distribute his "benevolences" was not kept, and the party were so angry at the disappointment that they formed a mock funeral procession, and paraded the town with a black flag, intimating that their candidate was dead, that is, so far as they were concerned, and their chagrin was the deeper from the fact that they had not bled him to death. However, next day an appearance was put in and a "benevolence" of three guineas per man, afterwards called "resurrection money," was made at the Cock Inn on account of Mr. Du Pré. All then went on smoothly again, and Mr. Du Pré was not only elected at the head of the poll, but retained his seat; he, notwithstanding his premature funeral obsequies, outlived the whole of the constituency. At his death not one, active in that election, had been living for some years. Mr. Du Pré was son of Josias Du Pré, Esq., of Wilton Park, his mother being Rebecca, daughter of Mr. N. Alexander, and sister to Henry, first Earl of Caledon. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Buckinghamshire, and served as High Sheriff for the county in 1825; he was also a magistrate for Hertfordshire. He sat in the Conservative, or, as it was then called, the Tory interest, as member for Gatton, Aylesbury, and Chichester, between the years 1802 and 1812. He married, in 1801, Madelina, daughter of the late Sir William Maxwell, of Monreith, Wigtownshire. He was father of Caledon George Du Pré, Esq., who for more than thirty years sat as one of the representatives of Bucks. Mr. Du Pré, the elder, died in 1870, at the advanced age of 92 years.

Mr. Bent had no connection whatever with the town; he was a West India merchant, of good standing in London; he was fished up as the "third man" for Aylesbury, and those who went in search would have brought down anyone who possessed

the requisite qualification, viz., a long purse. Mr. Bent was probably a stranger also to the ways and means of managing elections at Aylesbury at that period.

The preparations for this election commenced about the beginning of the year 1802, and after Mr. Bent's introduction everything went on merrily; public-houses were opened and "benevolences" given by the respective candidates as usual, at several inns, the principal ones being the Bull's Head, the Crown, the Cock, the Angel, the Bear, and the Bell. As far as can be known, the gifts to the voters averaged about nine guineas each. Bands of music from Buckingham, Waddesdon, Bicester, and other places paraded the town for weeks, as the election did not take place for six months from the first visit of Mr. Bent. "Snacks," luncheons, and dinners given to the electors and their wives were of frequent occurrence. Neale, the banker, fraternised at the George Inn with Mother Durham, the bellman's wife, and her friends, at which inn they lunched together; big and little folks were for awhile one happy family, and although there may have been a jealous feeling as to a favourite candidate, the differences were sunk; all parties, with few exceptions, having the same object in view—plunder. Every man, woman, and child in the town went heart and hand into this election contest. There was more division amongst the Church folks than any other class. The dignitaries were opposed to the innovation of the "third man," whilst a majority in the choir were his supporters. One Sunday morning, (so the story goes) the clerk, in the usual course, gave out the lxxviii. Psalm, 4th verse, O.V.:—

"For why? their hearts were nothing BENT."

There was no response from the choir, in fact there was a strike, but not a strike up; neither would the singers go first nor the minstrels follow after; a pause took place, when one of the choir, a Bentite, came to the front of the singing loft and gave out the lvii. Psalm, 7th verse, N.V.:—

"Oh, God! my heart is fix'd, 'tis BENT."

Upon which the choir started in full force. Election matters were carried even further, for they found their way to the baptismal font. John Holloway, the wheelwright, brought his boy to be christened, and he named him Robert Bent Holloway; he was checkmated by Castle, the soldier, whose son was named Bernard Castle; Woodbridge, the higgler, followed suit, his son and heir taking the name of Bernard Woodbridge; the honours were eventually divided by Gibbons, the plumber, bringing up his daughter, and naming her Mary Bent Gibbons.

The account of the proceedings at this election reads strangely at the present day. The nominations took place on a tombstone in the church-yard, and the polling in the County Hall. The Hall was then under repair, and there was a complaint made that the voters could not get to the poll; the evidence before the House of Commons hints at some private passage into the Hall from out of the Bear Inn garden. Mr. Woodman, one of the returning officers, in his evidence before the House of Commons, refers to the

adjournment from the nomination in the church-yard to the election in the County Hall, from which it appears that when they reached the Hall they found the doors bolted and chained, and thirty Irishmen on the other side knocking people about; there was also a complaint that the Hall had been "packed" by persons passing the private passage through the Gaol. It took two days to poll 453 votes; according to law then, the poll might have been kept open several more days; the result was:—Du Pré, 336; Bent, 271; Bernard, 180. An analysis of the poll showed that of the 271 who voted for Bent, 234 voted for Du Pré also; that 35 voted Bent and Bernard; Bent had two plumpers; 101 voted Bernard and Du Pré; Bernard had seven plumpers; 34 voted Fremantle and Bernard; two who voted for Fremantle participated in the distributions of money.

With the close of the poll the excitement increased, as a petition against the return of Mr. Bent was forthwith lodged, which created such alarm amongst his party that several of the leaders made themselves scarce for a long time, fearing to be served with Speaker's warrants. The report of the evidence given before the House of Commons consists of 200 pages of printed matter, and is very interesting to Aylesbury people. It shows the way in which elections were managed in the olden time, and goes to prove that Hogarth was not so much the satirist as some people think him to be. The report is that of "A select committee appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Thomas Francis Fremantle, Esq., and also of the petition of the Reverend William Lloyd, D.D., Robert Browne, Acton Chaplin, John Barker, Edward Alston, Robert Smith, Francis Fleet, John Rawbone, William Payne, and Luke Turner, on behalf of themselves and others, the legal electors of the Borough of Aylesbury severally, complaining of an undue election and return for the said Borough."

The Committee sat eleven days, and the witnesses examined were—Francis V. Dawney, Richard Gurney, John Bumpus, John Bull, William Porter, Thomas Goldney, John Collings, Nehemiah Hodgkins, John Durham, Ann Durham, John Toms, Thomas Jenkins, George Ing, George Durham, James Hartshorn, William Billington, William Tapping, Thomas Hill, Charles Norman, John Osborn, William Williams, Jeremiah S. Jordan, George Clarke, William Nichols, William Bunce, John Poole, Hannah Brown, Mary Harwood, Samuel Cole, Robert Dell, jun., Robert Dell, sen., Peter Moore, Esq., William Rawbone, John Osborne, Bill Turner, G. H. Barnett, John Wilson, John Woolley, John Peck, James Neale, John May, and George Creed. The evidence went to prove an open system of giving money to the poor voters for the purpose of procuring their votes. The Committee determined—

"That James Du Pré, Esq., is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament, for the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham."

"That Robert Bent, Esq., is not duly elected a Burgess to serve in the present Parliament for the said Borough."

"That Thomas F. Fremantle, Esq., is not duly elected a Burgess to serve in the present Parliament for the said Borough."

"That it appears to this Committee that at the said election Robert Bent., Esq., was, by his agents, guilty of bribery."

"That it appears to the Committee such a notorious system of corruption was found, and such instances of individual acts of bribery were committed previous to the said election, with a view to influence the same, as to render it incumbent on the Committee to submit the same to the most serious consideration of the House, in order that such proceedings may be instituted thereon as the House in its wisdom may think proper to adopt."

Especial reference was made by the Committee to some townsmen, who were severally and respectively engaged in the same system of corruption.

The evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons contains some amusing items. Mr. Cole gave his testimony in a very unsatisfactory manner; he was sent into an adjoining committee-room by himself to refresh his memory. John Wilson, the whitesmith, so prevaricated that he was committed to Newgate for contempt, and re-examined next day, when his recollection was found to be much improved. Neale, the banker, stated that actions against him arising out of this election were pending, amounting to £47,000, and he should not criminate himself. John Toms told the committee that he thought that out of the 450 voters, 400 took money and the other 50 gave it away. All the witnesses gave a similar description of the proceedings at the distributions at the inns. Two bowls stood on a table in a large room, one containing guineas and the other punch; the presiding representatives of the candidate referred to a list of names, and if such list showed that the applicant had been free of parish relief for a year he was entitled to vote. Three guineas were then given to him and a glass of punch poured out, with which he drank the "gentleman's" health, he professing an innocent ignorance as to who the "gentleman" could be who was so kind to him. At times "t'other eye was wetted." "Didn't the punch make you drunk?" asked one of the counsel of a witness before the election committee. "Drunk! Lord bless you, no! how could it? I was drunk 'afore I went."

After the decision of the Committee, Mr. Bent discontinued his connection with Aylesbury; he died at his residence, in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, in the year 1832, at an advanced age; he probably regretted that he was ever "drawn in" at Aylesbury.

Chapter XXVI.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

The Report of the Aylesbury Election Committee—Former delinquences—Aylesbury before the House of Commons—Bill to enlarge the Constituency brought in—Proposition to prosecute Mr. Rawbone and Mr. Bent—they escape a prosecution—Debate on the Bill—Corruption at Aylesbury exposed—Second and third reading carried—Debates in the House of Lords—Lord Grenville supports and Lord Ellenborough opposes the bill—is carried in both Houses and becomes law—Copy of the Act—Its addition to the Constituency.

THE report of the Aylesbury Election Committee of 1804 not only unseated Mr. Bent, but also called the serious consideration of the House of Commons to the notorious and long-standing system of corruption found to exist there, and the Committee "further submitted that such proceedings be instituted thereon as the House might think proper to adopt." Aylesbury did not stand in good repute with the House of Commons. It was exactly one hundred years previously that the case of the five Aylesbury men had set the Houses of Lords and Commons at complete loggerheads, and placed the Queen in a dilemma from which she could only escape by proroguing Parliament. Again, there had meanwhile been petitions and counter petitions presented from Aylesbury, and scarcely had an election taken place without one party petitioning against another; these petitions were mostly abandoned, withdrawn, compromised, or settled in some way without coming before the House, showing that a good deal of manœuvring took place both amongst the electors and the elected. Further, a few years previously, Aylesbury returned one of the most troublesome members who had ever entered the House—John Wilkes; the electors could not expect much sympathy. There was a strong disposition in some quarters to disfranchise the Borough altogether; but local influence prevailed, and it was saved, arrangements being made that the constituency should be enlarged by the introduction of a new class of voters, so as to counteract the potwalloping interest. Every man who held a forty shilling freehold in the Borough or Hundreds, giving him a right to a county vote, by the proposed new Act would become a borough voter also, irrespective of residence.

On the 23rd of March, 1804, the matter of the Aylesbury election petition was brought before the House of Commons; the first point taken into consideration by the House was the prosecution of John Rawbone, of Aylesbury, schoolmaster, on a charge

of corrupt bribery. The Marquis of Tichfield argued that sufficient evidence to convict had not been adduced, and the prosecution was consequently abandoned. Sir George Cornwall then referred to the scandalous system prevailing generally at Aylesbury in the election of its members; not content with two candidates, a search for a third was instituted for the mere purpose of extortion and corruption. As Chairman of the Aylesbury Election Committee he was deputed to bring in a Bill for the future prevention of the bribery and corruption which had so long existed there; he considered it his duty to do so, and he should follow out his instructions. The Marquis of Tichfield said he conceived that the object of the proposed Bill was to throw open the Borough, to which course he strongly objected. Only 50 of the electors, it had been shown, were guilty of bribery and implicated in the prevailing corruption, and he trusted that no step would be taken so as to disqualify the whole of the electors because 50 had sinned and broken the law. Mr. C. Wynne disputed the statement of figures as quoted by the noble Marquis, and said it had been distinctly shown that not less than 200 of the voters had accepted the bribes offered to them; indeed, he had never heard the like of such profligacy as was carried on at Aylesbury; it was as unblushing as though the bellman had been sent round the town to offer bribes to any who would accept them. Mr. Rose said that from the evidence of John Wilson, who was certainly a most unwilling witness, it appeared that of the 270 who voted for Bent, only 50 were free from bribery. Sir John Newport said that in the letter signed by 200 voters and addressed to the candidate, each covenanted for and received a bribe; it was the custom at Aylesbury, it appeared, for the electors to demand Christmas boxes, and enforce the payment of them by threats of the expulsion of the members on the first opportunity if those gifts were not granted. The electors became discontented with their old members at the last election, and contrived to find a third candidate, of whom they made use to plunder the two others and himself also; that, in addition to their other guilt, they went to all opposing parties and promised their support, well knowing that they could only vote for two; consequently they of course intended to trick the third; he should support the Bill. Mr. Nicholas Calvert approved the discussion; he thought Aylesbury to be one of those stock-jobbing Boroughs, all of which he would be glad to see thrown open; from what he had heard, he found it was the general understanding at Aylesbury between the contending partizans of the old and new candidates to promote a contest for the mere sake of bribery. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was quite enough for him to know that gross bribery had been committed at Aylesbury; he must consider it his duty to support any measure to prevent a repetition of such practices as were proved to be carried on at that place, and should consequently support the Bill. Mr. Hurst spoke in support of it, and so did the Master of the Rolls. After some further discussion, Sir George Cornwall moved "that no writ be issued for Aylesbury until after the 27th of April."

Subsequently Mr. Rose submitted to the House a motion to prosecute Mr. Robert

Bent, returned as member for Aylesbury, for gross and corrupt bribery at the late election for that borough; he had heard that in all other respects Mr. Bent was a merchant of high standing in the City and elsewhere, and a gentleman of the strictest honour and integrity; he considered a penal action would not meet this case, and he felt it to be his duty to propose that the Attorney-General should prosecute Mr. Bent for the part he took in bribing the constituency at the late Aylesbury election. Mr. Nicholas Calvert did not think the case deserved so severe a remedy, as there was nothing more in the Aylesbury case than was constantly occurring in other boroughs. Mr. Fox hoped the Chancellor would withdraw his motion. Mr. Wynne supported the Chancellor. After a somewhat long discussion, Mr. Sheridan moved as an amendment that "the other orders of the day be read;" this was carried without a division, and thus Mr. Bent escaped a prosecution. On the 13th of April, the Bill to prevent bribery at Aylesbury was proposed to be read a second time, when the Marquis of Tichfield opposed it, and moved "that it be read that day three months." Mr. Francis spoke against the Bill, contending it punished the innocent as well as the guilty. Lord Ossulstone did not think the case required so stringent a measure, whilst Mr. Grenfell argued that bribery at Aylesbury was proved to have been flagrant, extensive, and uniform; he supported the Bill. Mr. Peter More opposed the Bill, thinking many of the Aylesbury people were already severely punished, as actions amounting to nearly a million sterling were hanging over the heads of some of those implicated. Mr. Fox did not think the case of Aylesbury so strong as to except it from the general rule which applied to other cases of bribery and corruption. On a division there appeared for the second reading of the Bill, 68; against, 49; thus it passed by a majority of 19. On the motion for going into committee with the Bill, another division took place; but a majority of 16 decided upon going into committee. Upon Mr. Praed bringing up the Bill from committee, Lord Ossulstone declared his intention of taking another division, when there appeared for proceeding with the Bill, 154; against, 126; majority, 28. On the third reading there voted for the Bill, 154; against it, 126; majority, 28. Similar discussions took place in the House of Lords, the Bill there being mainly supported by Lord Grenville and opposed by Lord Ellenborough. It passed both Houses and thus became law. The following is the Act:—

"An Act for the Preventing of Bribery at the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham:—

"Whereas there was the most notorious bribery and corruption at the last election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham; and whereas such bribery and corruption is likely to continue and be practised in the said Borough in future, unless some means are taken to prevent the same; in order, therefore, to prevent such unlawful practices for the future, and that the said Borough may from henceforth be duly represented in Parliament: Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from henceforth it shall and may be lawful to and for every

freeholder, being above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have within the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury or one or more of them, in the County of Buckingham, a freehold of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, to give his vote at every election of a burgess or burgesses to serve in Parliament for the said Borough of Aylesbury.

"2. And be it further enacted, that the right of election of a member or members to serve in Parliament for the said Borough of Aylesbury shall be and is hereby declared to be in such freeholders as aforesaid, and in the persons who, by the custom and usage of the said Borough, have, or shall hereafter have, a right to vote at such election; and the proper officer for the time being, to whom the return of every writ or precept does belong, is hereby required to return the person or persons to serve in Parliament for the said Borough who shall have the major number of votes of such freeholders, and other persons having a right to vote at such election; any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always that such freeholders only shall be entitled to vote as shall be duly qualified to vote at elections for knights of the shire for the said County of Buckingham, according to the laws now in being for regulating county elections.

"3. Freeholders, before voting, to take an oath. * * *

"4. And be it further enacted, that such proper officer to whom any writ or precept shall be directed for making any election for the said borough shall, upon the receipt of such writ or precept, indorse upon the back thereof the day of his receipt thereof, in the presence of the party from whom he received such precept, and shall forthwith cause public notice to be given within the said Borough of Aylesbury, and the several towns of Great Missenden, Wendover, and Haddenham, by affixing up a notice thereof in writing on the market houses, or on the doors of the churches of the said towns, of the day of election, and shall proceed to election thereupon within the space of twelve days, and not less than eight days next after his receipt of the same precept.

"5. And be it further enacted, that this Act shall be publicly read at every election for the said borough of Aylesbury immediately after the Acts directed by any Act of Parliament to be read thereat, and before the persons present shall proceed to make such election."

The effect of this Act was to double the former number of electors, there being as many resident and non-resident freeholders as there were formerly potwallers. The ancient Borough contained about 450 voters; and the new franchise added a like number, so that the constituency now numbered nearly 1,000.

Chapter XXVII.—THE HUNDREDS OF AYLESBURY.

Hundreds—why so called—their origin—objects—Tythings—Hundred Courts.—Extent of the Aylesbury Hundreds—Ancient names of places constituting the Hundreds—their population in 1804—*in* 1881—*Modern names of the Hundreds—concise historical notices of them—Close Boroughs—State of some Boroughs prior to* 1832—*No definite franchise—New political era at Aylesbury in* 1804—*First election on the new franchise—Contest between Cavendish and Grenville—Thomas Grenville—Hartwell pocket votes—Election of* 1806—*Sir George Nugent, Bart.—Mr. Hussey—Lord George Grenville—C. C. Cavendish, Esq.—Mr. Rickford—Election bills in* 1818

HUNDREDS are parts or divisions of a county, said to have been so called because each Hundred found 100 keepers of the King's peace, or 100 able men for his wars, but more probably from their containing 100 families. Hundreds originated amongst the Teutonic Tribes and were formed for the better preservation of the peace. Some authorities contend that the Hundred was territorial, and that it was so termed as it contained a hundred hides of land, each hide consisting of a hundred acres; it is, however, generally agreed that the hide of land was of uncertain extent, varying according to the custom of the district in which it was situated; in some being estimated at 120, others at 100, and in some parts even as few as 60 acres. Hundreds, it must be remembered, were formed by the union of ten Tythings, the smaller jurisdictions having existed first, the larger ones being formed from them; ten men and their families were cast into a society, all of them being bound to the King for the peaceable and good behaviour of each other. It was ordered that every inhabitant or Englishman born should be settled in some Hundred or Tything, and if accused of any transgression he should forthwith bring one out of the same Hundred or Tything to be bound for his appearance to answer the law. Ten of these Tythings, being associated, would at stated times assemble to arrange matters of local management; these meetings were called Hundred Courts. Kennett tells us that Hundreds and Tythings kept their names long after they bore any relation to the number of people or villages they formerly represented. The jurisdiction of the ancient Hundred Courts now devolves upon the courts of law of more modern formation.

The area of the constituency of Aylesbury, as enlarged by the Act of 1804, now includes the Aylesbury Hundreds formed by the union of three ancient Hundreds, of Elesberie, Risberge, and Stane, and still retains formally the appellation of the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury.

Elesberie, subsequently written Ailesbury Hundred, besides the Borough or Township, with its Hamlet of Walton, comprised the following villages and places:— Estone, since Aston Clinton, Bierton, or Burton, with Buckland and Brotone, now Broughton, Esenburg or Essenberge, now Ellesborough, Hulcott, and Stoches, since called Stoke Mandeville, and was bounded on the north by Cottesloe Hundred, on the east by Hertfordshire and two detached portions of Cottesloe and Burnham Hundreds; on the south by Burnham and Dustenburgh (now Desborough) Hundred; and on the west by Oxfordshire, and Esseden (Ashendon) and Votesdone (Waddesdon) Hundreds, now merged in the Hundred of Ashendon.

Risberge or Ryshberg Hundred (now Risborough), besides Princes and Monks Risborough, with Sudcote, comprised Bledelei, now Bledlow; Horsedune, now Horsenden; Wandoure or Wanderne, now Wendover; and Weston Turville, with Begrave, now Bedgrove, and was bounded on the north by Elesberie Hundred, on the east by Burnham, on the south by part of Elesberie and Dustenburgh, and on the west by Tichesele and Essedene.

Stane Hundred, beside the parish of Stone, with its Hamlet, Bishop's-Stone, contained Chenebelle, now comprising Great Kimble or Kimbel and Little Kimble, with Kimble-Wick or Fennel's Grove, and Marshall's alias Marsh; Cuddenton, now Cuddington; Daneton, now Dinton with Ford; but exclusive of two other Hamlets, Opeton, now Upton; and Walridge, computed within the limits of the Ashendon Hundred; Holtone, now Halton; Hamdenham, now Hampden, and in two parishes, Great and Little Hampden; Hedreham, now Haddenham; Herdewell, now Hartwell; Lee, Missedene, now Great Missenden, with Lee Chapel, and Little Missenden; and was bounded on the north by Elesberie, on the east by Burnham, on the south by Dustenburgh, and on the west by detached portions of Elesberie, Tichesele, and Dustenburgh Hundreds.

The modern Hundreds of Aylesbury are bounded on the north by Ashendon and Cottesloe, by Hertfordshire and Burnham Hundred on the east, by the latter on part of the south, on the remainder of the south by Desborough (a narrow slip of which is also interposed between an insulated portion of Aylesbury Hundred, having for its western boundary the County of Oxford), and on the west by the Hundred of Ashendon.

By the Agricultural Survey the Hundreds of Aylesbury were stated to contain about 408,131 acres, in thirty-two parishes, having twenty-six churches and several hamlets or subordinate vills. The number of churches and chapels have been progressively increasing since this survey was made. In 1804 these Hundreds were returned as containing 2,550 houses, inhabited by 2,862 families, consisting of 6,415 males and 6,949 females, 3,818 being employed in agriculture and 2,137 in trades; this was exclusive of the town of Aylesbury. In 1881 the population of the electoral district, including the parish of Aylesbury, was 28,899.

The modern names of the villages and places forming the new constituency, in addition to the parish of Aylesbury, and of which a very concise notice of each is given, are as follows:—Aston Clinton, Bierton-with-Broughton, Bledlow-with-Bledlow Ridge, Brand's Fee (Liberty of), Buckland, Cuddington, Dinton, Ellesborough, Haddenham, Halton, Great Hampden, Little Hampden, Hartwell, Horsendon, Hulcott, Great Kimble, Little Kimble, Lee, Great Missenden, Little Missenden, Monks Risborough, Princes Risborough, Stone-with-Bishopstone, Stoke Mandeville, Wendover, Weston Turville.

ASTON CLINTON.

Aston, that is the East Town. Aston Clinton and Weston Turville were doubtless the place of settlement of one Saxon tribe, and obtained the names of Aston and Weston from their relative positions in regard to each other. Aston Clinton extends about six miles in length, scarcely exceeding one in breadth; it is four miles from Aylesbury. The church, dedicated to St. Michael, consists of a nave with two aisles, and a chancel; it contains several memorials to the families of Minshull, originally from Bourton, near Buckingham, Gerard, Morgan, &c.

The hamlet of St. Leonard's, situated on the southern verge of the parish, consisted chiefly of woodland and common, much of which has been assorted. It includes part of the Manors of Wivelsgate and the Hale, and maintains its own poor. The chapel of St. Leonard's was anciently appendant to the church of Aston Clinton. It is supposed to have been originally built on the site of an ancient hermitage or cell belonging to Missenden Abbey, and founded 1278. In this chapel is a monument to Cornelius Wood, a lieutenant of Queen Anne's Army, and he is referred to as—

"He who in war so great a figure made."

There are also tablets bearing the names of Wood, Penn, and Baldwin.

The Manor of Chivery appears to have been taken out of the estate of the Clintons whilst in possession of the Crown. Dundridge is a small hamlet in Aston Clinton parish.

Warwick Lake, who acquired Aston Clinton, was the scion of an ancient stock, originally of Hampshire; the second Viscount Lake dying without issue, the title and estate passed to the Hon. Warwick Lake, who thereupon became third Viscount and Baron Lake. The estate subsequently passed into the hands of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and was eventually purchased by the late Sir A. de Rothschild, Bart., who rebuilt the mansion, and in which his family continue to reside. There are schools, supported by Lady de Rothschild, and two Nonconformist chapels in the village.

BIERTON-WITH-BROUGHTON.

Bierton was in Domesday-book included in the survey of Aylesbury, of which parish at that time it formed a part; Broughton, its hamlet, is distinctly mentioned; and

Stoke Mandeville, Buckland and Quarrendon chapelries, then ecclesiastically belonging to the church of Bierton, are also particularised in that record. Bierton was anciently a chapel of ease to Aylesbury, and its revenues were annexed to that Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral; it is now in the Diocese of Oxford. The church is dedicated to St. James. The building is cruciform, with a square tower at the junction of the nave, aisles and chancel. On this tower, which contains six modern bells and a small one, is a dwarf spire covered with lead, and a vane on its apex. The tower and walls have a plain parapet, and on the north side of the former is the dial of the clock. In the church are mural tablets to members of the families of Howse, Bosse, Hill, Temple, Wadern, Shaw, Gurney, Stratfold, Hughes, Minshull of Ailesbury, H. P. J. Layard, Allen, and others. There are a National School and two Dissenting Places of Worship.

BLEDLOW.

This place derives its name from a battle conjectured rather than proved to have been fought here, between the Danes and Saxons, the latter being victorious. Bledlow is ten miles S.S W. from Aylesbury. The church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, consists of a square tower, with a plain parapet, a nave with two side aisles, a south porch and chancel, having on the eastern gable a cross. In the church are tablets to the memory of Crosse, Blancks, Sale, Towne, Hayton, Blagden. The churchyard is bounded on the east by a deep glen, through which runs a little stream called the Lyde. This irregular declivity is covered with trees, some of considerable size, chiefly elm, under whose branches, drooping to the ground, arise from a rock of chalk many springs of very pure water.

The hamlet of Bledlow Ridge being nearly two miles distant from the parish church, and the population having considerably increased, the design of erecting a chapel here was carried out in the year 1834; this building being decayed, a church has within the last few years been erected and endowed, and has a resident minister. A Board School building adjoins the new church.

Bledlow Manor passed by marriage to Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P. for Bedford, who, in 1801, conveyed it to Lord Carrington, in whose family it still remains.

THE LIBERTY OF BRAND'S FEE.

A Liberty is of the nature of a Royal prerogative in the hands of a subject. Liberties were first chiefly granted to monastic and other religious establishments to ease the consciences of the royal grantors, or in testimony of their devotion to the Church; and most of the ancient Liberties now in existence are derived from an ecclesiastical source. Some Liberties had the privilege of claiming the goods of felons, &c., waifs, strays, and deodands, arising within the lands of the grantee, others the right of holding fairs and markets and taking tolls, the right of holding a Hundred Court or a Court Leet, and other privileges. The fines paid to the Crown in the time

of King John for the grants or confirmation of Liberties formed no inconsiderable part of the Royal revenue. These grants were found to interfere with the administration of justice, were frequently the subject of loud complaints, and were represented as being prejudicial to the Crown, impediments to justice, and a damage to the people. The existing ones must be of great antiquity. The name of this Fee is from the family of Brand, who held it in the 13th century ; the mansion is also now called Brand's House. Brand's Fee forms no inconsiderable portion of the Borough and Hundreds, as it contains upwards of 140 voters, and is one of the appointed polling places for the district. It is composed of parts of the parishes of Great Missenden, Little Missenden, but mostly of Hughenden, and has no distinctive history of its own.

BUCKLAND.

This parish is of very singular shape, being about seven miles in length, and in the broadest part not exceeding half a mile, but in the narrowest, towards the northern extremity, scarcely one furlong ; it is five miles from Aylesbury. In the sixteenth century this manor had become vested in the family of Dormer, who obtained Wing, Aston Abbots, and many other estates in this county about the same time. The village is very small and irregular, having no particular objects of attraction in it. The church, dedicated to All Saints, stands within a small cemetery in the middle of the village, and has been restored. Buckland or Boche land, is land held under a deed or charter.

CUDDINGTON.

Cuddington is situated in a narrow valley north of the road from Aylesbury to Thame. The Manor was granted, with Haddenham, to the Church of Rochester, by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom it had been given by the Conqueror ; it was included with that parish in the Doomsday survey. Henry VIII. granted to Sir Edward North, in exchange for the Manors of Haddenham and Cuddington, certain lands in Oxfordshire, part of the possessions of the dissolved abbey of Missenden. The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and consists of a square, embattled tower, 51 feet high, having buttresses at the S.W. and N.W. angles, and on the north side a demi-pentagonal turret. There are parish schools and two Dissenting place of worship. Cuddington was the town of the Cuddingas, the descendants of Cudda, the Saxon proprietor.

On the E.S.E. of the village, about one mile distant, and close to the turnpike road, is a small hamlet called Littleworth, or Giberalter.

DINTON.

This place is about five miles from Aylesbury, and near the road to Thame. The church, dedicated to St. Peter, stands at the N.E. extremity of the village, and consists of a nave, with a south aisle, a chancel, and a square western tower, with a turret at the south-east angle. On the south side, opening into the nave, is a spacious

porch, embattled. There were, unquestionably, several altars or shrines in this church—provision having been made for lights to be kept burning before them; it has also a fine Norman doorway. As early as the year 1508, we meet with brasses and tablets of the family of Lee, then of Morton in Dinton, and afterwards of Hartwell; there are also tablets and memorials to the members of the family of Vanhattem, Mayne, Beke, Serjeant, Ingoldsby, and Greneway. The register contains a copy of a license, dated 1630, to Mrs. Jane Carter to eat flesh on fish days, and in 1635 a similar license to Mr. Simon Mayne, and Jane, his wife, by reason of their notorious sickness. In 1661 was buried here, Simon Mayne, the regicide, who died in Newgate prison. Dinton Hall, the mansion of the Maynes and Vanhattems, contiguous to the churchyard, stands on the site of a still more ancient erection; some portions of the present building are of the age of James I. The most conspicuous proprietor of this house and manor was Simon Mayne, the regicide. He inherited a considerable property, was a magistrate of the county, and became a person of importance at a critical period. Among the antiquities deposited here is a sword reputed to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell, who left it at Dinton when he slept there, whilst the King was besieged in Oxford. John Bigg, the Dinton hermit, officiated as a clerk or secretary to Simon Mayne, and is described as a native of Dinton. He lived in a cave underground, had been a man of tolerable wealth, was looked upon as a pretty good scholar, and of no contemptible parts. Dinton Hall is now occupied by the proprietor, the Rev. J. J. Goodall. The name of Dinton is derived from Dane-town, or from the Anglo-Saxon *Dun*, a hill.

Upton hamlet is situated on the eastern side of Dinton, was separately surveyed, and is described in Domesday-book as part of the possessions of William Peverell and of Milo Crispin.

Aston Molins hamlet, is so called from its possessors. Waldridge manor was purchased by Richard Serjeant, Esq., of Kimblewick, who had acquired Aston Molins, in 1606; it was sold by him in 1651, to Sir Richard Ingoldsby. Sir Richard Ingoldsby resided here; the Grove in Morton was reported to have been the palace of the Bishops of Winchester, and was successively the residence of the Comptons and Lees.

Westlington is a small hamlet in this parish, adjacent to Haddenham, near the road from Aylesbury to Thame, and westward of Dinton Hall.

The hamlet or liberty of Morton, on the south-eastern verge of Dinton, probably obtained its name from its situation—the Town in the Moor.

The manor of Ford accompanied Dinton, and, with the latter, became vested in the Rev. W. Goodall, A.M., and Rebecca, his wife, and their heirs.

ELLESBOROUGH.

Ellesborough is situated on the north side, and on a spur of the Chiltern Hills.

Its southern part rises into irregularly shaped hills, the northern portion is nearly level, and the soil accordingly varies. The village is scattered and stands among the hills on the verge of the Vale of Aylesbury. In the Domesday record this place is spelt Esenberge, and in later documents it is written variously Heselberge, Heselborne, Eselberg, and Eselburgh. King Henry VIII. granted the manor of Elesborow and certain woods, &c., here to Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice ; and this estate subsequently passed in the same manner as Aylesbury and Bierton to the Pakingtons. The manor paramount, and the sub-manors in this parish, called Zouch's and Pole's, Mordaunt's or Seyton's and Chequer's, with other lands, descended to the late Sir Robert Greenhill Russell, Bart., and, at his decease, came by devise to Sir Robert Frankland, Bart., who by royal license took the name of Russell. This Sir Robert died in 1849, and the estate descended to his widow, Lady Frankland Russell ; thence to Mrs. Frankland Russell Astley, her daughter. The Frankland family settled in Yorkshire at the time of the Conquest—their seat for the last 250 years and upwards being at Thirkleby in that county. The church (SS. Peter and Paul), an ancient edifice, has been restored ; it is situated on a hill, 449 feet above the level of the sea, close to the old Icknield Road, which passes in this direction. Its parts are a chancel, nave, south aisle, and porch, with a tower at the west end of the aisle ; the tower is embattled. There are memorials of the Hawtreys, Crokes, Emerys, Davises, Hakewils, Hortons, Russells, and Greenhills ; and in the churchyard is a tomb under which rest the remains of Thomas Edwards, Esq., of Terrick, who died in 1757 ; he was the author of "The Canons of Criticism" and other works. There is a Dissenting chapel at Chalkshire, in this parish. Butler's Cross probably takes its name from an ancient possessor of that name and the crossing of the roads at right-angles here. The mansion of Chequers Court is picturesquely situated in a romantic spot ; it contains historic relics and pictures, many associated with the Protector Oliver Cromwell and his family. Velvet Lawn, a well known resort for out-door festivities and picnics, is adjacent to Chequers Court.

HADDENHAM.

Haddenham is seven miles S.W. from Aylesbury. It is a large, scattered, and irregularly built village. The church is a handsome structure of hewn stone ; the chancel is Early English, with single lancet windows ; the tower is Early English ; the nave spacious and clerestoried. There are in the chancel memorials to the Saunders family and to the Revs. F. Coston, T. Phelps, and John Willis, vicars of the parish. In the side chapel is a handsome mural monument to a member of the Beke family, and in the church are memorials of the Woodbridge, Wells, and Francklin families, and there are a few brasses. The churchyard is entered by a lych gate. In 1585 there was a lady chapel, which was endowed with half-an-acre of land in Haddenham Field and land in Dorton left for lights, valued at 20d. per annum. There are a Baptist Chapel, a Wesleyan Chapel, a National School, and a Board School. The Baptists can be traced at Haddenham for a period of 200 years ; in 1809 their Chapel here was rebuilt after

being in disuse for 40 years. From vouchers yet extant, Haddenham appears to have been subject to great exactions during the Civil Wars; its short distance from the camps of both of the contending parties rendering it an easy prey to each in turn. Grenville's Manor, a house and premises in Haddenham, has for many years been in the possession and occupation of the family of Rose, and is now occupied by Mr. Robert Rose. Haddenham signifies, "the home on the Heath;" either the place was on a heath, or the name is derived from the Saxon family of Hedda.

HALTON.

Halton, a very neat and exceedingly picturesque village, is situate about four miles south of Aylesbury. Henry VIII. granted this manor to Henry Bradshaw, afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer; from him it passed to the noble family of Fermor, and about 1720 was purchased of one of that family by Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., from whom it descended to the Dashwood-Kings, and in 1851 was purchased by the Baron Lionel de Rothschild; the present lord is Alfred de Rothschild, Esq. The old Manor House, formerly the seat of the Dashwoods, after having remained unoccupied for several years, was demolished. The church was entirely rebuilt by Sir John Dashwood-King in 1813. On the north side, affixed to the wall, are effigies in brass of Chief Baron Bradshaw, who died in 1553; he is represented attired in his robes; his wife and four sons and four daughters also appear on the brass plate. The erection of a noble mansion was commenced on an elevated spot in the parish in the year 1881, by Alfred de Rothschild, Esq., to whom the estate descended.

GREAT HAMPDEN.

This village is situated amongst extensive beech woods, on the high table land of the Chiltern Hills. There is no assemblage of houses which could properly be denominated a village. Nearly all the farmsteads and cottages lie scattered on the side of a large common, and are known as Hampden Row. Hampden House was the residence of John Hampden, the patriot, and it has been many times described in local histories; it is now the residence of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. The church is a small, ancient structure, standing near the mansion, and it has no peculiar feature, but contains tablets to the Hampden family and the mouldering remains of the patriot. The derivation of the name is from the *Hame*, or home, in the *Dene*, or valley.

LITTLE HAMPDEN.

This is a small parish, and almost surrounded by beech woods. It has been from the earliest times considered a member or parcel of Hartwell, although disjoined. In the reign of Henry III. Hartwell and Hampden were united and belonged to the family of Luton. The Little Hampden estate continued to belong to the successive owners of Hartwell till about 1685, when Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., alienated it (in order to make provision for his younger children) to Samuel Dodd, Esq., of Ellesborough, who was afterwards knighted. He married Isabella, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Croke, Knt., of Ellesborough. Dame Isabella Dodd survived her husband, and founded

an almshouse at Ellesborough. The estate, being purchased by the Hon. Robert Trevor, afterwards Baron Trevor, and first Viscount Hampden, was by him settled upon his second son, the Hon. John Trevor, who succeeded to the peerage as third Viscount Hampden, &c. By his will he bequeathed this estate to Robert Trevor, Esq. From him, at his decease without heirs male, it became vested in his three daughters and co-heiresses. The present church is a small edifice, dating about 1250; but it has undergone material alterations at different periods.

HARTWELL.

Hartwell is conjectured to have derived its name from the Saxon *Herde*, a shepherd, and *Welle*, a spring. The Lees of Hartwell were an offset of the Lees or Leighs of High Lee, in Cheshire, and had their first settlement in this county at Morton in Dinton. Several members of the family attained to high offices in the State. Sir George Lee, Knight, dying without issue in 1758, left the whole of his fortune to his nephew, William, the fourth baronet. This Sir William, in 1763, married the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Harcourt, only daughter of Simon, Earl Harcourt. Sir William died in 1799, and was succeeded by his son William, the fifth baronet, who was a Lieutenant in the 16th Light Dragoons; he died at Madras, unmarried, in 1801, and the estate passed to Sir George Lee, his brother; he was the sixth baronet, and had entered Holy Orders in 1792; he died unmarried, and was buried at Beachampton in 1827, of which place he was Rector; at his death the barony became extinct. By will he bequeathed his property to his nephew, John Fiott, Esq., LL.D., who took the name of Lee. John Lee, LL.D., was a lineal descendant of the Right Hon. Sir William Lee, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, and the representative of the four branches of the Lee family. Dr. Lee died in the year 1866, leaving no issue, and the estate passed to his nephew, Edward Dyke Lee, Esq., the present proprietor. The Church, dedicated in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, stands in the park, a short distance from the Mansion, and was re-erected in 1755, by Sir William Lee, the fourth baronet, his uncle, Sir William, the Chief Justice, contributing £1000, and his uncle Sir George (brother to the Chief Justice), £500. It is octangular in shape, and constructed in the Florid Gothic style. Under the church is a cryptic vault, containing catacombs wherein repose the remains of the Hampdens, the Ingoldsbys, and Lees; in the church and also on the exterior are memorials to various members of the Lee family and others. Hartwell House was built partly by Sir Thomas [illegible] and Thomas Lee, Esq., his son, at the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; it has undergone various alterations, but retains a considerable portion of its ancient structure. Hartwell House was the English retreat, in his exile, of Louis XVIII. of France, who, under the title of Compte de Lille, came to reside there in 1807, and remained until his restoration in 1814. The Royal Household was very numerous, and consisted of 180 persons, so that the mansion and its appurtenancies were much crowded with occupants.

HORSENDEN.

Horsenden, the Dene or Valley of Horsa, is a small village situate between Princes Risborough and Saunderton. In 1662 the Manor was conveyed by Sir John Denham, K.B., to Mr. John Grubbe, or Grubb, of Great Kimble. Mr. Grubbe was descended from a Hertfordshire family; Henry, of North Mimms, married Joane, daughter of Sir Richard Radcliffe, Knight of the Garter, slain at Bosworth Field amongst the adherents of Richard III. In 1841, Horsenden was sold to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, but is now the property of the Rev. W. E. Partridge, who resides in the mansion. About the year 1766 the body of the old church, which was too large for the parish and in a state of dilapidation, was pulled down, and the chancel converted into the present edifice, a faculty having been obtained for that purpose. There are several memorials in the church to the family of Grubb.* Sir John Denham fortified Horsenden for the King in the time of the Civil War. A number of swords of that period remained in the Manor House till a comparatively recent time; and not long ago, in deepening the moat, which partially surrounds the house, some cannon balls were found. Both were probably memorials of Denham's preparations, perhaps even of an actual siege.

HULCOT.

Hulcot, *i.e.*, the dwelling in the hollow, is situate at the north-east extremity of the Aylesbury Hundred, three miles from Aylesbury and one from Bierton. The place, not being mentioned in Doomsday, must have been included in some neighbouring manor. At an early period it was in the possession of the Salisbury family. King Henry VIII. sold it to Richard Greeneway, and it passed afterwards to the families of Fountain and Neale. About 1740 it was purchased by Sir John Fortescue Aland, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and Lord Fortescue had it in 1777. Since then the manor of Hulcot belonged successively to the Tyntes and Bakers, and was eventually purchased by Baron Lionel de Rothschild. The Leigh or Lee family had considerable possessions here after the suppression of religious houses. Benedict Lee, of Hulcot, who, by his will in 1545, directed his body to be buried in "Our ladys ile in the church of Hulcote," bequeathed legacies to the churches of Bierton, Aston Clinton, and Buckland. A religious fraternity at Aylesbury possessed lands in Hulcot before the Reformation. There are in Hulcot some copyhold lands which are part of the manor of Aylesbury with Bierton. The church, which has been restored, stands on the village green, and is a small and ancient structure. There is a tomb supposed to be that of Benedict Lee; he is the reputed founder of the chapel in which he is interred; he died in 1547, but there must have been a chapel before his time. A very neat and substantial school-house was built in 1855.

GREAT KIMBLE.

The parish of Great Kimble, or Kimbell Magna, Chenebella, Cunebell, Kynebele, Kimebelle, or Kimbel, as it is variously spelt in early writings, is situate amidst the fine

*This name is spelt both ways in several documents. The more ancient is with the *e* final, which has been resumed by the present generation.

scenery of the Chilterns. The name is derived from the British King Cunobel, Shakespeare's Cymbeline. The estates of Richard Hampden, of Great Hampden, having been sequestered to the Crown, the manors of Kimble, Marshalls, Fenel's Grove, *alias* Whytinghams, and the chief manor called Uptons, with Dunton and other property, were disposed of, and purchased by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, under whose will they subsequently passed to her grandson, John Spencer. From him Great Kimble came to his descendant, Earl Spencer, who conveyed it to Scrope Bernard, Esq., of Nether Winchenden, and others; and Scrope Bernard, afterwards Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, Bart., held the superior manor, with the two subordinate manors of Marshall's and Fenel's Grove, comprising the hamlets of Marsh and Kimblewick. They subsequently passed by purchase to Sir R. G. Russell, Bart., and under his will to the late Sir Robert Frankland Russell, Bart. The church of Great Kimble, which of late years has undergone restoration, was built about the fourteenth century; it stands on an artificial eminence, probably the base of an ancient tumulus. Little of the original building remains; it has lately been restored. It has historic association. It was in the chancel of this church that an early protest was made against the impost of ship money. In 1635-6 Peter Temple, the newly-appointed Sheriff of Bucks, received the return made by the assessors of the different parishes in the county, and amongst others where payment had been delayed was that of Great Kimble. Hampden was a parishioner, and his name heads the list of defaulters. "We returne our warrant and the names therein written of those refusing to pay their portion of money."

LITTLE KIMBLE.

Little Kimble is a small village. The surface of the country is greatly diversified, and the irregularities of hill and dale remarkably abrupt. The church contains some mural paintings partly obliterated, in the nave, several very old figured tiles, and a circular font of unusual size; it has been restored. There is a Dissenting place of worship in the village. On the south-east side of the church the ground is much undulated, and foundations of stone buildings have been found, many cart loads of the stone having been removed, and used in the construction of other buildings. In one spot here much black earth, mixed with pieces of charred timber, has been dug up. The Aylesbury Branch of the Great Western Railway passes through the place, and there is a station.

LEE.

Lee is situate on very elevated ground amongst the Chilterns, and about three miles from Wendover. Lee or Lee Chapel was originally a chapelry of Weston Turville. In the reign of Edward VI. it was described as "late part of the possessions of the Abbey of Missenden," and passed to the Russell family. It afterwards passed into possession of the Plastowes, and subsequently to the Deerings, thence again to the Plastowes. The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. There are schools for the children of the labouring classes, and the Baptists and Primitive Methodists have chapels on Lee Common.

GREAT MISSENDEN.

Great Missenden is nine miles south of Aylesbury, on the high road to London, and so called from its situation in the Valley of the Misse; it is thus described by Leland—"It is a praty Through-Fare but no Markett Towne. There is a pretty Chappell of Bricke in the South Part of it, and a little by South without the Towne was a Priory of Black Cannons. It standeth on the very Bottome of a Hill, and hath goodly Ground about divers pretty Hilles well wooded towards the East and South." The church (SS. Peter and Paul) is an ancient, handsome structure, situated a quarter of a mile from the village, adjacent to the site of the Abbey. There were formerly many fine brasses in memory of the Missendens. There is a brass of John Inwardby, and his wife, Katherine, daughter and heiress of Barnard de Missenden, with four children—two sons and two daughters, 1536. There is also a curious brass of Margaret Metcalf, 1596, and tablets of the family of Lord Dormer, Oldham, and Honnor, and the Rev. Richard Marks. There are likewise memorials to the Fleetwood, Inge, Batenel, Ayton, Ayres, Thorpe, Rush, Jennings, and Blackwell families. There are schools and Dissenting places of worship in the village, also a Reading-room.

LITTLE MISSENDEN.

There appear to have been several manors in this parish, and much of the land formerly belonged to religious houses. The family of Missenden had a manor here. The manor of Burnham passed to Lord Curzon. The manor of Beamond or Beaumont, and the manor or farm of Anfricks or Afflects, which belonged to Missenden Abbey, descended likewise to Lord Curzon, by inheritance from the Penns. The manor of Maunsells derives its name from an ancient family, who possessed it in the reign of Henry III. The manor of Thorne-fee, or Brands-fee, was for many years in the family of Brand. The church (St. John Baptist) is a small, ancient edifice. The lower part of the tower is Early English; the upper portion and the turret, good Perpendicular; the chancel is Early English. There are memorials to the Style family, one being to "Francis Style, gentleman, who married Elizabeth Pen, daughter of John Pen, of Pen, in the county of Bucks," and who died in 1646.

MONKS RISBOROUGH.

This village is small and scattered, and lies in a pleasant situation seven miles from Aylesbury. The place derives the prefix to its name from the monks of Christ Church, in Canterbury, to whom the estate was given by Escwyn, Bishop of Dorchester, about the year 993. That monastery had been founded by King Ethelbert, on his conversion, by St. Augustine, towards the close of the sixth century. The church, St. Dunstan, is an ancient edifice, composed of a chancel, nave, aisles, clerestory, west tower with a turret at the south-east corner, and a south porch. The design of the tower and some of the details are good Early English. There are memorials of the families of Heath, West, Stephenson, Reynolds, Brooke, Quarles, and William Vernon Beauchamp. At the

suppression of the Priory of Christ Church, in the reign of Henry VIII., the manors of Risburgh and Halton were found to belong to that house. In 1541 the King granted the manor and lordship of Risburgh to Francis Bryan and his heirs for ever. It afterwards passed to the Hampdens. The Baptist Chapel at Askett is a good sized edifice, with a burial ground attached. The National School is a neat, substantial structure, erected in 1859, at an expense of nearly £300, raised chiefly by subscription.

The hamlets in this parish are Askett, Cadsden, Meadle, Owlswick, and Whiteleaf, which latter place is so well known by the remarkable and ancient Latin cross cut in the hill.

PRINCES RISBOROUGH.

Princes Risborough is a large parish, and includes several hamlets, viz.,—Culverton, Loosley Row, Lacey Green, Speen, Alscot, Longwick, and Summerleys. The town stands at the foot of the Chiltern Hills, not far from White Leaf Cross, and consists of one principal street. A small market is held on Thursday, under an ancient charter; and fairs are held annually on the 6th of May and the 21st of October. The Market Hall was re-built in 1824, by John Grubbe, Esq., the inhabitants supplying, by subscription, a clock, placed in a cupola on the roof. There is a bell likewise in the cupola. The building stands in what is called the Market Square. The lower story is of open arches, and is used as a corn market; the upper story is now a store room. The road through Princes Risborough makes two flexures at acute angles, and nearly connects the two lines of ancient British tracks, which became the upper and lower Icknield Ways of the Romans. The upper and lower Icknield pass through the parish from E. to S.W. under the verge of the Chiltern Hills, on which is Grym's Dyke, extending along the summit, and also through the neighbouring parish of Monks Risborough. The original style of Risborough Church was Early English, of which there are still considerable remains. The old spire fell down in 1803, and considerably damaged the fabric, as well as destroyed a peal of bells. In the interior are several memorials of the Grace family, one of whom, James Grace, Esq., died at Eastbourne in 1857. There are likewise memorials of the Rev. Thomas Penn, who died in 1755, and the Rev. Thomas Webb, who died in 1708, both incumbents of this parish. The former, who was the author of "The Church of England Man Supported and Encouraged in the Established Worship," published in 1733, was curate of this parish, and Rector of Aston Sandford. Risborough has a British School and a National School. It also has a presentation to Christ Church left by a Mr. Stratton, a native of the place. There are three Nonconformist places of worship. Its railway station has become an important junction. The name of the town is derived from the Black Prince, who is said to have had a palace westward of the Church.

Loosley Row, so called from a former owner, is delightfully situated on the Chiltern Hills, two miles from the town; from the summit of the eminence the views are most extensive and beautiful. There is a Baptist Chapel here.

Speen, named from the Roman Spinæ, is four miles distant. The land here is remarkably stony. Here was formerly much woodland, a great deal of which has of late years been converted into arable. A Baptist Chapel has existed here for more than half a century.

Longwick, or the Long Hamlet, extends two miles east from Princes Risborough, where there are Wesleyan and Baptist Chapels.

There is a district Church at Lacey Green, also a Primitive Methodist Chapel; the name of Lacey is derived from a former owner.

PRESTWOOD.

Priestwood, or, as it is commonly called, Prestwood, is an ecclesiastical district. Its area, 2,112 acres, has been taken from the adjoining parishes, viz., 1,094 from Great Missenden, 843 from Hughenden, and 175 from Stoke Mandeville—the latter being a detached portion of that parish. The church (Holy Trinity) was consecrated and opened by the Bishop of Oxford, on the 19th of October, 1849, and is a neat structure, in the Decorated style. Near Prestwood Common, on an isolated part of the parish of Stoke Mandeville, lies the land for which John Hampden refused to pay the obnoxious tax called "ship money," in the reign of Charles I. In 1863 an obelisk was erected to mark the spot, on which is this inscription, written by the late Lord Chief Justice Erle:—

For these lands in Stoke Mandeville
JOHN HAMPDEN
Was assessed in twenty shillings
Ship Money,
Levied by command of the King
Without authority of law
The 4th August, 1635.
By resisting the claim of the King,
In legal strife,
He upheld the rights of the people
Under the law
And became entitled,
To grateful remembrance.
His work on earth ended
After a conflict in Chalgrove Field,
The 18th of June, 1643,
And he rests in Great Hampden Church.

The Priest's wood belonged to the Monks of Missenden.

STONE.

Stone, formerly Stane (station or staying place), gave the name to one of the old Hundreds now included in Aylesbury. The church stands on an artificial mount, probably an ancient barrow, near the intersection of two old British track-ways: one from the verge of Oxfordshire, which points towards Aylesbury; the other from the northern part of the county, towards Kimble, and the course of the Icknield. The family of the Gorneys, or Gurneys, was numerous in this neighbourhood; the earliest in the parish register of Stone is Francis, "sonne of Hen. Goarney the

Younger," who was christened on the 7th of October, 1538. The name constantly occurs in the records of marriages, baptisms, &c. It was connected with this locality as early as King John's reign. There is a Wesleyan Chapel in the village, and another at Bishopstone. In the summer of 1850, traces of extensive Anglo-Roman sepulture were discovered at Stone; though the urns were of the homeliest order, typical of a lowly people, the "find" was locally interesting. The Bucks County Asylum stands on a delightful spot near the village; it was opened in 1853; its original erection cost £43,500. There are schools recently erected.

Bishopstone and Sedrup are hamlets of Stone. The late Dr. Lee, of Hartwell, some years ago built schools at Bishopstone.

STOKE MANDEVILLE.

About 1425 Edward Brudenell, Esq., of Raans, in Amersham, died seised of the Manor of Newbury in this parish; and Henry Brudenell died possessed of the Manor of Oldbury about 1430. The Brudenells were the collateral ancestors of the Earl of Cardigan; they had a seat here, but not a particle of it now remains; indeed its site is not known. The manors of Oldbury and Newbury are not now distinguishable. About 1639, Edward Brudenell conveyed the manor of Stoke Mandeville to Thomas Harborne, of Aylesbury. In 1712, Thomas Jackson was in possession of it; it came afterwards to the Clarkes of Ardington, one of whom sold it, in 1790, to Charles Lucas, of Aylesbury. The Church of St. Mary stands in a damp, inconvenient, and secluded spot, nearly half a mile from the village, and consists of a nave with clerestory, one aisle and porch, a chancel, and a west tower. The appearance of the building indicates that the original tower and north aisle were demolished by violence. There are many moats and ditches nearly enclosing the site; but no particulars of their history are preserved. There is little doubt that either a large mansion or a religious house existed here in early times. In the church is a mural monument of the Elizabethan era, erected to the memory of three children of the Brudenell family; it is an elegant structure and represents three figures in alabaster—one girl, and two infants in chrisom cloths. The figures have the remains of gilt and colour still to be seen on them, and there is a somewhat lengthy inscription describing them as Mary, Thomas, and Dorothye, the children of Edmund Brudenell. In the floor of the church are stones to the memory of the Jackson family, and, in the churchyard, memorials to the families of Ligo, Ligo Webb, and Webb; Gurney, of Whitethorn House; Whitchurch, of the Yew Tree Farm; Fleet, of Stoke; and Gibbs, of Aylesbury. The old church is not now used for regular public worship, a new one having been built in a central part of the village. Parish schools are built on a site given by the late Mr. Thomas Gurney, of Whitethorn, for that purpose. The Wesleyan Chapel has within the last few years been rebuilt and considerably enlarged. The parish was inclosed under an Act of Parliament passed in 1797, when land was allotted in lieu of the great tithes, and a corn-rent assigned on the small tithes.

WENDOVER.

Wendover was a borough by prescription, and returned two members to Parliament from the 28th of Edward I. to the second of Edward II.; but from that time until the reign of James I. it lost, or was deprived of its privileges, or allowed them to fall into abeyance. In King James's time William Hakewell, Esq., a barrister, then residing at Bucksbridge House, having discovered amongst the Parliamentary writs that this place, as well as Amersham and Marlow, had returned representatives, petitions were presented to the House of Commons from these places, praying that their rights might be restored, and in 1624, a Committee appointed reported that Wendover, Amersham, and Marlow had established their ancient rights; and the Speaker issued his warrant for new seats accordingly. Wendover was one of the smallest boroughs in extent and population of those towns which had the privilege of sending two representatives to Parliament before the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. There were, however, several smaller boroughs than Wendover; the Borough of Old Sarum had no house whatever remaining in it, but sent two members to Parliament. Gatton and Castle Rising had two houses only, yet they had two representatives each. The boroughs of Beeralston, Rossiney, and St. Mawes each contained only one £10 householder. The borough of Beeralston, returning two members, paid in assessed taxes yearly £3 9s. 0d.; whilst Marylebone paid £290,376 3s. 9d. annually to the National Exchequer, but was not then represented in the House of Commons. In 1832 the Borough of Wendover contained only 264 houses, and 1,387 inhabitants. The right of election was vested in all the housekeepers residing within the limits of the borough, and not receiving alms. The electors were long noted for their corrupt practices at elections, though the borough was for many years a proprietary one. The elective franchises were "transferable in the market, like any other goods and chattels." The borough was not co-extensive with the parish.

Until the close of the seventeenth century very little appears to be known concerning Parliamentary electioneering; prior to that period and up to the passing of the Reform Bill the system of Parliamentary representation was exceedingly defective. A majority of the House of Commons was returned by not more than six thousand men. In 1821 Mr. Lambton stated that 180 persons returned 350 members to the House by nomination or otherwise. There was another great grievance—that of the control the House of Lords had over the representative branch of the Legislature. The Duke of Norfolk could return eleven members, Lord Lonsdale nine, Lord Darlington seven, the Marquis of Buckingham six, and Lord Carrington six, including his two members for Wendover. The personal interference of the peers at Borough elections was formerly open and undisguised. Mr. Potter, who was returned as one of the Members for Aylesbury, in 1754, attacked this system, very severely censuring the Duke of Newcastle for the part he took in an election for Seaford. The subject was brought before the House of Commons consequent upon a petition from some electors of Seaford complaining of this undue

influence at an election in 1747. The object of the Duke was to secure the return of Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, for that Borough. Mr. Potter stated to the House of Commons that the Duke, with other peers, insisted upon being present during the poll in order to awe and influence the voters, and did remain present until the poll closed. In the debate, in which Mr. Potter made a long and very animated speech, Pitt, the sitting member, treated the charge with scorn, and turned it into a mere jest. Again, under the old system there was no definite franchise. In some boroughs the Mayor and Corporation made the return; in others householders had votes; in others resident freemen only; in others the right was held by non-resident freemen; the populacy in some cases voted; the sons of freemen were often entitled, and, further, the right was extended in some boroughs to the husbands of freemen's daughters. There was also the religious qualification. In the last century, in a contest for the Borough of Wilton in Wilts, each of the successful candidates polled 37 votes, the unsuccessful one but 24. On the meeting of Parliament, the defeated candidate petitioned against the return of one of the members; the prayer of his petition was, that whereas of the 37 voters for his opponent, 20 had not partaken of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England within one year of the day of election. The House of Commons held the objection to be good, unseated the returned member, and put the petitioner in his place, and further resolved that the right of election in the Borough of Wilton was in those burgesses only who had partaken of the Lord's Supper within one year of the day of election. This religious qualification was the result of the operation of the Test Act, under which no person could hold any public situation or fill any public office, however menial, without having conformed, or what was usually termed "qualified," by taking the Sacrament. It was no unusual circumstance for officials to stand at a church door and announce, "You gentlemen who want to 'qualify' walk up this way." The Test and Corporation Acts remained on our statute books up to so late a period as the year 1828, when, after several unsuccessful attempts, they were repealed at the instance of the late Lord Russell, although such repeal was obstinately opposed by the members of the then Government. Close boroughs had one redeeming quality; they facilitated the entrance into the House of Commons of men of ability; their introduction into Parliament afforded them a good opportunity of displaying their legislative abilities. Wendover excelled in its brilliant representatives. John Hampden was a representative of Wendover. Sir Richard Steele was one of its members. It was a seat for Wendover that introduced Edmund Burke to the more important constituency of Bristol; whilst Canning was solicited to represent Liverpool, after having made his mark in the House of Commons as member for Wendover. One of our early historians, Roger de Wendover, was a native of this place.

Wendover Church stands in a retired and beautiful valley about a quarter of a mile from the town, and was restored in 1869. The nave is in the Decorated style, and

has five arches on each side, with clustered pillars on moulded bases, and capitals enriched with foliage and sculpture. Southward of the town is a district called Wendover Forrens, which never formed part of the Parliamentary borough ; it consists of detached farm houses and cottages. The old Market House was a building of brick, timber, and plaster, in the style that prevailed in the time of King Henry VIII. It stood on the north side of the street, near the junction of the roads. The present Market House was erected by the late Abel Smith, Esq., Lord of the Manor, in 1842. Dean Colet left the Manor of the Hale, in trust, to the Mercers' Company for the benefit of St. Paul's School. The Hale House is commonly called the Court or Manor House within this manor. The Manor of Wivelsgate, part of the estate of the Colets, belonged to Robert Stratfold Collet, of Hale House. In 1880 the Hale estate was purchased of Mr. Robert Stratfold Collet, by Alfred Charles de Rothschild, Esq., at the sum of £16,000.

WESTON TURVILLE.

The family of Turville gave the affix to the name of this village. It was in the hands of that family in the reign of King John. In the Civil War period, the manor of Weston Turville was disposed of amongst forfeited lands by the Parliamentary Commissioners ; it subsequently came by purchase to the family of Tompkins. It was held in 1784 by Henry Tompkins, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Bucks Militia; in 1835 it was offered for sale by auction. There are other manors in Weston Turville, and they are held by distinct lords. The manor of Bedgrave or Bedgrove, now occupied by Mr. T. W. Morris, was in 1827 sold by Mr. John Newman, of Wendover, to Mr. John Hulbert, of Stokes Hill, Portsmouth ; the manor of Broughton Staveley or Broughton Hollands, extending into this parish, was held by the Baldwins and the Pakingtons of Aylesbury, afterwards by the late Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and subsequently by the late Mr. Acton Tindal, of Aylesbury. At Broughton Farm in Weston were some remains of what must have been an extensive building ; they consisted chiefly of foundations. Many dressed stones of durable and fine texture have been dug up, and some of them were used in improving the present farm house. In digging here, Mr. Richard Fowler, the tenant, discovered a subterraneous passage, which he explored to the distance of about twenty yards. The mansion appears to have been doubly, if not trebly moated ; the inner ditch is still plainly discernible, and on its east side, on which it is wide and deep, is a quantity of water. The building that stood here was probably the mansion house of Broughton Staveley or Hollands Manor. The Church (St. Mary), restored in 1860, is an ancient edifice, standing in a retired situation, at the southern extremity of the village, embosomed in trees ; it is in the Early English and Decorated styles, and consists of the usual parts of a country parish church. A Roman vessel of coarse yellowish pottery was dug up in the Rectory garden, May, 1855. Beneath this vessel were discovered articles in glass, red Samian ware, coarse light pottery, drab-coloured ware, fibulæ and bronze ornaments ; it was a very interesting find. A Dissenting chapel, erected in 1839, has been used by Independents and Baptists jointly.

The Quakers had formerly a meeting house here ; their burying ground is now an orchard. The National School, at the southern end of the village, is a neat, commodious building, having a residence for the teachers.

None of the places constituting the Hundreds have any connection whatever with Aylesbury, excepting that of forming a part of the constituency ; but they are called upon to pay proportionate charges towards the expenses of the registration of voters.

An election took place when the Aylesbury Borough Extension Act came into operation, and a new political era commenced. The candidates issued their addresses directed to "The Worthy and Independent Electors of the Borough and Hundreds." Great excitement having been occasioned by recent political events connected with the Borough, the threatened contest was looked forward to with much interest. In addition to the usual formalities at the nomination of candidates the new Act, or, as it was then called, the "Black Act," was publicly read as directed, a proceeding which called forth expressions of great indignation, accompanied with bellowings and hootings. The new process was galling and offensive in many ways to the old potwallers, one effect of the enlargement of the constituency being the suppression of their accustomed "benevolences," which they had so long levied on their candidates as to look upon them as birthrights.

The election was held in July, 1804 ; the candidates were William Cavendish, Esq., eldest son of Lord G. A. H. Cavendish, and nephew of William, Duke of Devonshire, and the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. Thomas Grenville, the unsuccessful candidate, was the elder son of George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1763, and brother of William Wyndham, Baron Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury ; great great-uncle of the present Duke of Buckingham. He was born the 31st December, 1755, and early in life displayed, like many members of his distinguished family, great intellect and promise ; but his after life seems to have been one of flickering eminence, he every now and then coming forward with energy and excellence sufficient to lead him to substantial political power and fame, and then retiring into long and dignified seclusion. The result of the poll was—Cavendish, 485 ; Grenville, 418. On this occasion the new freehold voters came from long distances to vote, the record showing the attendance of residents from all parts of the country ; they probably travelled at the expense of the candidate they supported, and if so must have entailed on him enormous expenses.

The franchise created by the Act of 1804 was a duality ; the possessor of it was not only entitled to vote for the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury, but was also an elector for the County of Buckingham. At this period it required but a small investment to acquire a forty shilling freehold, and consequently in course of a few years the number of freehold electors further increased. There was one flagrant case of manufacturing a large number of fagot votes ; the land-tax chargeable on the Hartwell estate amounted

to about £108 per annum, the redemption of which was purchased in November, 1805, by the Marquis of Buckingham, at the sum of £3,866; this purchase was ostensibly divided into fifty-one portions, each producing a return of over forty shillings per annum, consequently entitling the holder to vote at elections not only for the Borough of Aylesbury, but also for the County of Buckingham. These qualifications were distributed amongst the friends, tenants, agents, and dependents of the Marquis, and thus he obtained 51 votes which were directly under his control and influence.

There was a general election in 1806, which was contested between Lieut.-General Sir George Nugent, George Henry Compton Cavendish, Esq., and W. T. Williams, Esq. The result of the poll was—Nugent, 567; G. H. C. Cavendish, 490; Williams, 413. Sir George Nugent, G.C.B., D.C.L., created a baronet for military services in 1806, was the son of the Hon. Colonel Nugent, of the Foot Guards, and grandson of Robert Viscount Clare; he married Maria, a daughter of Cortlandt Skinner, Esq., Attorney-General of New Jersey, North America. Sir George was a Field Marshal in the Army, Colonel of the 6th Regiment of Foot, and Governor of St. Mawes; he was father of the late Lady Cottesloe, of Swanbourne, and of Mrs. Clayton, wife of the late Rice R. Clayton, Esq., of Hedgerley Park, once one of the representatives for Aylesbury. Sir George Nugent was lord of the manor of Little Marlow, and resided at Westhorpe House at that place. He served in America, and through the Irish rebellion, and with His Royal Highness the Duke of York in Holland; after which he was Lieut.-Governor of Jamaica. On his return to England, he commanded the Western District at Exeter, and then the Eastern at Dover, ending his services by being Commander-in-Chief at Calcutta from 1811, returning shortly after the battle of Waterloo; he died in 1848, and is succeeded by his son, the present baronet.

At the election of 1807 the same members were returned for Aylesbury as in the previous year. On the death of Mr. Cavendish a single election took place; this was in 1809, when Mr. Thomas Hussey, of Fulmer, was returned. Mr. Hussey was facetiously termed a warming pan, as it was alleged he was merely holding the seat until one of the Cavendish family was prepared to fill it. At the election of 1812 Mr. Hussey retained the seat. On this occasion was introduced one whose name was subsequently and for many years closely associated with the representation of Aylesbury—George Baron Nugent of Ireland, then known as Lord George Grenville, afterwards more familiarly as Lord Nugent.

George Grenville, Baron Nugent of Earlanstown, county Westmeath, was born on the 31st of December, 1789. He was the youngest son of George, the first Marquis of Buckingham, and in early life adopted the title of Lord George Grenville. His mother, the Marchioness of Buckingham, was created Baroness Nugent, 1800, of the Kingdom of Ireland, with the remainder to her second son. She died in March, 1812, and his Lordship then took the title of Nugent, which he held until his demise, when it became extinct. The Marquis of Buckingham, his father, died in 1813, and the elder

brother of Lord Nugent took the title, and was, in 1822, created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Lord Nugent was an Oxford student, and there he completed a somewhat brilliant course of classical study, which it seemed to be his pride in after life to cherish and cultivate, and to use for the enlightenment of the senate and the advance of popular intelligence. Oxford, politically speaking, was perhaps the worst school to which he could have gone; but his Lordship, from boyhood, seemed to possess such large and liberal views of society, that instead of using his superior knowledge as a means of promoting the purposes of pride and vanity, he applied it for the emancipation of the people. Accordingly, he was early in the field as the supporter of Mechanics' Institutions, and subsequently the more advanced literary societies coveted his assistance, and did not apply for it in vain. The career of Lord Nugent as a politician is so mixed up with the County of Bucks and the Borough of Aylesbury that it is difficult to forbear reviewing its history. He began statesmanship at a very early age; for soon after attaining his majority, and perfecting his education, he appeared in the Town Hall, at Buckingham, as a candidate for the representation of that borough, backed up by the influence of his family and of others who perceived in the form and intelligent bearing of the young nobleman ample hope of a high career. He had just returned from a continental tour, which greatly helped to expand a mind so rich in scholastic ability. This was at the time when Percival was in the acclivity of his fame, and the Grey and Grenville party opposed an ambitious phalanx to his dominion. In the year 1812, Lord Nugent appears for the first time on the Aylesbury hustings, where his career in after days was to become so memorable. His speech was decidedly Liberal; he was returned without opposition. This was the year that Mr. Percival was shot, and when Lord Liverpool began to wield the reins of the British constitution. In the House of Commons Lord Nugent had become an orator of power. He threw himself into the controversy on the leading question of the day, and did great honour to his constituents.

On the resignation of Mr. Hussey in 1814, his place was occupied, as had been anticipated, by the Hon. Charles Compton Cavendish, of Latimer, Chesham, fourth son of the twelfth Earl of Burlington; he married Catharine Susan, daughter of George, Marquis of Huntley. Mr. Cavendish, subsequently to his representation of Aylesbury, sat for the County of Bucks for many years, and in 1858 was created Baron Chesham, of Latimer, on which occasion he was succeeded in the representation of the county by his son, the Hon. W. G. Cavendish, the late second Lord Chesham.

In contemplation of an election, in 1818 a very influential requisition was drawn up and presented to Mr. William Rickford, of Aylesbury, soliciting him to become a candidate for the representation of the Borough and Hundreds. The requisition was so numerously signed, not only by the townsmen of Aylesbury, but also by the electors of the Hundreds, that Mr. Rickford was induced to accept the invitation, and a contest for the seat was the result, the competitors being Lord Nugent, Mr. Cavendish, and Mr. Rickford. The result of the poll was—Rickford, 986; Nugent, 606; and Cavendish, 509.

If the Borough had been at all purified by the provision of the Act of Extension of 1804 that Act tended but little to reduce the expenses of candidates. Some of the accounts of the charges incurred by Mr. Cavendish at the White Hart Hotel, Aylesbury, at the election of 1818, are preserved ; they commence in the early part of April in that year, although the polling did not take place until the 24th of June following. One account amounts to £38 9s., being the expenses of the personal servants of the candidate, who probably accompanied him on his stay at the hotel during the canvass and election. Another account is labelled "The post-horse account," for which £105 8s. 3d. is debited ; has a note "post-boys and ostlers not charged." Some of the items are startling when compared with the cheapness of travelling in the present day. This account opens with these charges :—"Chaise hire, post-boys, and turnpikes to London and back, £7 15s. ; chaise to Oxford with Mr. Stone, £3 10s. ; five pairs of horses, four days, £42 ; hay and corn for 359 horses on election days, £29 9s." A third document is marked "Committee account ;" this purports to be for the refreshments, &c., for the committee of management of the election, the first item being dated March 19th, and the last the 3rd of July, and the whole amounting to £150 ; at the end of this bill the item for servants' attendance is charged £5 5s., the man cook £3 3s., and the ostler £1 1s. The account shows that about 1,000 meals of one kind and another were provided, in addition to wine, biscuits, fruit, beer, porter, music, and other luxuries ; the amount of this account is £352, the three divisions amounting altogether to £495 17s. This sum is not to be taken as having any approach to the general expenses of the election, but is merely the White Hart account, principally expended on the committee, assistants, and personal requirements of the candidate.

The election of 1818 was the last in the reign of George III. The King died on the 29th January, 1820, in the 82nd year of his age and 60th of his reign. His long rule was unmarked by the consummation of any great social or political revolution. On the bright side of the monarch's character may be urged his private worth, piety, humanity, and love of justice ; on the dark, his selfishness, bigotry, obstinacy, love of power, and ingratitude. His understanding and regal abilities have been underrated. To his successor he left a splendid inheritance—a crown in more complete sovereignty —more independent of aristocratic influence, disputed title, or other control than it had been since the Conquest.

Chapter XXVIII.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—1820 TO 1830.

Members for the Borough and Hundreds—Lord Nugent—his literary productions—Mr. Rickford—The Cato Street Conspiracy—The Queen's Trial—Public meeting and address from Aylesbury—The Queen's reply—Excitement at Aylesbury—The Wellington Administration—Test Acts.—Catholic emancipation—Death of the King.

THE Reign of George IV. did not open auspiciously. He ascended the throne on the 29th of January, 1820, and held his first court on the 30th. Within a month of that day the Cato Street Conspiracy was discovered. Authorised spies, it was alleged, had assisted at the orgies of these desperadoes, and encouraged them with money, and there was some doubt as to whether the diabolical scheme was instigated by the spies or the conspirators. The supposed object of these men was the assassination of the King's ministers. They were brought to trial, and five of them executed at the Old Bailey. In their indigence some of them had received small sums from Edwards, who was the Government spy, and on the trial there was evidence adduced that he was the originator of the plot.

Before the excitement of the execution of the Cato Street conspirators was allayed, another trouble presented itself; this was the arrival in this country of Queen Caroline. Her Majesty had been six years absent from England, and for twenty-three years had lived apart from her husband.

The first Parliament in the new reign met on the 21st of April, 1820, when the late members for Aylesbury retained their seats, both being highly popular with the constituency. Lord Nugent had published his political programme some years previously. When but young, and his ambition ardent, he confessed the purpose of his life in these memorable words :—

"From the earliest dawn of reason, my mind was eagerly directed towards the ambition of being able, on some remote day, to serve my country in Parliament. I never considered politics as a trade, but always as the noblest service to which the human mind could direct its powers. And, amid the warmest prayers which a young heart could frame, that I might one day so serve my country, my fondest notion of that service was, the promoting and upholding with all my means and with all my strength the noble and sacred cause of public liberty!"

His Lordship's oratorical efforts in the House of Commons belong entirely to the early part of his history. Perhaps the finest of these was in 1816, when he delivered an oration in opposition to the treaty of Peace between Great Britain and France, proposed by the Minister. One of the articles of peace provided for the support of a standing army of British soldiers in France, at the expense of the French. Lord Nugent not only opposed this project, with an ability which placed him for a moment on a par with the finest orators of the House; but he declaimed against standing armies, in a way which could not have been soon forgotten by his opponents. During the Castlereagh and Sidmouth ministry, he produced the same kind of declamation in support of the Five Bills, and it ran so high and powerful as to subject him to the reproof of friends, who directed his attention, with a finger of warning, to the Tower of London. When his Lordship held the office of a Junior Lord of the Treasury, he succeeded in passing a very useful Act for the abolition of unnecessary oaths. It was formerly necessary to take oaths for the most ordinary objects connected with the revenue laws. Shopkeepers and dealers had to be sworn by an excise-officer to certain trifling forms relative to tobacco and snuff, and auctioneers in reference to auction duties. Lord Nugent's Bill substituted simple declarations in certain instances, and abolished the useless ceremony in others. His Lordship sat in four Parliaments for Aylesbury before the passing of the Reform Bill, and was one of the most conspicuous partizans of the persecuted Queen Caroline during her memorable trial. He was also distinguished for the energy and constancy with which he seconded the claims of the English Roman Catholics when seeking their civil rights, being at one period regularly entrusted with the presentation of their petitions; and in the subsequent struggle for Parliamentary reform he took an equally active part.

The literary efforts of Lord Nugent were anything but comparable with his powers. With less connection with politics he might have given to this country broader grasps of history than our literature contains. John Hampden was his hero. Two monuments did his Lordship raise to perpetuate the patriotism of this remarkable man, one in the form of an obelisk on Chalgrove Field, the other in the shape of two volumes of letter-press. In addition to his "Memorials of John Hampden: his Party, and his Times," published in two vols. in 1832, he issued a small work, entitled "A Discourse between one John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell." This work is printed in the style, and also written in the orthograpy, of the date in which the discourse is assumed to have taken place. In conjunction with Lady Nugent, he, in 1832, produced a very pleasing work, in two volumes, entitled "Legends of the Library at Lilies, by the Lord and Lady there." Lilies is described as having been a monastery, or rather one of two—the Roses on one side of the road, and The Lilies on the other, gentle names for good old friars. One of his Lordship's first efforts as an author was a long poem on that portion of the Peninsular War of which Portugal was the scene. One of his best pamphlets was upon the Ballot, and not the least important of his papers those which he, in conjunction with Basil

Montague and a committee, opposed to capital punishment, published in *The Aylesbury News* in 1845.

The family of Rickford had long been established at Watlington, Oxon, Mr. Rickford, the father of the member for the Borough and Hundreds, being the first of that family to reside at Aylesbury. Mr. Rickford, the elder, died in 1803, and was buried at Aylesbury. Mr. Rickford, the younger, in conjunction with his father, established the Aylesbury Old Bank, in 1795, and which, amidst the numerous vicissitudes to which banking has been exposed, and the wreck of surrounding establishments, firmly maintained its ground. It was for a great many years conducted under the firm of W. Rickford and Son. Subsequently Mr. Z. D. Hunt, nephew of Mr. Rickford, took an active part in the management of the establishment, became a partner, and the business was carried on under the firm of W. Rickford and Z. D. Hunt. Mr. Rickford finally relinquished business in favour of Mr. Hunt, who continued the head of the establishment, which, in connection with other private banks in the neighbourhood, became known as the Bucks and Oxon Union Bank. In business, for which he had an excessive fondness and great aptitude, Mr. Rickford always exhibited a calm, quiet, but firm demeanour. He was punctual to severity, and kept his business hours, even up to the last of his commercial life, with the strictest regularity. To the juniors of the bank he was always open with a helping hand, anxious and ready to assist in the veriest details, and the labours of a day of excessive business have, even when he was approaching eighty years of age, frequently been lightened by his application and assiduity.

In private life he was highly respected, and the relative and domestic duties of society were displayed by him in the most exemplary manner. He was charitable, and the poor of Aylesbury, at his death, lost a friend who, for many years, gladdened their hearts by his annual distribution of bread, beef, and other necessaries amongst them, and at the season when such assistance is doubly needed. Mr. Rickford was for many years an active magistrate and a useful member of several of the charity committees of the town. In the Bedford Charity he took an active part. On his first connection with this charity it was found to be in a deplorable state from mismanagement; the property belonging to it was occupied by interested parties at nominal rents; no distribution of funds took place; indeed, there was nothing to distribute. Through Mr. Rickford's exertions, and his business-like capacity and integrity, the charity was soon put upon a different footing, and now for many years the poor and other inhabitants of Aylesbury have been benefited from its funds. The first enquiry into the mismanagement of this charity was instituted by Mr. Rickford's father, and was carried out with unwearied interest by his son.

The House of Commons of 1820 found itself overwhelmed with business. As soon as Parliament met, a Bill was introduced for the degradation of the Queen and the dissolution of her marriage with the King. During the inquiry, the general excitement was intense. The entire country in truth was on the verge of revolution. The popular feeling

was that the Queen had been for 25 years the victim of persecution, and that however great her alleged delinquency had been they were greviously provoked, and that he who had shown himself her most powerful and relentless persecutor was the last in his dominions who ought to have cast a stone against his injured wife. Aylesbury unmistakably took part with the Queen. Whilst the electors openly espoused her cause, both the members for the Borough identified themselves with the movement in her favour, and advocated her interests in the House of Commons.

On the 25th of August, 1820, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Aylesbury was held, with Mr. Thomas Dell in the chair, at which not only a loyal and dutiful address was drawn up for presentation to the Queen, but the thanks of the meeting were also voted to Lord Nugent and Mr. Rickford for their independent conduct in Parliament on the subject, and they were further requested to present to the Queen an address voted to Her Majesty by the people of Aylesbury, which was in the following terms:—

"*The loyal and dutiful Address of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Aylesbury to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Caroline.*

"We beg leave most humbly to approach your Majesty with our unfeigned congratulations upon your return to England, and accession to your throne. Under any circumstances we should have felt this to be our duty, but the situation in which your Majesty is placed renders that duty doubly imperative. Your Majesty has been deprived by death of the only persons who had the power to protect and console you. These were the visitings of Heaven, and it becomes neither your Majesty or us to murmur at the deprivation. But man has added to this indignity and insult. Your Majesty has experienced, and is still experiencing, cruel and unmerited persecutions from men alike the enemies of your royal consort and yourself. The non-insertion of your Majesty's name in the Liturgy of the Church of England, the appointment of a secret committee, consisting of your accusers and their usual adherents, to give authority to detraction, a Bill denouncing guilt and punishment before trial, charges without specification of time or place, witnesses whose characters (for such, in charity to your Majesty's enemies, is our construction of the refusal of your Majesty a list of them) shrink from the light of examination; these are means employed to break the spirit and destroy the honour of a high-minded woman. We offer, then, your Majesty all the consolation in our power; we sympathise with your Majesty in your sufferings, and we trust that God, who has hitherto been your protector in the hour of trial, will exhibit an important lesson to your enemies and the world, that innocence is always too strong for malice and cunning."

This address, was, in accordance with the resolution of the meeting, duly presented by Lord Nugent and Mr, Rickford, and her Majesty returned the following answer:—

"The inhabitants of the Borough of Aylesbury have my cordial thanks for this impressive testimony of their affectionate regard. Whatever may have been the afflictions with which I have been visited by Providence, I know my duty to Heaven too well to murmur at any of its dispensations. The sorrows that are scattered over the surface of human life are usually transient, though often recurring. They come and go, they depart and return like the wind and the rain. But my sorrows have not been of this kind. They have not merely flitted over me as the shades of the evening, to disappear when the east reddened with the dawn. They have been a long, a dark, and almost interminable night, which malice, like that of a fiend, has thrown over my soul

for a quarter of a century; but the people of England think that I have been sufficiently tortured by malignity, and saddened by woe. Their vivid sympathies, and their glowing affections, begin to dissipate the thick darkness that covered my prospects, and to announce the day spring of a life more serene, when my wrongs shall be redressed, and my persecutions come to an end.

"Those persons who could instigate or advise that the name of the Queen should, contrary to usage, be omitted in our National Prayers must have had their hearts far from God. Such an omission is at variance with that charity, without which our adoration is mere mummery and all our hosannas only empty air.

"The injustice of my enemies has been so great, and indeed so monstrous, that the accounts of it will hereafter be numbered among the prodigies in the moral history of man. It is the extremity of barbarism in an age of high civilization. Because I have violated no law, a Bill of Pains and Penalties has been introduced into the House of Lords to destroy me without law. But the people of England have not minds of inert clay, or hearts of impenetrable stone. They know, they see, they feel, my unparalleled wrongs. Every man, every woman, nay every child, is alive to the sympathy they have inspired; oppression always sanctifies its objects. In this order of things the Almighty has written his decree against cruelty and injustice."

As the trial proceeded the excitement increased; the feelings of the common people continued on the side of the Queen. Members of the House of Lords on passing through Aylesbury in returning from London were differently received according to the parts they had espoused in this unpopular trial. A local newspaper of the period had to make an apology or denial on the part of the inhabitants of Aylesbury for their conduct. We read that:—

"The popular indignation led to intemperance, and, in some places, even to outrage. At Aylesbury, Buckingham, Watford, Wycombe, Berkhampstead, Hemel Hempstead, &c., the feelings of the people were manifested in no very welcome shape towards the Peers who had supported the late Bill, as they were passing through these places from London to their respective country seats. With respect to the treatment which a noble Marquis received at Aylesbury, to which allusion has been made in the London papers, we can state from all that we can collect that it was both magnified and incorrectly given. The *Courier* calls it a 'brutal outrage attempted to be committed upon the person and equipage' of the noble Lord in question 'by the Aylesbury mob, maddened by the incitements of seditious writers;' for the honour of Aylesbury we can state that both the person and equipage were perfectly unmolested, the 'brutal outrage' consisting only of clamour; that the 'mob' was neither exclusively nor chiefly an 'Aylesbury mob'; and that the inhabitants of Aylesbury are probably less connected with seditious writers than the Editor of the *Courier*. Outrages of this description certainly cannot be too strongly reprobated, and it is clearly not in the spirit of freedom that the right by which one man holds an opinion should be denied to another, or that the exercise of that right should be thus intemperately visited."

Very differently were those treated who supported Her Majesty. The Earl and Countess Jersey were drawn by the people through Aylesbury on their journey to Middleton Park, amidst the applause of a considerable crowd. On the receipt of the Queen's acquittal, the inhabitants of Aylesbury testified their joy in a variety of ways. A meeting was held at the King's Head Inn, the Churchwarden in the chair, when it

was unanimously resolved that a general illumination should take place on the following evening, and other measures adopted to evince and to gratify the general feeling on the subject. Subscriptions were immediately solicited for the purpose of enabling the poorer classes to participate in the general rejoicing; next morning ten barrels of ale were distributed in different parts of the town, in proper and moderate quantities, to the poor—four barrels were appropriated exclusively to the women. In the evening the town was a blaze of light, without the exception of a single house. The night ended in peace, order, and good humour. The rejoicings of the day were polluted by an assemblage of brutal and cowardly ruffians to bait an unfortunate bull, and the celebration of a triumph over oppression was tarnished by a scene of wanton cruelty. After night-fall, bonfires were to be seen blazing on the Chiltern Hills, and all the elevated spots in the neighbourhood. One monster fire was plainly visible for many miles; this was at Oving House, the seat of Mr. Thomas Digby Aubrey (afterwards Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart.), and was under the superintendence of Lord Nugent; the fire on this elevated spot, and the magnitude of the burning pile, lit up the whole of the Vale. The event was celebrated in a similar manner at Wycombe and at many other places.

The absence of political excitement after the Queen's trial was remarkable, and in the dearth of party contention the debates in Parliament were mostly of a pacific character, referring more to economical, legal, or commercial than constitutional or political topics. In the course of these quiet debates one or two speeches are met with referring to Aylesbury. In 1821, in a discussion to disfranchise Grampound, Mr. Wynn said—

"Without the intervention of Parliament it was well known that notoriously corrupt boroughs had never been cured. As he had sat on the Aylesbury Committee he wished to correct the hon. member (Mr. Gurney), who had imagined that that borough had been under the influence of an individual. That borough never had been under the influence of anyone except him who brought the heaviest purse. It was so a hundred years ago, and in the time when Wilkes was in the height of his popularity, when he was the idol of the kingdom, all the effect, he said, which it had upon the independent electors of Aylesbury was, that they would take his guinea sooner than another man's pound."

At the general election of 1826 Aylesbury retained its old members. The formation of the Wellington Ministry, in the year 1828, was the commencement of a new era. Civil disqualifications on account of religious differences had too long been maintained. An efficient and united Ministry could not be formed, because men of ability and patriotism would not be parties to an obsolete system of intolerance. Concession was inevitable, and it was no new policy. Oaths and declarations of Roman Catholics were modified; their places of worship and schools tolerated, and they were permitted to practise the law. Wellington was a Tory; but past events had taught him the mischief of an exclusive policy. Resolved on a new course, the Duke, with his usual energy and promptness, was determined to follow it, and in the first session of his Ministry, Lord

John Russell's Bill for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was adopted. Parliament met early in 1829 ; Disabilities of Romanists were to be removed. Necessity and not choice had conquered ; still praise was due to the vanquished as well as the victors. The King, the Ministry, the Church, the aristocracy were opposed to Roman Catholic emancipation ; but, controlled by imperative circumstances, directed by the energies of the Prime Minister, Roman Catholic emancipation became an accomplished fact.

The remaining events of the reign were not of importance. Dropsy, which had carried off the Duke of York and the Princess Royal of England, had now seized the King, and after protracted sufferings the disease terminated his existence on the 26th of June, 1830. The seclusion in which His Majesty had latterly lived was commonly ascribed to misanthropy, but it arose from bodily infirmities that it was thought politic to conceal, and which rendered his appearance in public, or even in private society, irksome and distressing. The biography of George IV. is not an inviting study ; it is unadorned by the pursuit or attainment of any great end. He was a man of pleasure ; business was distasteful to him. He was exclusively devoted to personal indulgence ; it produced the common results of sensual attachments, self-engrossment, aversion to connubial and domestic ties, alienation from noble objects, and debasing habits of profusion and intemperance.

Chapter XXIX.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

reign of william iv.—1830 to 1837.

Members—Lord Nugent—Mr. Rickford—Colonel Hanmer.—General distress in 1831 *—Contested election,* 1831*—Chairing the members—The Reform Crisis—Reform Act affects Aylesbury—Election of* 1832*—Lord Nugent retires—A contest—Election of* 1835*—Another contest—Session of* 1836*—Death of the King.*

WILLIAM IV., on his accession, found the Wellington administration in power; he expressed no dissatisfaction with their measures nor any intention to remove them. The new Parliament met in October, 1830, to which Lord Nugent and Mr. Rickford were again returned unopposed. The Duke of Wellington resigned on the 15th of the same month, and the ministry of Earl Grey was formed. On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought his Reform Bill before the House of Commons; but as it was carried by a majority of only one an appeal to the country was resolved on.

Reform was now everywhere looked for as the sole panacea for the national discontent. At this critical moment, moreover, in the interval between the dissolution of Parliament in July, 1830, and the opening of the new Parliament in October, the memorable Revolution of July had occurred in France; and by the spectacle of so summary a reform in the neighbouring country, men's minds were variously excited; some to a determination to resist all attempts at Reform, others to a resolution that by some means or other—peaceful if possible, but if not, otherwise—Reform should be obtained. At this juncture the Duke of Wellington pronounced in the House of Lords his famous declaration that he was opposed to every measure of Reform, and he thus added the last ounce necessary to break the national patience. Never, perhaps, had this country been in a more deplorable condition—never had so deep a sadness weighed on the minds of all classes of the population as towards the close of the year 1830.

The general election of 1831 took place at a very critical period. In addition to the political excitement of the time the distress of the country had assumed alarming proportions. All interests in every part of the kingdom seemed to suffer. Trade, manufactures, agriculture—all stagnated. Many parishes were reduced to such a state of pauperism that the whole of the property within their limits was insufficient for the

maintenance of their poor; and assistance had to be sought from neighbouring parishes already overburdened with the expense of supporting their own paupers. Landlords could not obtain their rents; farmers were impoverished; the agricultural labourer, whose wages were often eked out from the poor rates, received just enough to enable him to procure for his family and himself the barest necessaries of life. The manufacturing operatives of Lancashire and Yorkshire were, in many instances, receiving only 3d. and 4d. a day for more than 12 hours' labour. Such was the state of affairs nationally, and in a district so essentially agricultural as that of Aylesbury the full effects of these bad times were severely felt. A contested election under such circumstances was a very different matter from one at the present day under the system of vote by ballot. What added to the excitement at Aylesbury was the unusual occurrence of a contested county election going on at the same time as that for the Borough. Whilst the Borough voters were day after day recording their voices for Nugent, Rickford, and Kirkwall in the cattle market, the county freeholders were voting Chandos, Smith, and Grenfell in the Market House. The Borough election, however, absorbed all the attention of the Aylesbury men. The contest was not expected until the day of nomination, and then Lord Nugent unfurled his banner with—at that period—the unpopular motto of "purity of election," "without canvass, without expense." The old election usages of 1802 had scarcely died out in 30 years, and "purity of election," although it might have suited the finances of the candidate, was not so acceptable to those potwallers who recollected "better times" at elections. How his lordship would have fared had the "purity dodge," as it was then called, been carried out, it is not now possible to say, but it is well recollected that the result of the election was obtained mainly by the untiring and indomitable energy of his lordship's political adherents.

Lord Kirkwall was then a little, smart, active gentleman, whilst Lord Nugent was above the usual standard. The principal squib at the election represented Kirkwall as little David, who was to bring down the great political Philistine; he did not succeed in so doing. The election commenced on Friday, the 6th of May, 1831, and closed on the following Tuesday, when the poll was announced:—Rickford, 986; Nugent, 606; Kirkwall, 509. After the announcement of the result the successful candidates were chaired round the town as usual.

Chairing is of German origin. When the Germans had chosen a king, they prepared a *pavis*, or very large shield, on which they seated the new monarch; and elevating the *pavis* on the shoulders of the principal officers, they carried their new king in triumphal procession three times round the Army. On these occasions, the Germans used to manifest their spirit of rude independence by playing practical jokes on their sovereign, such as shaking the *pavis*, and attempting to unseat him. The custom was introduced into England by the Saxons, and up to late years was kept up by the chairing of the successful candidates after an election. This was the most exciting part of the

proceedings, and was at times somewhat a hazardous undertaking, for party spirit generally ran very high at the close of an election, and the practical jokes of the Germans were not wanting so long as the custom continued a part of an English election. At an election at Maldon in 1827, Mr. Hugh Dick, the successful candidate, was not present at the close of the poll, so his brother, Mr. Quintin Dick, afterwards well known at Aylesbury, was carried round the town as his proxy. There was a very gorgeous display of a similar kind at Aylesbury in 1837, at the close of the poll of a contested county election, on which occasion Chandos, Young, and Harcourt were returned, and Smith defeated. First came the retinue of the Marquis of Chandos, headed by the well-known green banners of the Grenvilles, accompanied by two or three bands of music. On the *pavis* was a new plough, on which the Marquis rode in triumph. Sir W. L. Young followed, with his flying colours and musicians ; he was also mounted on a plough. G. S. Harcourt, Esq., brought up the rear, elevated in like fashion to his predecessors, and accompanied by flags and big drums. The procession, which was of an imposing character, was accompanied by many hundreds of followers, and the town was consequently in the greatest possible state of excitement.

However venal the old Aylesbury potwallers may have been, they were equal in their independence to some of those who were added to the constituency to purify it. It is amusing to turn to old poll books and note how subservient the holders of the Hartwell pocket votes were. In 1818, Lord Nugent, although an ardent Liberal, was supported by the Buckingham interest. Every Hartwell pocket vote was then polled for him. On a subsequent occasion, the word of command having been given, the Hartwell votes and every possible vote under the Buckingham influence were brought to bear against him, yet in the meantime his Lordship's political opinions had not changed.

On the 24th of June, 1831, the Reform Bill was introduced into the Commons for the second time, and after a three night's debate was carried by a majority of 136. On the 8th of October, after a five nights' debate, the Bill was thrown out by the Lords on the second reading by a majority of 199 to 158. Parliament was at once prorogued, and did not meet again until the 6th of December. On the 12th of that month Lord John Russell reintroduced the Bill, when, after a tedious debate, it was carried by 326 to 162. The House adjourned for the Christmas recess, and met again on the 19th of January, 1832. On the 19th of March, the third reading was moved, and was carried by a majority of 116. The excitement throughout the whole country during the debates on the Bill was very great, and had an unmistakable effect on the conduct of both Houses of Parliament. On the re-appearance of the Bill in the Upper House a great change was apparent; many who had been staunch anti-reformers were wavering, and several peers declined to vote against the second reading. The Duke of Buckingham, with self-complacency, offered that if their lordships would throw out the Bill *he* would introduce one which would be acceptable to the people. The debate extended over nine nights, and at seven o'clock on the morning of the 17th of April, 1832, a ministerial

majority of nine was announced. Great was the popular exultation, but it took the form of determination to complete the victory. Monster meetings were everywhere held, and, in the midland counties, there were present at one assembly no less than 150,000 people. On the 7th of May the Lords overthrew the Ministry, and they resigned ; their resignation was accepted. The so-called Reformer King had dismissed his Reform Ministers. For nine days the country was without an administration, and the king had the humiliation not only to submit to recall Earl Grey, but also to consent to the creation of new peers for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill. Admirable was the patient self-possession of the people during this trying crisis ; there was mourning, and indignation, but no passion. Inexpressible was the revulsion of feeling when it was known that the Reformers had resumed office, and dismay was everywhere turned to gratitude, and sternness to rejoicing. On the 4th of June the third reading of the Bill was carried, and on the 7th a Royal Commission made it law.

This Act very much affected the constituency of Aylesbury ; the old household interest was interfered with, and also the freehold qualification bestowed by the Act of 1804. The old household voters retained their rights so long as they continued to hold their qualifications, but no new ones could be added. The same rule applied to the freeholders, but no new freehold qualifications could, after the passing of the Act, be created ; a few of those holding these old rights still survive in the Borough, also in the Hundreds. The new franchise, introduced by the Reform Act of 1832, gave the right of voting to all resident occupiers of the value of £10 per annum, and to this new right the occupiers of the Hundreds and the Borough were admitted in common.

At Aylesbury there were great rejoicings over the passing of the Reform Bill. The 19th of June, 1832, was set apart as a general holiday; business was suspended. Six hundred people were fed, and money distributed to those who could not attend the dinner. The town was gaily dressed in evergreens and flags; bands of music paraded the streets; there were sports of all kinds going on, and a grand display of fireworks at night. The holiday was, however, sadly marred by the intelligence that several severe cases of cholera had appeared in different parts of the town.

Parliament was dissolved on the 3rd of December, 1832, and at the general election in the same month there was a contest for Aylesbury. Lord Nugent had accepted the Governorship of the Ionian Islands, consequently he vacated his seat ; his Lordship had introduced as his successor Mr. Thomas Benjamin Hobhouse, a barrister, and a younger brother of Sir John Cam Hobhouse. Mr. Hobhouse had no connection whatever with Aylesbury or the neighbourhood. The Conservative candidate was Colonel Henry Hanmer, of Stockgrove Park, near Leighton Buzzard. The poll on the second day ended in the return of a Conservative member for Aylesbury in the first reformed Parliament, the result being—Rickford, 1076; Hanmer, 657; Hobhouse, 602.

Colonel Hanmer was a member of the ancient family of that name of Flintshire.

He was fifth son of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., of Hanmer, Bettisfield Park, in the county of Flint; his mother was Margaret, daughter of George Kenyon, Esq., of Peel Hall, Leicestershire. He was born in 1789, and married, in 1815, Sarah Serra, only daughter of the late Sir Morris Ximenes, of Bear Place, Berks; she died in 1847. Colonel Hanmer was educated at Rugby, and St. Peter's College, Cambridge; was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for Beds, Bucks, and Berks, and served the office of High Sheriff for Bucks in 1854; he had been a Lieut.-Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, and served in the Peninsular Wars, under the Duke of Wellington. The connection of this family with Buckinghamshire was formed by the marriage of Job Hanmer, Esq., Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, London, with Susannah, daughter and heiress to Thomas Walden, Esq., of Simpson, Fenny Stratford. Colonel Hanmer was nephew of Walden Hanmer, Esq., who was for many years one of the six clerks in the Court of Chancery, as well as one of the Receivers-General of the county of Bucks. Sir Thomas Hanmer, a former Speaker of the House of Commons, and a distinguished commentator on the works of Shakespeare, was a member of this family. The Colonel died on the 2nd of February, 1868, at the advanced age of 80 years.

At the election for Aylesbury in 1835 there was again a contest, in which the three competitors at the election of 1832 re-appeared, with the addition of Dr. John Lee, of Hartwell House, as the fourth candidate. Upon this occasion the former members were returned, the poll closing—Rickford, 855; Hanmer, 586; Hobhouse, 518; Lee, 288.

In the Parliamentary session of 1836 important social reforms were made and practical grievances redressed. By the Act of Commutation of Tithe, and its conversion into a corn-rent-charge, payable in money, some of the strongest objections were obviated that science had urged against a fluctuating impost which taxed industry and enterprise, and varied with the cupidity or caprice of tithe owners. In the Marriage and Registration Acts some of the scruples of Dissenters were conciliated, and an important national record of the progress of the population was sought to be established. The reduction of the stamp duties on newspapers was a concession to a demand generally and vehemently urged for the removal of the fiscal obstruction that impeded the diffusion of political knowledge among the industrious classes. William IV. died on the 20th day of June, 1837, in the 73rd year of his age. His loss was generally and sincerely felt by the nation as that of a good man and beneficent sovereign, who had committed no wrong, provoked no enmity, and whose memory may safely repose undisturbed by the shafts of envy, vengeance, and malignity.

Chapter XXX.—PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY *(Concluded).*

THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Members—Mr. Rickford—Mr. Praed—Captain Hamilton—Mr. R. R. Clayton—Lord Nugent—Mr. J. P. Deering—is petitioned against and unseated—Mr. Quintin Dick Mr. Calvert—petitioned against and unseated—Mr. Bethell—his promotions—Mr. Layard—his discoveries—Mr. Bernard—Mr. S. G. Smith—Mr. N. de Rothschild—The Rothschilds—Mr. John Gibbs—Household Suffrage—The Ballot—New system of Elections, &c.—Election of 1880*—Mr. G. W. E. Russell—Old fashioned Elections.*

THE general election of 1837 was occasioned by the death of the King. Mr. Rickford's Parliamentary career, which commenced in the reign of George III., continued. At this dissolution Colonel Hanmer retired from the representation, and a contest took place, the candidates being Mr. Rickford, Lord Nugent, and Mr. Winthrop Mackworth Praed. Notwithstanding Lord Nugent's long connection with the constituency, he had on this occasion to submit to the humiliation of a defeat; the result of the poll being—Rickford, 865; Praed, 657; Nugent, 540.

Mr. Praed, the new member, was son of Mr. Mackworth Praed, a serjeant-at-law. In 1829 Mr. Winthrop Praed was called to the Bar; he took the Norfolk Circuit, and rose rapidly in reputation and practice. Whilst at Cambridge his political opinions were of a Liberal character, and his associations for some years after he left the University had been with the Liberal party. Thus in 1829 he is found engaged as one of Mr. Cavendish's committee, the Whig candidate for the representation of Cambridge, and he also expressed his satisfaction in Mr. Brougham's return for Yorkshire. His appearance, therefore, with the Conservative party in the House of Commons caused considerable surprise. In 1834 he had been returned for Yarmouth, and in the next year he held the office of Secretary to the Board of Control. In 1837, having received an invitation from some of the electors of Aylesbury, he retired from Yarmouth to contest Aylesbury, and he retained the seat up to the time of his death.

The name of Winthrop Mackworth Praed is far less familiar than it deserves to be. Some writers with great natural gifts have obstinately stood in their own light—

have written so obscurely that the world would not be at the trouble of deciphering their meaning. Praed wrote as clearly as Cowper, and yet he remains comparatively unknown as a poet. The Americans, with their usual aptitude, perceived his merits, and very soon published his poetical works, but included in their edition poems which Praed never wrote, and which, for his literary fame, it is better he did not write. In 1864 an English edition of his poems was published by his two daughters. As an author of "Verses of Society,"—and those not of a transitory interest or on altogether frivolous themes—he is superior to Thomas Moore, indeed to any poet of his class. He combined no small portion of the wit of Hood with an elegance to which Hood could not lay claim. That Praed should have gathered so little fame is the more remarkable as, during life, he had a reputation equal to his merits. The friend and contemporary of Macaulay at Cambridge, he awakened an equal expectation of future greatness in all who knew them both. He carried off as many prizes as the embryo historian; he divided with him the applause of the undergraduate audience in *The Union;* and in the poems which the friendly rivals contributed at that period to *Knight's Magazine,* Praed surpassed Macaulay. Some few of Praed's poems deserve to live as long as the language, and to be popular while humour, elegance, and pathos still command a welcome. It is impossible to question the social charms of a man who could write such a poem as the "Belle of the Ball." Mr. Praed died in July, 1839, at the early age of 35 years.

An election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Praed in 1839 led to another contest. The Conservative vote given by Lord Nugent at a former county contest completely broke up the Liberal party; those who had hitherto been his Lordship's principal supporters abandoned him. The candidates on this occasion were Captain Hamilton, Mr. John Ingram Lockhart, and Lord Nugent; the poll ended—Hamilton, 620; Lockhart, 73; Nugent, 3.

Captain Charles John Baillie Hamilton, grandson of the sixth Earl of Addington, was the son of the Hon. and Rev. Charles Hamilton, Archdeacon of Cleveland, by Charlotte, his wife, the third daughter of the ninth Earl of Home. He was born on the 4th of January, 1800, and married, the 23rd January, 1821, the Lady Caroline Bertie, daughter of Willoughby, fourth Earl of Abingdon. Captain Hamilton died at Roneo, near Genoa, on the 25th of August, 1865, having had two sons, Peregrine Charles and Leslie George, and two daughters, Caroline, married to the Count de Roubion, and Emily, to the Count de Genys, of Genoa.

At the general election of 1842, Mr. Rickford retired; he had represented the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury in eight successive Parliaments—from 1818 to 1841. The venerable gentleman outlived the constituency he so long represented, as, at the time of his decease, he was the oldest elector on the register. Mr. Rickford's voice was seldom heard in the House of Commons. In a debate on the East Retford Dis-

franchisement Bill he called attention to a local circumstance with which he was familiar, and addressed the House on the subject:—

"He cautioned the House against transferring bribery from one class of electors to another, and recommended the right of election to be conferred on the resident freeholders. He considered this caution necessary from the fact that previous to the addition of the freeholders of the Three Hundreds to the electors of Aylesbury, the adjoining parish of Hartwell contained only two freeholders, the whole parish being the property of a worthy baronet and the Rector. The land-tax on the worthy baronet's estate amounted to about £108 per annum. Shortly after the addition of the Hundreds to the elective franchise a certain peer purchased the land-tax of the Hartwell Estate and split it into fifty-one fee-farm-rents of rather over 40s. each per annum, disposing of the votes amongst his tenantry, which vote is handed down to each succeeding tenant."

Although not a speaker, he was a valuable addition to the House, by his business-like qualifications; he was well-adapted for the details of Committee work, of which he undertook his full share. Mr. Rickford married Mary, daughter of Mr. John Vanderhelm, of Amsterdam, who survived him; they had issue two sons and one daughter, viz., William, who died January, 18, 1798, aged 5 years; James, born February 22, 1797, who died January 24, 1809; and the late Elizabeth, lady of the late Sir Astley Paston Cooper, Bart. He died in January, 1854, at the advanced age of 85 years.

At this election (1842) Captain Hamilton retained his seat, and with him was returned Mr. Rice Richard Clayton; there was no contest. Mr. Clayton was the fourth son of Sir William Clayton, Bart., of Harleyford, Marlow; he was born in 1798; and married, in 1832, Maria Amelia, second daughter of the late Field-Marshal Sir George Nugent, Bart., G.C.B., of Westhorpe House, Little Marlow. Mr. Clayton was educated at Eton and Caius College, Cambridge (B.A. 1820, M.A. 1824); was a Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Bucks, and served the office of High Sheriff in 1838; he resided at Hedgerley Park, Slough. He died in 1879.

At the general election of 1847 Captain Hamilton retired from the representation; this election was contested, when Mr. Clayton was defeated, the result being a change in both seats. Lord Nugent returned to his early love, and with him Mr. Deering was elected. Mr. Clayton had given a vote adverse to his party on the Canadian Corn question; he had hitherto been returned under the assistance of the Duke of Buckingham, but this spark of independence shown by him cost him his seat, the Duke's influence having been transferred to Mr. Deering; with few exceptions, the most noisy of Mr. Clayton's former supporters were now the first to hoot him down. The poll closed — Deering, 687; Nugent, 620; Clayton, 546. Mr. Deering's return was petitioned against, and he was unseated.

Mr. John Peter Deering was the owner of the Lee estate, near Missenden; he was a Royal Academician, and prior to adopting the name of Deering was known to art as

John Peter Gandy, the architect of Exeter Hall, in the Strand, and of other works far from devoid of structural elegance. Mr. Deering began life under the patronage of the Dilettante Society; undertaking, at the expense of that body, an architectural mission to Greece, for which he was well fitted by taste and education, and which obtained for him the friendship of Lord Elgin. By that nobleman he was afterwards employed to build his seat in Scotland, called Broom Hall. He became an exhibitor at the Royal Academy in 1814, when he contributed a careful drawing of "The Mystic Temple of Ceres, at Eleusis, in Attica," showing the double wall of the sacred inclosure; a result of his Dilettante mission. His first original design was one for a Waterloo Tower, 280 feet high, in which he received assistance from the late Mr. Wilkins, R.A., but which was never erected. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1827, in which year he changed his name from Gandy to Deering, to entitle him to the Lee estate. He was elected a Royal Academician in 1838; and, content with Academic honour, never again became a contributor to the Annual Exhibitions of the Academy. He passed his latter years in improving his estate and designing lodges for gentlemen's seats. The chapel on the east side of North Audley Street, London, is one of the best examples of Mr. Deering's abilities as an architect; and some of the better portions of University College, London, have been attributed to him. He was fond of his art, and, if he had been a poorer man, might have become distinguished in it. As it is, he has done little to discountenance the remark made at the period of his election into the Academy, that wealth, rather than merit, had been the ground of his adoption. He died in 1850.

In 1848, on the unseating of Mr. Deering, there was a contest for the single seat, and on this occasion a struggle took place between Mr. Quintin Dick and Mr. John Houghton. Mr. Dick was returned, he polling 614 votes, against Mr. Houghton's 345. Mr. Houghton was extensively engaged as a land agent, and was also a large occupier of land; notwithstanding which he had become a convert to Free Trade principles, and came forward as the Free Trade candidate.

Mr. Dick had no local connection with Aylesbury, but he was well known in the political world as a Conservative of the old school. He had represented Maldon for twenty-seven years, and at the time of offering himself for Aylesbury was far advanced in life. At the nomination he was catechised as to his long electioneering career at Maldon, when he explained—"At Maldon, formerly, the privilege existed with the daughters of freemen to make men free of, and consequently voters for, that Borough by a matrimonial alliance. I was told that if I obtained husbands for these ladies, such husbands would probably vote for me. I can in the most honourable way declare that every one of them supported me from pure motives, but it is for you to determine whether obtaining a man a wife is bribery." Strange tales are told about these Maldon men and maidens, but, not being vouched for, must be taken at their worth. It was said of them that having married "until death do us part," the husbands went and voted.

and then retired to the church-yard, where the wife stood on one side of a grave, the husband on the other—death parting them—they by this act considered their matrimonial vows dissolved, and themselves at liberty to contract fresh alliances. The charge against Mr. Dick was not that of bribery by finding the Maldon maids husbands, but giving them marriage portions in order to induce their husbands so procured to vote for him. Mr. Dick represented Aylesbury in one Parliament only.

Lord Nugent continued one of the representatives of the Borough and Hundreds until his death, which took place in 1851; his Lordship was then 61 years of age. In 1813 he married Ann Lucy, daughter of the Hon. General Vere Poulett, of Addington, Winslow, niece of the Earl Poulett; her Ladyship, who left no surviving issue, died in London in 1848. Lord Nugent's private character was honourable, full of generosity and meekness. He seemed to view distinctions of rank as mere nominal appendages of society. For one born, bred, tutored, and moulded amid aristocratic society, nothing could be more surprising than to find him the supporter of the largest measures of freedom which the most ardent democrats ever suggested. His last appearance in public was a fair index of the leading thought of his career; it was at the Quarter Sessions, at which he delivered one of his unadorned speeches in defence of the rights of untried prisoners, claiming for them sympathy and justice. His Lordship's opinions placed him in opposition to the more powerful among his own high-titled relatives; whilst, on the other hand, they went too far to allow of his occupying any long-continued place in the Cabinet of the Whigs. Whether regarded as a gentleman, a scholar, a politician, or a philanthropist, there was something about him in each of these relations which command respect for his memory.

On the vacancy occasioned by the death of Lord Nugent, Mr. F. Calvert, Q C., brother of Sir Harry Verney, Bart., contested the seat with Mr. Houghton, the defeated candidate at the last election. Both came forward as Liberals; Mr. Houghton upon some points was the more advanced, but his politics were not clearly defined. The Conservatives took little interest in the election, but watched the proceedings: the poll closed—Calvert, 499; Houghton, 107. About half the electors only recorded their votes. Party feeling caused by the petition against Mr. Deering ran high. A section of the Conservatives lodged a petition against Mr. Calvert on the charge of treating. Without the knowledge of Mr. Calvert, treating had been indulged in by some over-active and indiscreet partizans. Although the case was exceedingly weak, the proceedings affected the election, and Mr. Calvert was unseated. The election for the single seat thus vacant took place in 1851; the candidates on this occasion being comparative strangers to the Aylesbury constituency, but both men of mark — Mr. Richard Bethell, the eminent barrister, and Mr. Busfield Ferrand. Mr. Bethell was returned, the poll closing—Bethell, 544; Ferrand, 518.

Mr. Bethell, afterwards Sir Richard Bethell, and subsequently Lord Westbury, was born in 1800; he was the son of Dr. Richard Bethell, a descendant of the old Welsh

family of Ap-Ithell. From Bristol Grammar School Mr. Bethell proceeded, at the age of fourteen, to Wadham College, Oxford, of which college he was afterwards elected fellow, having distinguished himself by attaining a place in the first class in classics and in the second in mathematics. He took his B.A. when only eighteen years of age, and then became for some time a favourite tutor in the University. Entering the Middle Temple, he was called to the Bar in 1823. For seventeen years he laboured as a junior counsel in the Court of Chancery, where his practice was very considerable, and in 1840 he attained the rank of Queen's Counsel, in which character he soon acquired a prominent lead. His University employed him as their advocate, and he filled the office of Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster. Whilst engaged in his vicarious duties as a barrister, he devoted himself to the improvement of the mode of legal education, his exertions in which were beyond all praise. From 1851 to his elevation to the peerage he was a member of the House of Commons, first for Aylesbury and afterwards for Wolverhampton. Throughout his senatorial career he supported the Liberal party ; and on the retirement of Lord Derby's administration he was knighted, on his appointment as Solicitor-General. He was nominated Attorney-General in 1856, but resigned in 1858 on the change of Ministry ; he resumed in 1859, on his party again coming into power. In 1861 he succeeded to the office of Lord High Chancellor. During the existence of the Ministry of which he formed a part he resigned his high position under discreditable circumstances, for though he was acquitted of personal corruption by the two Houses of Parliament, his judges in those Houses were of opinion that he exhibited so much laxity of principle and so little consideration for the public welfare as to be a fit object of their censure ; and the general feeling of the people confirmed their decision. Without entering into the details of the cases of Edmund and Wilde, upon which the charges were founded, or of the disclosures then made, Lord Westbury found it impossible to contend against the resolution of Parliament, and he resigned the seal in 1865 ; he died in 1873.

At the general election of 1852 there was a stand up party fight, in which two candidates on each side presented themselves. In this contest the Liberals were decidedly victorious, the poll closing in the election of both the candidates representing Liberal opinions—Mr. Layard, 553 ; Mr. Bethell, 525 ; Dr. Bayford, 447 ; Captain West, 435. 1001 voters were brought to the poll. On Mr. Bethell's acceptance of the offices of Solicitor-General and Attorney General he was re-elected as a matter of form without any opposition.

Austen Henry Layard, D.C.L., is the son of Henry P. J. Layard, Esq., who was son of the Rev. Dr. Layard, by Marianne, daughter of — Austen, Esq. He was born at Paris in 1817. He is the author of "Nineveh and its Remains," 'Monuments of Nineveh," &c., and is well known for his exertions in exhuming some remains of ancient art now deposited at the British Museum. Dr. Layard was not altogether a stranger to Aylesbury, as he had spent some of his earliest days there ; his

father resided at "Barker's," a residence on Bierton Hill, which then occupied the site of the present Manor House. Mr. Layard, sen., died there, and was buried at Bierton, in the church of which village there is a tablet to his memory. Sir Austen Layard is of French descent. His ancestor was the head of a noble Protestant family, and was driven from his native country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; his grandfather was the Dean of Bristol; his father filled a high civic office in Ceylon between the years 1800 and 1813, and his uncle was celebrated for his efforts to circulate the Scriptures amongst the Heathens in the East. When Earl Granville succeeded, under the Whig administration, to the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, vacated by the resignation of Lord Palmerston, one of his first acts was the appointment of Dr. Layard to the Under Secretaryship.

At the general election of 1857 Dr. Layard was defeated by Mr. T. T. Bernard, of Lower Winchendon Priory, a gentleman of considerable connections in the district, and highly esteemed; his local position doubtless secured him many adherents, and, as a local candidate, he had a great advantage over a comparative stranger. The election ended by Mr. Bernard polling 546; Mr. Bethell, 501; and Dr. Layard, 436 votes.

Mr. Thomas Tyringham Bernard was fourth son of the late Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, Bart., who, as Mr. Scrope Bernard, was returned as M.P. for Aylesbury in 1790, and again in 1796, but who in 1802 was out-voted by Mr. Bent. On the death of his brother, Sir Francis Bernard Morland, Bart., in 1876, Mr. T. T. Bernard succeeded to the baronetage. He died in 1883, at the advanced age of 92 years; at his death the title became extinct.

At the following election in 1859 the contest was of a most exciting character. Mr. Bernard solicited a continuance of the position he had attained; the other seat was contested between Mr. Thomas Vernon Wentworth and Mr. Samuel George Smith. The contending parties were lavish in their expenditure, and the battle was vigorously fought. Notwithstanding that Mr. Smith had considerable local connections, and Mr. Wentworth was a total stranger, their contest ended in a dead heat, the state of the poll being—Mr. Bernard, 552; Mr. Wentworth, 535; Mr. Smith, 535. 1052 voted. A scrutiny, as a matter of course, followed, and ended in the seating of Mr. Smith. Mr. Wentworth was a member of the Fitzwilliam family.

Mr. Samuel George Smith is eldest son of the late Samuel George Smith, Esq., M.P., of Sacombe Park, Herts; his mother was Eugenia, third daughter of the Rev. Robert Chatfield, LL.D., Vicar of Chatteris, Cambridgeshire. Mr. S. G. Smith was born in 1822; was educated at Rugby, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A. 1844, M.A. 1847; is a magistrate for Herts and Bucks, and the head of the firm of Smith, Payne, and Smith, bankers, Lombard Street, London.

Farewell must here be taken of one who had been closely associated with every political and most other public movements in Aylesbury for many years. Mr. John Gibbs

died in the spring of 1860. Few elections for the Borough of Aylesbury or for the County of Buckingham had taken place for a long period without his occupying a prominent part in them. Without him many elections would have been merely formal proceedings. He was a pronounced politician; to enumerate the various questions in which he took an interest would be to write a history of English political agitation for the fifty years previous to his decease. He threw his whole soul into the struggle for Roman Catholic emancipation, the repeal of the Test Acts, the Anti-Slavery movement, and other philanthropic objects, Corn Law Repeal, the education of the lower classes, and thorough civil and religious liberty. Those who now read the somewhat tame acknowledgment of Free Trade principles in the Parliamentary debates know but little of the courage required to uphold that question in the generation to which John Gibbs belonged. In the days of the fiercest opposition to the Anti-Corn Law League, he, sometimes almost alone, stood firm to the truth he had embraced. He invited, and was among the first to welcome Mr. Cobden to Aylesbury, and even he, for a moment, hesitated to incur the danger of calling a public meeting in the centre of the Buckingham interest. But the experienced eye of Mr. Cobden detected symptoms of "hearing reason" in the agricultural mind.

Mr. Gibbs's faith was in popular intelligence as the foundation of popular power, and, though not favoured with many advantages in his youth, he was the laborious and untiring promoter of the means for the education of the masses. Several villages owe to him the possession of an unsectarian school, and never was he more in his element than in his efforts to create and keep alive the interest in those institutions. He outlived most of the prejudices existing in his early days, and in his declining years was gratified by receiving the commendations and support of many who had formerly been his political opponents.

At the election of 1865, Mr. Samuel George Smith was again returned, together with Mr. Nathaniel Meyer de Rothschild.

Mr. Rothschild was the eldest son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, of Gunnersbury, and M.P. for the City of London. It was in the person of Baron Lionel that the battle for the political emancipation of the Jews was fought. It is needless to say that he was throughout his life identified with the Jewish body, of which he was, in a certain sense, the chief and leader. At the time when the Baron entered public life it was impossible for him or any person of the Jewish religion to sit in Parliament. The tests of the Sacrament, &c., had now dwindled to an oath, but this concluded with the words "On the true faith of a Christian," which a Jew could not repeat. At the general election in July, 1847, he was elected, by 6,792 votes, member of Parliament in the Liberal interest for the City of London, with Lord John Russell and two other members. Parliament that year met early; one of the first debates was on a resolution of Lord John Russell, affirming the eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to

which Roman Catholics were admissible by law. The debate on the resolution was memorable for the appearance on the Whig side on that question of Mr. Gladstone, then the newly elected Tory member for the University of Oxford. The Bill, however, was not passed till 1858. In the meantime the Baron had been elected again and again. In 1849, having been a member for two sessions without taking the oath, he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. A new writ was issued for the City, and he was again returned, and continued to be a member without taking the oath; but being again returned in succeeding Parliaments, he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds a second time in 1857, and on the 23rd of July a new writ was issued for the City of London, and he was for the fifth time returned. During his period of probation as the unsworn representative of the City of London, he sat below the bar, and, when notice was taken of the presence of strangers, still retained his seat. Eventually the Jews' Disabilities Bill passed, and its principle was further extended by another Act, carried two years later. Baron Rothschild was the first who took the amended form of oath. In commemoration of the event several scholarships were founded by subscription and otherwise. Baron Rothschild endowed the City of London School with its most valuable scholarship in honour of taking his seat. The Baron married Charlotte, daughter of Baron Charles de Rothschild, of Naples, who survived him. He was succeeded by Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Bart., M.P., his eldest son (born November 6, 1840); he left also two other sons, Mr. Alfred de Rothschild and Mr. Leopold de Rothschild. A daughter, Leonora, married in 1857, Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, of Paris, and another, Evelina, married Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, of Lodge Hill Mansion, Waddesdon; she died in 1866.

The possessions of late years acquired by members of the Rothschild family in the immediate vicinity of Aylesbury are very extensive, and the influence of that family consequently great. Several of the estates of which they have become owners had for a considerable period been abandoned residentially, by former proprietors. These ancient halls, by non-occupation and consequent neglect having become uninhabitable, were eventually razed to the ground, or left in ruins to become the 'domiciles of bats, owls, and "ghosts." The new proprietors have, on every estate purchased, erected palatial edifices for their own residences. The addition of half-a-dozen stately mansions within a radius of as many miles must have infused new life and vigour into the neighbourhood, and experience, at all events in this case, gives a denial to the old saying that "Nothing flourishes under a big tree." It is remarkable how many ancestral estates in the Aylesbury district have passed into the hands of modern proprietors. Where are the Lees of Quarrendon, the Dashwoods of Halton, the Chesterfields and Stanhopes of Eythorpe, the Whartons of Upper Winchendon, the Lakes of Aston Clinton, the Dormers of Wing? All their once noble residences have been swept away by the ruthless hand of time, and their lands have become alienated. The members of the Rothschild family are now the owners of the principal of these estates. The mansion of the late Sir A. de Rothschild, of Aston Clinton, occupies the site of the former residence of the

illustrious Lord Lake of Delhi. Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild follows the old and powerful family of Wharton, of Upper Winchendon. The estate of the once renowned Chesterfields and Stanhopes at Eythorpe is now owned by Miss Alice de Rothschild. Mr. Alfred de Rothschild has superseded the ancient family of the Dashwoods, at Halton. The Mentmore Towers are the possession of Lord and Lady Rosebery, as the representatives of the late Baron Mayer de Rothschild. Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart., the member for Aylesbury, is the owner of the once Royal domain of Tring Park.

"Change is written on the tide,
On the forests' leafy pride;
On the streamlet glancing bright,
On the jewell'd crown of night;—
All, where'er the eye can rest,
Show it legibly imprest."

At the election of 1868 the former members were returned for Aylesbury, and again in 1874; both these elections were contested by Mr. George Howell, who appeared as the working man's candidate. On the death of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, Bart., of Aston Clinton, in 1876, the member for Aylesbury succeeded to the baronetcy, the title having been created with special remainder, failing male issue, to the sons of Sir Anthony's elder brother; consequently Mr. Rothschild became Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Bart. He is the head of the House of Rothschild; in 1867 he married Emma, daughter of Baron Charles de Rothschild, of Frankfort, and they have a family.

The election of 1868 was the first that took place under the Act of 1867, which enlarged the franchise to household suffrage. The Ballot Act followed in 1872; by this Act the mode of electing members of Parliament was altogether altered. It wiped out for ever one of the oldest scenes of English life, manners, and customs. Nomination days and polling days under the ancient system were very excitable times. In the County Hall at Aylesbury there have been many a pitched battle and skirmish between contending politicians; but, notwithstanding the virulence and antagonistic feeling displayed, there was a vein of humour observable throughout; the ill-feeling caused by political differences was in most cases short-lived, and the close of the election commonly restored the good-fellowship previously prevailing. The old-fashioned nomination days were looked forward to by noisy Tories, Radicals, and spouting partizans as grand political field days. Alas! our political battles are over; no more broken English on the platform, no more broken heads in the body of the Hall. The wars of words amongst the leaders are comparatively feeble; fisticuffs amongst the "residuum" are rare. Those who recollect or took part in these political squabbles will never forget them. What fun it was to "unhorse" an unfledged candidate, or to put a bad speaker into a hole and then set up a frightful roar of derisive laughter at his expense! What a treat to howl down an opponent and to succeed in reducing his address to a mere dumb show, probably spoiling an intended speech over which much midnight oil had been expended. The most exciting moment of the nomination was on the call for the show of

hands, in response to which a forest of fingers would be displayed, and contentions arise as to which candidate had the majority. These contentions would lead to a "scrimmage," and blows would be freely exchanged between the "lambs" of each party. Occasionally the scene would be enlivened by a discharge of a volley of ammunition from the mob in the shape of decayed vegetables intended to "shut up" some voluble political opponent, but not always being aimed with military precision, its effects were at times felt just where they were not intended to be. These election "lambs" were always prepared to uphold the dignity of their patrons, and ready, like the stubborn crew to which Sir Hudibras belonged, to

> "Decide all controversies by
> Infallible artillery,
> And prove their Doctrine orthodox
> By apostolic blows and knocks."

The nomination of candidates at the election of 1868 was attended by as boisterous a crowd and was as riotous and ungovernable as any previous occasion.

The nomination now, when compared with the old-fashioned plan, is a cold formality. At the time announced the returning officers attend and receive the nomination papers. There is not the least excitement, and few are present beyond those whose attendance is absolutely necessary; indeed, according to the Act, the public have no right to claim admission into the room where the nomination takes place. After the time allowed has expired, the list of candidates is published in alphabetical order; and this closes a nomination of candidates, without a head being cracked, without a bottle being cracked, and without even a joke being cracked. There are now no less than nine polling places for the Borough and Hundreds, namely, at Aylesbury, Aston Clinton, Bledlow, Brand's Fee, Haddenham, Great Missenden, Princes Risborough, Stone, and Wendover, at each of which places convenient rooms and other buildings are provided. At Aylesbury a very excellent polling place is found in the Corn Exchange. The mode of voting is very simple; the voter having given the presiding clerk the particulars of his name, &c., is presented with a voting paper on which are the names of the candidates with spaces opposite, in which the voter makes his ✕. The least error invalidates the vote. The voter enters a recess fitted up for the purpose, makes his mark or marks against the name or names of the candidates for whom he votes, folds up the paper, and drops it into the box in the presence of the presiding officer. The plan is most simple, and can be carried out almost without a word being exchanged. So far as quiet is concerned vote by ballot is a complete success. According to the provisions of the Act, the voting papers from all the districts must be intermingled before being counted, and as some of the polling places are several miles from Aylesbury it takes some hours before the ballot boxes can be brought together, and the result of the election announced. The constituency now numbers 4,481 voters.

The election of 1880 took place under great and general excitement, principally evoked by what was termed Mr. Gladstone's Mid-Lothian campaign. Aylesbury

participated in the great political revulsion. At this election both the sitting members solicited re-election; a third candidate appeared in the person of Mr. George W. E. Russell, who previously was totally unknown to the electors. Mr. Samuel George Smith, who had represented the Borough for upwards of twenty years, and whose return was looked upon by his friends as perfectly secure, was defeated by Mr. Russell; the poll resulting in 2111 votes being recorded for Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart.; 1919 for Mr. Russell; and 1511 for Mr. Smith.

Mr. George William Erskine Russell is the second son of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Charles James Fox Russell, of Woburn, Beds, who is the sixth son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford, by his second wife, Georgiana, fifth daughter of Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. Lord Charles Russell married Isabella Clarissa, daughter of William Davies, Esq., of Penlyan, Carmarthen, and granddaughter of Lord Robert Seymour; is a Justice of the Peace for Beds; was M.P. for Beds County, from 1832 to 1841, and again in 1847; in 1848 he was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons, from which appointment he retired in 1875. The Member for Aylesbury was educated at Harrow School, and at University College, Oxford, of which he was scholar and prizeman, and where he graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1876, and Master of Arts in 1880, and was admitted a student of the Middle Temple in 1875. In 1883 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board.

Before closing the subject of Parliamentary History, a few instances may here be recorded to give an idea how the old system of returning members was carried on. Three hundred years ago the despotic principle so far preponderated that the Court managed elections very nearly as it pleased. A hundred years ago—and, indeed, more recently—the despotic tendencies in our government were waging equal battle with the powers of the people, and a contested election, where Court, government, and people were all personally brought into collision, was, when it ended in a popular triumph, a great historical event. Henry VIII. managed, with but little difficulty, to assert, through his ministers, his own power against that of the people in election time. The ministers of Queen Elizabeth could overrule the franchise with equal ease. She filled the House of Representatives with placemen, civilians, and common lawyers seeking preferment. At the death of Elizabeth, the Cornish Boroughs, most of them wretched places, which sent members to Parliament, numbered twenty-one; Cornwall having been thus favoured because that county was entirely in the power of the Crown, by reason of the indefinite and oppressive jurisdiction of the Stannary Court.

A curious instance of the audacity with which little great men knew how to follow the example of their rulers, in suppressing the true voice of the people at election time, is to be found in the details of the election for Wycombe in the year 1725. Richard Shrimpton, the mayor, had, by help of Smales, an alderman, made more than sixty honorary freemen in the interval between one election and another. Thus he secured possession of his own morsel of power. Writs being issued for a new election, this

mayor summoned the electors on an appointed day to the Town Hall, the usual polling place. He had arranged with his own party, which was far outnumbered, and, in accordance with his plan, marched, at a rather later hour than that named in his summons, to the Town Hall, with mighty pomp and a great number of drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other musical instruments ; a vast retinue of servants and others, attended the candidate he favoured. Thus he got all the voters, not aware of his designs, into the Town Hall, as mice in a trap ; but when he himself was half-way up the stairs, being twitched at the robe by Alderman Smales, he suddenly turned back, and, leaving a guard at the door of the Town Hall, to prevent the opposition voters from escaping, made speed with his whole following, to the George alehouse, where he opened under the tap, and recorded votes of forty-nine men for his candidate, but only two against him ; one, that of a drunkard, who was bidden so to vote, to save appearances. The poll was then closed. Seventy-three legal voters, shut up in the Town Hall, signed a protest ; some of them found their way to the alehouse, when the Riot Act was read, and they were ordered to disperse. There is another version of the affair which states that the Mayor was threatened, beaten, and prevented from going into the Town Hall, and that he was, therefore, justified in holding the election at the George alehouse. The Mayor's man (Charles Collyer) was returned, but immediately unseated on the petition of Harry Waller, his opponent, who took the seat. The upshot of the Mayor's proceedings was his committal to Newgate by order of the House of Commons. Marshall, the landlord of the "George," was also committed for reading the Riot Act whilst the burgesses were legally assembled in the Town Hall at the second election, when the Mayor made a false return.

A manœuvre of this kind was played out in 1768, on the occasion of an election at Berwick-on-Tweed. Lord Delaval and Mr. Robert Taylor were two of the candidates ; and they had secured the major part of the votes of the resident freemen. The candidates in opposition to them had obtained the promises of a large number of non-resident freemen, then in London. A captain of a coasting vessel had agreed to take these freemen to Berwick to poll, for which he was to receive £200. Taylor, who was in London at the time, accidentally heard of this arrangement ; he found the captain and bribed him by a payment of £400 to alter his course when at sea ; he did so, and, instead of landing his passengers at Berwick, he deposited them on the Norwegian coast ; their arrival at Berwick before the close of the election was an impossibility, and by this trick Lord Delaval and Mr. Taylor secured their election.

We obtain an insight into the mode of conducting elections in the last century in an account preserved of that of Westminster in the year 1784. On this occasion Fox, supported by the Whigs, repudiated Sir Cecil Wray, whom he had brought forward two years before, and joined Lord Hood. A tremendous struggle ensued, and was of forty days' duration. The opposition against Fox commenced previous to the dissolution, and arose out of an address moved to the King, at a meeting held the 29th of January,

1784, respecting the India Bill. The nomination took place on the 1st of April, and the tumult was terrific. The whole district was one continual scene of riot and confusion. Fox had a most able canvasser in the person of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire. Her Grace freely bestowed kisses for promises of votes, attended the meetings, sometimes in male attire, spoke, cajoled, chaffed, drank, smoked, treated, promised, ordered, bullied, threatened, sang, danced, prayed, and cried, to further the cause of "her man." Upon asking a candlemaker for his vote, "I will give your Grace a plumper," said the man of grease, "and procure you five more, on a certain condition." "What is that?" "That your Grace will give me a kiss." "Why, then," said the Duchess, "take one." These familiarities were in turn brought into use by other ladies of high rank both for and against Fox. The committee over which the Duchess of Devonshire presided had amongst its members the most celebrated beauties of the day. The Duchesses of Rutland and Portland, the Countesses of Carlisle and Derby, Ladies Beauchamp and Duncannon, and, in fact, most of the ladies of rank in London, were engaged in the contest, and in many instances much to the dissatisfaction of their husbands.

Wholesale kissing on canvassing tours was formerly considered one of the requirements of a candidate. Cowper, the poet, describes an amusing incident which happened at his Olney residence, in 1784. There was an election contest going on in Bucks at that time; Mr. Grenville and Mr. Aubrey—the former being "young, genteel, and handsome," with "a pair of very good eyes in his head and a third suspended by a ribbon"—were candidates. They sought out the Whig recluse at Orchard Side, and asked for an influence which Cowper assured them he did not possess. "Thus ended the conference. Mr. Grenville squeezed me by the hand again, kissed the ladies, and withdrew. He kissed likewise the maid in the kitchen, and seemed upon the whole a most loving, kissing, kind-hearted gentleman." A laughable kissing affair is reported of one of the Aylesbury elections. The candidate, after bestowing his favours on the ladies of the House generally, proceeded to pass a like compliment on the "maid of all work." This domestic was engaged in blowing the fire; her bashfulness overcame her, and at the moment of the expected embrace she so suddenly raised the implement she was using, to protect herself, that the candidate had the satisfaction of planting the token of his affections on the bellows. It is said that Lord Beaconsfield used this kind of persuasion in his canvass when candidate for the representation of Wycombe.

King Beer reigned in triumph at these old elections. "I remember," says the late Mr. John Gibbs, "at a county election early in the present century, immense vats were placed near the old Aylesbury Market House; they contained many barrels of ale. On one side of the building these vats were decked in green cloth and labelled 'Grenville' in large gilt letters; on the other side they were ornamented in orange coloured hangings, and marked 'Tichfield.' These vats when tapped were surrounded by a crowd of thirsty souls, all armed with pots, mugs, and jugs; the ale was distributed to all

comers without stint, and the same customers served over and over again. When the vats were emptied they were replenished. Many of the recipients would become very drunk before leaving the spot; others, more provident, would carry the ale home and store it in all the tubs and pails they could get together, and, after drinking their fill at the time, put many gallons aside for a future bout. The effect of these carousals may be guessed; men and women, even boys and girls, were to be met in the streets, drunk, many being perfectly helpless from intoxication. Women cursed their drunken husbands; half-drunken and quarrelsome wives were led home by their fuddled partners. Drunkenness at this period was considered only as fun, being looked upon as neither vulgar, immoral, nor wicked. Whilst this out-door drinking was going on, the freeholders would be dining and drinking to excess at the inns and public-houses, at the expense of the candidates. For the higher classes of voters another system of bribery was in vogue; they were invited to dine at the candidate's head-quarters, when a silver cup would be placed at each plate, with the understanding that the cups were to become gifts to the voters, and go home in their pockets. Some of these cups are still in existence, and are occasionally met with; they bear this inscription, 'May voters be free and representatives independent!'"

Marked references have been made to show that no improvement in the mode of conducting elections took place in the last century. It was left to the Reform Act of 1832 to bring about their better management. Even as late as the year 1826 a revival of the old-fashioned election customs was exhibited at Aylesbury. It was at a county election, but there was no contest. The Marquis of Chandos and Mr. Smith, the then members, had had a misunderstanding relative to some property; an election happening about the same time, a trial of strength, at least so far as outward show was concerned, was made. From the northern districts of the county the partizans of the Marquis poured into the town by hundreds, whilst from the south the friends of Mr. Smith formed an immense cavalcade. Carriages, coaches, chaises, gigs, carts, and horsemen made a very long train. At the County Hall the entrances were so packed with a dense mob that the Sheriff could not for a long time obtain admittance; eventually an adjournment was made to the open air. After the usual ceremony had been gone through the members were chaired round the town, accompanied by flaming banners and bands of music. Dinners were given to the freeholders at the inns and public-houses. Refreshments were not only dispersed to voters, but there was a general "open house" throughout the town. Wine, beer, and liquors might be had for the mere asking; the result was, that in the after part of the day, men and women were to be seen in the streets in a beastly and helpless state of drunkenness. Many who had come from a distance met with accidents going home; collisions happened between vehicles, and broken limbs and bruises were the results; one man was drowned in the canal, others were half-smothered in ditches, into which they had rolled, and many were so helpless from drink that they suffered themselves to be

pillaged of their money, watches, and clothing ; in one case a man was entirely stripped, and woke up to find himself on the public road stark naked.

One of the most irritating elements attendant on a Parliamentary election has now entirely disappeared. In former times, no sooner had the heat of the contest been developed than a system of squibbing was introduced. Any partizan making himself conspicuous by his zeal and activity in the cause he espoused was pounced upon as a mark for a fair shot from a political adversary. If he had the least possible flaw in his social, moral or political career it was certain to be rent widely open; trifling foibles long buried in oblivion would be resuscitated, and old grievances revived, for political purposes. These squibs, although vexatious and excessively annoying to those against whom they were levelled, made capital fun for others; still they were frequently clumsy and pointless, and occasionally very stupid. There were exceptions, and at times these effusions gave evidence of wit and clever sarcasm. At the election of 1831 a stinging satire was published, in which the Nugent-Rickford party were sharply handled ; it was in verse, and entitled "The Magic Lantern." On a phantasmagoria a supposed showman exhibited the portraitures of the leaders of the Reform party in Aylesbury at that period, and as the panorama flitted past he gave a review of each character. In 1832, Colonel Hanmer, one of the candidates, was so irritated by an election squib that he proceeded to horsewhip the printer of it, but he got the worst in the encounter.

The retinue of a candidate was formerly considered incomplete unless attended by a party of pugilists. Trained boxers were retained at contested elections, but for what purpose is not recorded, unless intended for the use of brute force on the part of their patrons, if requisite ; their visits were generally the cause of great disturbances, as they were ever on the alert to pick a quarrel with anyone for the mere sake of fighting and creating a disturbance. When before the Committee of Inquiry consequent on the bribery at the Aylesbury election of 1802, Mr. Woodman, one of the returning officers, in his evidence before referred to, stated that in the County Hall, where the poll was taken, there were thirty Irishmen knocking people's heads about. This was taking the *poll* with a vengeance.

Chapter XXXI.—REPRESENTATIVES OF AYLESBURY.

List of representatives of Aylesbury from the granting of the Charter in 1554—*Defective returns—Returns of* 1614—*Assembly nominated by Oliver Cromwell—no return to it from Aylesbury—No returns in* 1654—*Richard Cromwell's Parliament—Invitation Parliament,* 1659—*Convention Parliament,* 1688-9—*First Parliament of Great Britain,* 1705—*Last return for the Borough of Aylesbury—First return for Borough and Hundreds—First return after passing of Reform Act of* 1832—*First return under Household Suffrage—Return by vote by ballot.*

A LIST of the representatives of the Borough of Aylesbury from the granting of the Charter by Queen Mary to the election of 1804:—

REIGN OF MARY.

1554. — Henricus Peckham, Esq.; Thomas Smith, gent.

In the Crown Office list the name of Peckham has been struck out, and that of Moseley substituted.

—— Humphridus Moseley, *vice* Henricus Peckham, returned for Wycombe.

PHILIP AND MARY.

1554. — Willielmus Ryse, Esq.; ———————

The name of the other member is defaced, and not legible.

1555. — Willielmus Ryse, Esq.; Antonius Restwold, Esq.

1557-8.—No return found from Aylesbury, it being lost.

ELIZABETH.

1558-9.—Arthur Porter, Esq.; Thomas Crawley, gent.

1562-3.—Thomas Sackville, Esq.; Thomas Coleshill, Esq.

1571. — Thomas Lichfield, Esq.; Edward Dockwra, Esq.

This return of 1571 does not appear in the official list.

1572. — Thomas Lychefeld, Esq.; George Burden, Esq.

Lychefeld and Burden are described as elected by Dorothy, widow of Sir Thomas Pakington, Knt., Lord of Aylesbury.

1584. — Thomas Tasburgh, Esq.; John Smith, Esq.

In the official return for 1584 no names appear for Bucks.

1586. — Thomas Tasburgh, Esq.; Thomas Scott, Esq.

1588-9.—Thomas Piggott, jun., Esq.; Henry Fleetwood, gent.

1592-3.—Sir Thomas West, Knt.; John Lillye, Esq.
1597. — Thomas Tasburgh, gent.; Thomas Smyth, gent.
1601. — John Lillye, Esq.; Richard Moore, Esq.

JAMES I.

1603-4.—Sir William Borlase, Knt.; Sir William Smyth, Knt.
1614. — Sir John Dormer, Knight; Samuel Backhouse, Esq.

Samuel Backhouse, Esq., sat for Windsor in 1604-11; he was of Swallowfield, Berks, and son of Nicholas Backhouse, Alderman of London, and Sheriff in 1576; he was admitted a student in Gray's Inn in 1576; his grandson was created a baronet in 1660.

The list of members constituting the Parliament of 1614 has heretofore been wanting. With the exception of some three or four bye-elections, the whole of the returns to this Parliament, as was pointed out in the recent Blue Book (pp. 448-9), were missing. That this loss is no recent one is evident from the pages of that indefatigable antiquary, Browne Willis, who, in compiling his *Notitia Parliamentaria*, prefaced the list of this Parliament thus (ij. 67)—"There being no office of record whatsoever of any entry of the members of this Parliament, what is here drawn up is from the best information that can possibly be procured, after many years endeavour, ... and it is to be hoped, will be allowed and accepted 'till an exact and perfect list can be made, if ever proper material for such should be found." Fortunately this want has been now supplied, and an important missing link in our Parliamentary annals made good by a discovery in the Kimbolton MSS. of a complete list of the House of Commons of that Parliament. By the courtesy of the Duke of Manchester, this MS., which has hitherto escaped notice, is made public, and upsets altogether the speculative list of Willis. The transcript appears in the Palatine Note Book of June, 1883, in a Paper by W. D. Pink, Esq., F.R.H.S., of Leigh, Lancashire, to whom the author of this work is indebted for his information relative to the return for Aylesbury in that Parliament.

1620-1.—Sir John Dormer, Knt.; Henry Borlase, Esq.
1623-4.—Sir John Pakington, jun., Bart.; Sir Thomas Crewe, Knt., Serjeant-at-Law (he was Speaker of the House of Commons).
1624-5.—Sir Robert Carr, Knt., *vice* Sir John Pakington, Bart., deceased.

CHARLES I.

1625. — Sir Robert Carr, Knt.; Sir John Hare, Knt.
1625-6.—Clement Coke, Esq.; Arthur Goodwyn, Esq.
1627-8.—Sir Edmund Verney, Knt.; Clement Coke, Esq.
1640. — Sir John Pakington, Bart.; Ralph Verney, Esq
1640. — Thomas Fountaine, Esq., *vice* Sir John Pakington, Bart., who had been elected for Aylesbury and Worcestershire also, but chose to serve for the latter place.
1640. — Sir John Pakington, Bart.; Ralph Verney, Esq.

This was "The Long Parliament," and was summoned to meet on the 3rd day of November, in the year 1640.

1645. — Thomas Scot, Esq.; Simon Mayne, Esq.; *vice* Sir John Pakington and Ralph Verney, Esq., expelled the House for their loyalty.

INTERREGNUM.

An assembly nominated by Oliver Cromwell with a council of officers was summoned to meet at Westminster on 4th July, 1653 ; it declared itself a Parliament, and resigned its powers to the Lord General December 12th, 1653. There is no return from Aylesbury to this Parliament, as the boroughs were not called upon to send representatives.

1654. — Henry Phillips, Esq.; ——— ———

In the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 several knights were ordered to be returned for each county ; but few burgesses were returned.

1656. — Thomas Scot, the regicide.

RICHARD CROMWELL'S PARLIAMENT.

1658—9.—Sir James Whitelocke, Knt.; Thomas Tyrrill, Esq.

On the 7th of May, 1659, the officers of the army having, by a declaration signed by direction of Lord Fleetwood and the council of officers of the army, invited the members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till 20th April, 1653, to return, letters were sent "to the several members of this present Parliament, now out of town, who have subscribed their names to the Parliament roll of subscriptions to the engagements, and are not disabled to sit by the judgment of this Parliament." On the 13th October, 1659, the late principal officers of the army, whose commissions were vacated, placed guards about the doors of the Parliament-house, and interrupted the members from coming to the House; but on the 26th of December the Parliament was restored, and sat until the 16th of March, 1659-60, when a Bill was passed "for dissolving the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster, on the 3rd November, 1640, and for the calling and holding a Parliament at Westminster, on the 25th of April, 1660."

CHARLES II.

1660. — Richard Ingoldsby, Esq. ; Thomas Lee, Esq.

This return of 1660 does not appear in the official list.

1661. — Richard Ingoldsby, Esq. ; Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.
1678-9.—Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Knight of the Bath ; Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.
1679. — Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Knight of the Bath ; Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.
1680-1.—Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.; Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Knight of the Bath.

JAMES II.

1685. — Sir William Egerton, Knight of the Bath ; Richard Anderson, Esq.
1688-9.—Thomas Lee, Esq. ; Richard Beke, Esq.

The Parliament of 1688-9, summoned to meet on the 22nd January, was a Convention Parliament not called by the King, and was declared to be a Parliament on the following 20th of February, which declaration received the Royal Assent on 23rd February.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689-90.—Sir Thomas Lee, Bart; Thomas Lee, Esq.
1691. — Simon Mayne, Esq., *vice* Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., deceased.

WILLIAM III.

1695. — Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.; James Herbert, Esq.
1698. — Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.; James Herbert, Esq.
1698-9.—Robert Dormer, Esq., *vice* Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., unduly elected.
1700-1.—Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.; James Herbert, Esq.
1701. — Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.; James Herbert, Esq.

ANNE.

1702. — Sir John Pakington, Bart.; James Herbert, Esq.
1702. — Simon Harcourt, Esq., *vice* Sir John Pakington, Bart., who being also elected for the County of Worcester, preferred to sit for that constituency.
1704. — Sir Henry Parker, Bart., *vice* James Herbert, Esq., deceased.
1705. — Sir John Wittewronge, Bart.; Simon Mayne, Esq.

The Parliament of 1705 was declared to be the first Parliament of Great Britain, by proclamation, dated 29th April, 1707.

1708. — Sir John Wittewronge, Bart.; Simon Mayne, Esq.
1709. — Sir John Wittewronge, Bart., re-elected on taking office under the Crown.
1710. — Simon Harcourt, Esq.; John Essington, Esq.
1713. — Simon Harcourt, Esq.; John Essington, Esq.

GEORGE I.

1714-5.—Nathaniel Mead, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law; John Deacle, Esq.
1715. — Hon. Trevor Hill, *vice* J. Deacle, Esq., who elected to serve for Evesham.
1722. — Richard Abell, Esq., John Guise, jun., Esq.

GEORGE II.

1727. — Sir William Stanhope, K.G.; Philip Lloyd, Esq.
1727-8.—Edward Rudge, Esq,, *vice* Sir W. Stanhope, who was also returned as one of the Knights of the Shire for Bucks.
1729-30.—Thomas Ingoldsby, Esq., *vice* Philip Lloyd, Esq., appointed to an office under the Crown.
1734. — George Champion, Esq.; Christopher Tower, Esq.
1741. — Charles Pilworth, Esq.; William Stanhope, Esq.
1747. — William Earl of Inchiquin; Edward Willes, Esq.
1754. — Thomas Potter, Esq.; John Willes, Esq.
1756. — Thomas Potter, Esq., re-elected after appointment as Paymaster-General of the Land Forces.
1757. — John Wilkes, Esq., *vice* Thomas Potter, Esq., appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

GEORGE III.

1761. — Welbore Ellis, Esq.; John Wilkes, Esq.
1762. — Welbore Ellis, Esq., re-elected, after appointment as Secretary at War.
1764. — Anthony Bacon, Esq., *vice* John Wilkes, Esq., expelled the House.

1768. — Anthony Bacon, Esq. ; John Durand, Esq.
1774. — John Aubrey, Esq. ; Anthony Bacon, Esq.
1780. — Anthony Bacon, Esq. ; Thomas Orde, Esq.
1784. — Sir Thomas Halifax, Knight ; William Wrightson, Esq.
1789. — Scrope Bernard, Esq., *vice* Sir Thomas Halifax, deceased.
1790. — Scrope Bernard, Esq. ; Gerard Lake, Esq.
1796. — Scrope Bernard, Esq., LL.D. ; Major-General Gerard Lake.

The Parliament which met in 1796 was, in 1801, proclaimed as the first Parliament of the United Kingdom.

1802. — James Du Pré, Esq. ; Robert Bent, Esq.

A list of the representatives of the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury from the time of the addition of freeholders to the constituency, under the Act of 1804, to the general election of 1880 :—

1804. — William Cavendish, Esq., *vice* Robert Bent, Esq., whose election was declared void.
1806. — Lieut.-General George Nugent ; George H. C. Cavendish, Esq.
1807. — Lieut.-General Sir George Nugent, Bart. ; Geo. H. C. Cavendish, Esq.
1809. — Thomas Hussey, Esq., *vice* George H. C. Cavendish, Esq , deceased.
1812. — George Lord Nugent ; Thomas Hussey, Esq.
1814. — Charles Compton Cavendish, Esq., *vice* Thomas Hussey, Esq., who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.
1818. — George Lord Nugent ; William Rickford, Esq.

GEORGE IV.

1820. — George Lord Nugent ; William Rickford, Esq.
1826. — George Lord Nugent ; William Rickford, Esq.

WILLIAM IV.

1830. — George Lord Nugent ; William Rickford, Esq.
1830. — George Lord Nugent, re-elected.
1831. — George Lord Nugent ; William Rickford, Esq.
1833. — William Rickford, Esq. ; Colonel Henry Hanmer.

The Parliament of 1833 was the first held after the passing of the first Reform Act.

1835. — William Rickford, Esq. ; Colonel Henry Hanmer.

VICTORIA.

1837. — William Rickford, Esq. ; Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Esq.
1839. — Captain Charles John Ballie Hamilton, *vice* Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Esq., deceased.
1841. — Captain Charles John Ballie Hamilton ; Rice Richard Clayton, Esq.
1847. — John Peter Deering, Esq. ; George Lord Nugent.
1848. — Quintin Dick, Esq., *vice* John Peter Deering, whose election was declared void.
1850. — Frederick Calvert, Esq., *vice* George Lord Nugent, deceased.
1851. — Richard Bethell, Esq., *vice* Frederick Calvert, whose election was declared void.
1852. — Richard Bethell, Esq. ; Austen Henry Layard, Esq.
1853. — Richd. Bethell, Esq., re-elected after appointment as Solicitor-General.

1857. — Richd. Bethell, Esq., re-elected after appointment as Attorney-General.
1857. — Thomas Tyringham Bernard, Esq.; Sir Richard Bethell.
1859. — Thomas Tyringham Bernard, Esq.; Samuel George Smith, Esq.
1865. — Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Esq.; Samuel George Smith, Esq.
1868. — Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Esq.; Samuel George Smith, Esq.

The election of 1868 was the first after the extension of the franchise to household suffrage in boroughs.

1874. — Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Esq.; Samuel George Smith, Esq.

The election of 1874 was the first election taken by ballot.

1880. — Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, Bart.; George William Erskine Russell, Esq.

PARLIAMENTARY MEMORANDA.

First Summons of Barons by writ, by King John, A.D. 1205.—An Assembly of Knights and Burgesses, 1258.—First Assembly of Knights and Burgesses as a Confirmed Representation, 1265.—First regular Parliament (according to many historians), 1294.—First Legislative Assembly whose assent was essential to constitute a law, 1308.—The first Speaker elected, 1377.—Forty-shilling Freeholders only, to elect Knights, 1430.—Charles I. Dissolved Parliament, which did not meet again for eleven years, 1629.—The Long Parliament assembled, 1640.—Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, 1653.—Roman Catholics excluded the House, 1678.—Act for Triennial Parliaments, 1694.—First Parliament of Great Britain met, 1707.—Triennial Act repealed and Septennial Act voted, 1716.—First meeting of the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, 1801.—Mr. O'Connell, the first Roman Catholic returned since the Reformation, 1828.—The Reformed Parliament met, 1832.—Joseph Pease, the first Quaker admitted on his affirmation, 1833.—Houses of Parliament destroyed by fire, 1834.—Baron L. de Rothschild, the first Jew admitted, 1858.—Parliamentary Oaths modified and made uniform, 1866.—New Reform Bill received Royal assent, 1867.—Parliamentary Elections Act passed, 1868.—The Ballot Act passed, 1872.

Chapter XXXII.—THE MANORS OF AYLESBURY.

Manors—their antiquity—Ancient Lords of Manors—The Manor of Osterasfee in Aylesbury Origin of its name—Family d'Ailesbury—The Manor of the Rectory of Aylesbury—Lords and Ladies of that Manor—Courts Leet and Courts Baron—Court Records—Boundaries of the Rectory Manor—The paramount Manor of Aylesbury—Ancient and obsolete terms and customs—Suit and service—Homage—Lords of the Manor of Aylesbury—Royal Lords — The Fitz-Piers—Fitz-Geoffreys—Le Botelers—Bullens—Baldwins—Pakingtons—Scot the Regicide—Pakingtons restored—The Grenvilles—The Tindals.

MANORS were coexistent with the Saxon constitution. They were originally derived from the Sovereign, who granted tracts of land to men of worth for them and their heirs to dwell upon, empowering them to exercise jurisdiction, more or less in their several precincts, in return for which they had to perform such services to the Sovereign and pay such rents as the conditions of the several grants required. When William the Norman had established himself in this country he seized the lands into his own hands, and gave them to his great Norman followers, in consideration of the services they had rendered him in his English expedition, and for any further assistance he might require of them. When the Norman Lords possessed their new territories by this benevolence, they managed them by their servants, tenants, and husbandmen, there being at that time but two classes of laymen—military and husbandmen. The Lords of Manors had power to subdivide their lands or manors; first they assigned a place for their Manor House, reserving the best part of the land for the maintenance of their families; another portion they granted to the freemen to aid and assist them in war when required by their Sovereign, and the remainder was disposed of to husbandmen, under agreement to find corn and necessaries for the Lord's household, till his lands, thrash his corn, and do all his farm and other labour required. Land was also set aside to feed the cattle of the people who performed servile works; this was called "The Common," for there they fed their cattle in common; the name exists to the present day.

The capital tenants, or those who held direct from the King, were allowed to grant fees to their dependents; they might also give laws to them, constitute courts, and grant other privileges which belonged to their fees; this is the cause of the great difference and variety of customs in respective manors. As the tenants obtained their estates by

the bounty of the Lords so they depended on their wills. The Lords held their courts in the halls of their own houses within their manors, and in which courts they were paramount.

THE MANOR OF OSTERASFEE OR OSTREASFREE.

The ancient descriptions of manors are somewhat perplexing, several Lords appearing at the same period in the same parish. This is explained by the fact that manors were not necessarily co-extensive with the parish in which they were situate; there were manors within a manor; one parish might contain several, the owner of each of which was termed Lord. In Aylesbury parish there are on record four manors —the Manor of Aylesbury, the Manor of Osterasfee, the Rectory Manor, and the Manor of Walton.

The Manor of Osterasfee is not now known, nor can its origin be traced. It is the manor reputed to have been held by the service of finding, "when and as often as the King shall come to the aforesaid town of Aylesbury (not exceeding thrice in the year), litter of straw for the King's bed, straw or grass for the King's chamber, and two geese for the King's table, if in summer, or three eels in winter." This manor is supposed to have been vested in the d'Ailesbury family; its history is exceedingly obscure and doubtful.

It is not easy to decide upon the origin of a local term without obtaining the earliest form whence it is derived, which, in this case, is missing. The term Osterasfee would probably be Oster's Fee, not Ostera's-Fee. Oster is Scandinavian; Ostermen or Ostmen (*i.e.*, East men) was the common name of Danes, Norwegians, and Scandinavians who invaded this country and Scotland and Ireland in the 9th and 10th centuries. Est, Ast, or East is the Saxon form: Ost, Æst, Oster is the Danish. Ostera's-fee, probably the fee of Oster, or the Dane; Ostermen, or Eastmen, being the name applied, because they came from the Eastern shores of the German Ocean. Or the name might have been derived from a later family preserving the Danish form. Fee has been added; that term was not in use in Danish times, but is met with subsequently. In the Hundreds there is Brand's Fee; in Aylesbury there still is Parson's Fee; once there was Castle Fee, also a fee with a less reputable prefix. Like many ancient terms, that of Fee does not now express its original meaning.

The family d'Ailesbury was an important one in the reign of Edward I.; members of it are described as knights, and they bore for their arms a cross argent in a field azure; they are reported to have been Lords of Ailesbury. By a marriage with an heiress of the Cahaignes of Middleton Cahaignes, or Milton Keynes, towards the end of the 13th century, they came to a plentiful estate, which again passed by marriages to the Chaworths and Staffords. In 1164 the name of David d'Ailesberi is met with. In the year 1318 Philip d'Alesbury served the office of Sheriff for Bucks, and is described as of Milton Keynes. In the reign of Henry II. certain lands in Aylesbury were held by William

de St. Mary's Church. In 1323 an inquisition was held, and a return made that William d'Aylesbury, who died in 1278, was then possessed of 50 acres of land, 10 of meadow, and ten shilling rents, with appurtenances in Aylesbury. In the year 1327 Philip d'Aylesbury was Sheriff, and John d'Aylesbury, Knight, also served that office in the years 1368, 1373, and 1386. Robert Fitz-Richard, son of William d'Aylesbury, succeeded, and was seized of the same lands his father held; King Richard II. in 1377 confirmed the grant to Richard Fitz-Robert, son of Robert, which grant describes the same lands, and recites the peculiar service under which they were held. Thomas d'Aylesbury was Sheriff for Bucks in the year 1412. The Aylesbury family continued to hold the Manor of Milton Keynes, which remained in their possession until the year 1439, when the male line ceased, and it passed by the marriage of Eleanor, daughter of Thomas d'Aylesbury, to Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knight, who was Governor of Calais, and was slain by Jack Cade in the rebellion of 1450.

John Baldwin paid a subsidy on the Manor of Osterasfee in Aylesbury, in the year 1542. This John held property in Aston Clinton, was a contemporary of Sir John Baldwin, the Chief Justice, Lord of Aylesbury, and was probably of the same family. The Chief Justice also held an estate in Aston, King Henry VIII. having made him a grant of the Manor of Dunriche or Dundridge, which continued in the family of the Baldwins until the year 1748, when Robert Montieth Baldwin sold it to an ancestor of the Rev. John Jeffreys, of Barnes, Surrey. The probability is that by some arrangement or exchange the Manor of Osterasfee merged into that of Aylesbury at the period, when Lord Chief Justice Baldwin held the latter manor.

THE MANOR OF THE RECTORY.

Lords and Ladies of the Manor :—

1656.—Thomas Scott, Esq.
1687.—William Phillips, Esq.
1700.—Benjamin Monk and Samuel Phillips, Esqrs.
1714.—Mrs. Mary Mead, the elder, widow.
1730.—Mrs. Rebecca Mead.
1733.—Mrs. Mary Mead, the younger, widow.
1753.—John Wilkes, Esq., M.P.
1764.—Sir William Lee, Bart.
1780.—Sir William Lee, Bart.
1802.—The Marquis of Buckingham.
1839.—The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.
1848.—Acton Tindal, Esq.

The earliest Court of this Manor of which information can be obtained was held in the year 1656, and the following is a copy of the record :—"The Rectory of ye Parsonage of Aylesbury.—The viewe of frankepledge of ye Court Baron of Thomas Scott, Esq., holden ye 26 day of Aprill, 1656, before Thos. Farrer, Steward there. Essoine—Mathew Clockman, Rowland Bracebridge, Will. Todde, Thos. Rey. Homage

—Tho. Costard, John Bigg, John Farrer, John Dawson, John Stratfold, Edward Russell, Edwd. Finch, Robert Hickman, John Kingham, Rob. Palmer, Richd. Brookes." At this court, "yt was agreed by ye consent of ye jury that Rob. Edmunds shall make and keepe ye mound as was formerly ye mound of William East next to ye part of ye ground which was formerly ye ground of Tho. Barnabyey, now in ye possession of ye said Rob. Edmunds; ye sd Will. East shall make and keepe the mound which was formerly belonging to ye messuage of John Grace." The quit rents at this Court were received; they were all of very small amount.

Thomas Scot, Esq., the Lord of the Manor, was one of the Regicides; he at this time was Member of Parliament for Wycombe, of which Borough he was High Steward in 1651; it may be assumed that this Manor had previously been the property of the Pakingtons, and was with their estates assigned to Scot and others, to satisfy fines levied on Sir John Pakington by the Parliament.

Another Court was held in 1659, when the copyholders paid their customary quit rents. The constables attending were Richard Syms and Edward Finch. In 1677 William Phillips, Esq., is recorded as Lord. There appears to have been no other Court held until 1677; another in 1687:—"Man. de Rectoræ, Aylesbury.—Vie. Franc. Pleg. Curia Baronis, Guliemi Phillips, Generos. Tent. deodecimo die Aprilis, Ano. Domi. 1687, coram me, Thos. Ffarrer, Armiger." Entry on the Rolls:—"The Court before Mr. Phillips kept his in '77 was ye 30th Aprill, '56, which was 21 yeares; the last Court was kept and held ye 19 Aprill, '77, soe their is 10 yeeres quitt rents, this April, '77; this Court in '77 was then adjourned to Wednesday, ye 6th June in Whitson week." At the adjourned Court held as above, John Stocker and John Dossett proved their holdings to be "off a peper corne only," that is a nominal rent; the tenants at this Court paid 10 years' quit rents, and their reliefs, and did fealty. The ancient town names of Collins, Bigg, Defraine, Bell, North, Payton, Porter, Mayne, Payne, Wallis, Edmonds, amongst others, frequently occur at these old Courts. "Ye Court adjourned to Wednesday, being ye 18th day of May next, at 2 off ye clocke in ye afternoon."

In 1700 Benjamin Monk and Samuel Phillips, Esqs., are recorded as joint Lords. In 1714 there was another collection of quit rents, which were payable to Mrs. Mary Mead, the elder, the list showing nine years to have been due. In 1715 a list of defaulters is made out; another in 1717. In 1720 some of the tenants of the Manor were fifteen years in arrear of quit rents. In 1723 Jacob Dell was collector. In 1730 this Manor was in the hands of Mrs. Rebecca Mead and Mrs. Mary Mead. In 1733 a list is published of all the inhabitants or tenants in the "Mannor of Ailesbury belonging to the Parsonage;" it comprises 126 names, a majority of which still exist in the town. In 1744 the Manor is again described as the Parsonage. At a Court held in that year John Chappell is presented for a "Dungoll," also John Cook, Wm. Hill, Thos. Kirby, Jno. Clark, John Miles, for "Gardings," and Rd. Brassbridge for "stoping" a

water-course. This year a Mr. Baily collected the quit rents, and they are described as belonging to Madam Wilkes. In 1748 John Delafield paid four shillings for four years' quit rents on the waterworks ; this entry is an interpolation in the hand-writing of John Wilkes, who was then Lord, his Steward being Richard Saunders, Gent. In October, 1749, the Leet and Homage were held, at which date, Jacob Dell and Edward Hawkins were constables. Presentments of the deaths of copyholders in Green End, Back Street, Cat Street, Kingsbury, Pebble Lane, and Town's End were made. It was also presented that the Stocks within the Manor were out of repair; also Robert Hickman for "breaking the Lord's waste by making a passage into his cellar and making a window there." Joseph Topping was chosen headborough for the Manor. In 1753 other Courts Leet and Baron were held ; several of the members of the Homage had to make their marks, not being able to write. All the residents in the Manor were called upon to render suit and service by the payment of 1d. each to the Lord.

In 1753 a suit roll was published, including the names of the residents and tenants that owed suit and service, and they were summoned to appear at the Court Leet and Court Baron of John Wilkes, Esq., Lord of the Manor of the Rectory ; this list numbers 103 names, all of whom were called upon to pay 1d. each as suit and service. In 1754 a list of defaulters, with their reasons for not paying the quit rents due to Mr. Wilkes, appears. The following are some of the excuses:—"Mrs. Hoare requires further time for consideration." "Wareing Colecell is dead, and no body admitted, soe the quit rent refused." "The widow of John Cook says she will pay Mr. Wilkes himself." "Hawkins' widow will not pay unless the receipt states it is for her pales." "Millet's widow wont pay because the house is burnt down." "Charles Holloway never paid before, and wont now." At a Court held in the year 1761, Edmund Bowler was admitted a tenant for a house, close, and orchard surrendered under Syred's will upon payment of a fine of 6s. and a further payment of 3s. in lieu of supplying the Lord of the Manor with three capons.

A suit roll was published in 1766 summoning the tenants to appear at the Courts Leet and Baron of Sir William Lee, Baronet, Lord of the Manor of the Rectory of Aylesbury, Alexander Croke, gent., being his Steward. In 1766 the Leet and Homage presented that a stone in Green End near the pond there had been removed ; it being a Manor mark another was ordered to be placed there. Dr. B. Bates was presented for a dunghill in Green End. The Round House was presented as being greatly out of repair ; no such place has existed for many years ; its situation is not known, nor the use made of it ; it appears to have been a public building. Several properties were aliened, reliefs paid, and new tenants admitted. John Dell and James Brooks were appointed constables, and Joseph Topping tythingman. About 1780 another Sir William Lee, Bart., was Lord, and William Minshull, gent., Steward. Courts were held, when the usual business was transacted; Dr. Shuttleworth was presented for making a dunghill in Church Street, and John Odcraft for placing timber "in the

Sheep Fair near the Pond." Thomas Groves was also presented for building a wood hovel adjoining the Round House built by John Wilkes, Esq. At a Court held in 1802 several presentments were made of encroachments, building pigstyes, forming duck pools and duck houses, and in 1803 there were 18 presentments for laying dung on the highway and other nuisances; these were mostly in Green End and Common Dunghill. This was the period when the Manor became the property of the Marquis of Buckingham, and probably on a change of proprietors the old rights of the Lordship were more closely inspected.

The boundaries of the Manor of the Rectory of Aylesbury are thus described as existing in the early part of the present century. The Manor includes—"All Cat Street (Castle Street) on both sides, and ends at a drain which runs under the house in the occupation of John Haystaff, and comes up behind the houses next the pales of the Prebendal garden as far as the late William Capel's house, now George Capel's, following the course of a drain under the middle of the house in the occupation of William Franklin, to an old stone in the corner of the fences of the lawn of the Prebendal House, following the gravel walk till nearly opposite to Mr. Rose's cottage, then turns to the right into the lawn, about thirty yards following the line where an old fence of Sir William Lee's stood, cut across where a stone formerly stood, thence in a straight line to the spot where a stone formerly stood within about thirty yards from the north-west corner of the Prebendal House, cut across from thence in a straight line to the wall at the back of W. Fryer's house, leaving the well and pump on the lawn on the left hand, turn to the left along the said wall to the corner of Hester's house, then cross the gravel road to an elm tree at the corner of the former inclosure of Sir William Lee as marked, to a tree at the corner of the wall on White Hill, leaving Major Browne's kitchen garden where the Prebendal barns formerly stood in the Rectory Manor, where a gap now is, up to the great tree at the top of White Hill, takes the right hand side behind Church as far as a drain under the barn lately belonging to Thomas Kirby, labourer, now belonging to and in the occupation of William Kibble, follows the said drain at the back of Mr. Dawney's estate next the Bull pond, cross the turnpike road to a tenement late in the occupation of Robert Dancer, and now of William Hester, and the house in the occupation of Joseph Bates, goes as far as the gutter beyond the taphouse belonging to Mr. Turvey, and takes the top of Kingsbury as far as the gutter, on the further side of John Green's house, there ends, and begins again at the first gutter in Pebble Lane, opposite Mr. Peck's stable, takes all the said lane on the right hand side into and all round the Churchyard, then down the right hand side of Broad Street, and into Green End, extending beyond the gutter opposite Mr. Grimes's (now Mr. Rickford's) about six or seven yards nearly opposite the corner of the taphouse wall belonging to Messrs. Dell, Fell, and Barker, next the Quakers' Meeting House, where a stone was formerly laid about ten yards from the said wall, and from thence goes down Green End round by the Rising Sun, into Cat Street."

In the year 1802 the Marquis of Buckingham purchased the paramount Manor of Aylesbury of Sir John Pakington, and, as the Marquis was previously Lord of the Rectory, these manors became amalgamated.

THE MANOR OF AYLESBURY WITH BIERTON.

Having disposed of the Minor Manors, reference is now made to the paramount Manor, or that known in later years as "Pakington's." This Manor, described in Doomsday Survey as "Terra Regis," the land of the King, was rated "at sixteen hides (reputed as 1600 acres), having sixteen ploughs, two in the demesne, and twenty villeins with fourteen bordars, having ten ploughs, to which four more might have been added; two servants, and two mills of 23s. value; pasturage for eight plough teams, and to the value of 20s. more; altogether worth fifty-six pounds in money assayed, and for the market £10 by tale. In King Edward's time it paid £25 by the tale." "In this Manor was then, and had been anciently, one socman with a virgate of land, which he could give or sell to whom he would, but it must be in the Court of the Sheriff."

It is now difficult to ascertain the extent of an ancient manor, as it is uncertain what a hide of land represented; it varied, but is generally estimated at 100 acres, and was considered to employ one plough for a year; it is at times called a ploughland. In an old manuscript it is estimated to be 120 acres, then considered enough to maintain a family. Eight hides made a knight's fee. Sir Edward Coke holds that a Knight's fee, a hide, or ploughland, or a yard land, or a virgate, does not contain any certain number of acres. A ploughland in respect of the repairing of the highways was settled at the value of £50 per year in the reign of William III.

The villeins referred to represented a class of people who, under the Saxon Government, were in a condition approaching slavery; they were used and employed in the most servile occupations, and even belonged to the lord of the soil, like cattle and stock. Villeins held the folk-land, or land without title, from which they were subject to be removed, or dispossessed, at the Lord's pleasure. Villeins-in-gross were attached to the person of the Lord, and might be transferred from one Lord to another; and Villeins-regardent were attached to the Manor and bought and sold with it. Bordars or cottagers were a class a degree above villeins; they held their cottages upon some tangible agreement, and, in lieu of personal menial service, supplied the Lord's household with eggs, poultry, wood, or any other commodity required; in fact paid their rents in kind; they could not sell, mortgage, or dispose of their property by gift, or otherwise, without the consent of the Lord under whom they held. Socmen were the husbandmen of ancient times; they hired lands of the Lord, by the payment of rent, and were subject to no servile tenure, but in some cases had to perform duties in the service and honour of the Lord, according to the established customs of their manor. There was a class of socmen who were in a better condition, and were entirely independent of the Lord, and could sell their lands to whom they would. These were called Free-Soccage men.

Most Manorial transactions are still settled in the Lords' Courts, known as Courts Leet and Courts Baron. At the Court Baron, jurymen, called the "homage," are empanelled; their duties are to see that the Lord's rights are kept unimpaired; that all customs are observed; that the deaths of copyholders are duly presented; that the tenants of the Manor make their suit and service, pay their quit rents, heriots, and reliefs. They have also to present all nuisances and trespasses prejudicial to the Lord's interest. The origin of the Court Baron is of great antiquity. The Court Leet is also one of the most ancient Courts, and is coeval with the establishment of the Saxons here. It was formerly held once or twice in the year, within a particular Hundred, Lordship, or Manor, before the steward of the Leet, and was for the preservation of the peace and the infliction of fines for minute offences committed in the Manor to the injury of the Lord. All residents in a Manor were, in earlier times, under the jurisdiction of the Lord. Circumstances are now altered, and the Leet generally exists in name only, but at Aylesbury the Constables of the Manor are still appointed by the Court Leet, and these Constables are the returning officers for the Borough and Hundreds.

Suit and service attached to copyholds are now commuted to money payments known as quit rents, so called that on their being made the copyholder goes quit and free from all and every other service due to the Lord. Copyholds of the present day represent the kind of property formerly held by the Bordars, and are still held by copy of the Court Roll of the Manor in which they are situate; thus the term "copyhold." Copyholds are subject to the customs of the Manor to which they are attached; these vary considerably. In some cases the fines are certain and nominal, in others arbitrary and excessive. Copyholds in some Manors are subject to a heriot. A heriot originally signified a tribute due to the Lord of a Manor, for his better provision for war. By the Danish law, on the death of a great man the horses and arms in use for war purposes in his lifetime were forfeit to the King's service. The best or other good beast is now usually taken, whether it be horse, ox, or cow the copyholder dies possessed of, as due and payable to the Lord. In some Manors the best article of furniture, plate, &c., is taken for the heriot, though in many cases it has become the custom to commute this for a money payment. The heriot is an exaction which must have imparted a curious interest to the longevity of both landlord and tenant. It generally took the shape of the best horse of the latter, as instanced in Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel":—

> The Earl into fair Eskdale came,
> Homage and seignory to claim:
> Of Gilbert the Galliard a heriot he sought,
> Saying, "Give thy best steed, as a vassal ought."

A relief under the Feudal system was a fine paid by the heir to the Lord, on being admitted to his feud; that is, the property which his ancestor had possessed was held on condition of fidelity. It was called a relief, because it raised up and re-established the inheritance.

A copyholder cannot in fact sell his copyhold, although he may obtain the full value of

it; he has to surrender it to the Lord. Certain fines being paid customary to the Manor, the purchaser or successor is admitted as a tenant to the Manor, upon which admission he formerly had to perform homage or fealty, but this is not now actually done, the form of admission concluding with the words "this fealty was respited." The following is a legal description of the ancient forms of homage and fealty:—"When the tenant shall do homage, he shall come ungirted, and his head uncovered, while his Lord is sitting; and the tenant shall kneel before him on both his knees, and hold his hands joined together, between those of his Lord, and thus shall say—"I become your man, from this day forward, of life, and member, and of all earthly worship; and unto you I shall be faithful and loyal, and owe you faith I owe to my King," and then the Lord so sitting shall kiss him. How low was the natural dignity of man reduced by this abject submission, caused by the Feudal system! But how must the mind of the subject have been debased, when, according to Lyttleton, such servility could have been deemed "the most honourable service that a man could pay to his Lord!" There was no oath taken. "When a free tenant," says Lyttleton, "doth fealty to his Lord, he shall hold his right hand on a book and shall say thus—'Know ye this, my Lord, that I shall be faithful and true to you and faith to you shall bear for the lands which I claim to hold of you, and that I shall lawfully do to you the customs and services which I ought to do at the terms assigned, so help me God and his saints;' and he shall kiss the book. But he shall not kneel when he maketh the fealty, nor shall he make such humble reverence as is aforesaid in homage."

The formal surrender and admission of copyholds by the rod is somewhat of the following character. The copyholder, taking the rod, presents it to the Steward of the Manor, and uses a form to this effect—"By this rod I surrender to the Lord all my interest in my copyhold, as described on the Court Rolls of this Manor, to the use of A.B." The Steward then takes the rod, and, presenting it to the new tenant, making use of a similar form—"By this rod I admit you as tenant to the property now surrendered, subject to all rights and customs appertaining to this Manor." The reasons for requiring these ancient forms are now so few that they are in a great measure obsolete. A surrender and admission take place each time a copyhold property changes hands. Copyholds in this Manor are, as a rule, still surrendered by the rod. In certain cases copyholds will pass by bargain and sale, and be enrolled; the rod is not then resorted to.

The Manor of Aylesbury continued in the possession of Royalty until the reign of King John. That monarch alienated it to Geoffrey Fitz-Piers. As far as can be ascertained by the records, which are complicated, the following is a list of its Lords, from the Conquest to the present time:—

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.
WILLIAM RUFUS.
HENRY I.
RICHARD I.
KING JOHN.

GEOFFREY FITZ-PIERS.

He was Earl of Essex, and became Lord of this Manor by the alienation as above stated, to hold it by military service as of one Knight's fee and the payment of £60 per annum. He was Sheriff of Bucks in 1200, and served as Sheriff for other counties at the time he held this estate. He acquired the Manor of Broughton Hollands, in Weston Turville, which has been held by the Lords of the Manor of Aylesbury to this day.

JOHN FITZ-PIERS.

He was son of Geoffrey, and was often called Fitz-Geoffrey ; he became possessed of this Manor in 1227. This John acquired the Manor of and lands in Bierton, which still appertain to Aylesbury, and many other estates in Bucks. He died in 1258, and was buried in great pomp, the King, by precept, commanding John de Crakhill, his treasurer, to provide a cloth of gold to lay over the corpse when passing through London.

JOHN FITZ-GEOFFREY.

He was son of John Fitz-Piers, and was a minor at the time of his father's death, but was admitted to his lands. He adhered to the rebellious barons ; was a commander at the battle of Lewes, where the King was taken prisoner. He fought at Evesham, in 1265, and was the only man of note who escaped the general carnage there ; he was deprived of his lands, but admitted to composition. He was called upon by writ of *Quo Warranto** to show his right to this Manor, and his exemption from attendance at the County and Hundred Courts, &c. He pleaded the grant to his ancestor, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, as holding it at a fee-farm-rent of £50 per annum, and £10 for its proceeds, and the service of one knight, with soc, sac, tal, and them, infangthef, outfangthef, exemption from passage, pontage, stallage, lastage, toll, and tallage, sheriff's aids and their bailiffs and in cases of murder, frankpledge, suits of shires and hundreds as in other lands in his fee ; that he held by the services aforesaid quietly and peaceably as the King or his ancestors had holden the same ; had his view annually without other service ; gallows, tumbrel, pillory, and waifs. Fitz-Geoffrey established his title, and continued in possession of this Manor with all its rights and privileges.

As, in the defence of this claim, a great many terms in connection with manors are introduced which are now mostly obsolete, an explanation of their meaning generally is requisite. The term "soc" signifies a liberty of jurisdiction, to have suits of tenants, or to search for thieves, or stolen goods, to do justice upon any inquisition within a manor or fee. "Sac" signifies a royalty, or rather a jurisdiction of holding plea, a correction of trespasses in a manor or power, to amerce tenants in court. "Toll" has several significations, either to buy or sell within a manor, which seems to import a fair or market, or a liberty to take or be quit from the payment of toll, or that the Lord may take tallage or toll of his villeins. "Them" is a power to have servants or slaves; all baronies enfeoffed with "them" had this power ; all their bondsmen, with their children, goods, and

* Quo Warranto.—A writ which lies for the King against anyone who claims or usurps any office, franchise, or liberty, to enquire by what authority he supports his claim, in order to determine the right.

chattels, properly belonged to the Lord, who might dispose of them at his pleasure. The service of one knight's fee is understood to have been that the Lord of the Manor undertook, in time of war, to serve the King for thirty days as a soldier in active service. "Infangthef" is a compound of three Saxon words, and signifies the power to take or catch a thief, a privilege granted to some Lords of Manors; to judge any thief taken in their manors. "Outfangthef" was the power granted to a Lord to judge a man residing in his own fee, and taken there for a felony done in any other place. "Exemptions from passage" means that the Lord was not, in the King's service, bound to go beyond sea. "Pontage" meant that he could not be called upon to contribute to the repairs of any bridges over which at the same time he could pass free. "Stallage" was the liberty of pitching any stall or erecting stalls in fairs or markets, or receiving the tolls obtained from them. "Lastage, toll and tallage" also refer to the rights and privileges connected with the market. Under the privilege of sheriffs' aids the Lord claimed to be independent of the Sheriff of the County, or his bailiffs. The term "gallows" would imply that the Lord had power, in his Manor, even to inflict the punishment of death. The "tumbrel" was an instrument of punishment attached more to social than to criminal delinquency; a description of its use will be found in the article on obsolete punishments. The pillory, although within the jurisdiction of the Lord of the Manor, was also used as a mode of punishment on other criminals than those of the Manor, so was the tumbrel. "Waifs"—Where goods were stolen and waived or abandoned by the felon on his being pursued, such were forfeit to the Lord in which Manor they were found; the goods became the absolute property of the Lord, excepting the owner made a fresh pursuit within a year and a day. "View of Frankpledge"—The ancient custom of the freemen of England for the preservation of the public peace was that every free born man at fourteen years of age, priests and knights excepted, should find surety towards the King, or else be kept in prison; whereupon a certain number of persons became customarily bound over for the other, to see each man of this pledge forthcoming at all times, so that whosoever offended, it was forthwith enquired in what pledge he was, and then they of that pledge either brought him forth within thirty-one days to his answer, or else gave satisfaction for his offence. In order to enforce this essential part of police, the courts of the town and leet were erected, or rather were separated from the county. Lords claimed this jurisdiction within their Manors.

RICHARD FITZ-JOHN.

He was brother to the last Lord; was summoned to Parliament as a Baron in 1294; he died in 1297, possessed of great estates, including the Manors of Aylesbury, Quarrendon, Singleborough, Steeple Claydon, and other lands in Bucks, and Manors in Wilts, Devon, Surrey, Essex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire. Aylesbury Manor, with Bierton, was held in dower by Emma, his widow, and, after her death, by partition it became the inheritance of Joane Boteler, the fourth sister of Richard Fitz-John, who married Theobald Boteler. She died in 1302.

SIR EDMUND LE BOTELER, KNIGHT.

He was son of Theobald and Joane Boteler. He fought at Connaught, 1309 ; was Deputy of Ireland, 1312 ; Knighted and made Earl Carrick, 1316 ; ob., 1321.

JAMES LE BOTELER, EARL ORMONDE.

He was second Earl of Carrick ; son of Edmund, and grandson of Theobald Boteler and Joane his wife ; was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and died possessed of this Manor in 1338. After his death his widow Eleanor, who was granddaughter of King Edward I., held this Manor in dower until her death in 1363.

JAMES LE BOTELER, SECOND EARL ORMONDE.

He was third Earl of Carrick, and grandson of the first Earl ; was Lord Justice of Ireland, 1359 to 1364. By his will, dated August, 1379, he bequeathed his soul to God, and to the Blessed Virgin ; his body to be buried in the Church of Schyre, now Shere, in Surrey, if fortune decreed him to die in England. (He died at his castle Knoctopher, in Ireland, in 1382, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.) He left all his gold and silver vessels, and his wardrobe, to Elizabeth his wife, and to James his son, and his heirs male ; all his corn and stock to his unmarried daughters. His wife, James his son, and John de Kyngefeild were his executors, and his loving kinsmen, William, Bishop of London, and Nicholas, Abbot of Westminster, overseers of his will. The Earl's mother was Eleanor, second daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of King Edward I. The Earl was consequently great grandson of Edward I., and great nephew of Edward II.

JAMES LE BOTELER.

He was third Earl of Ormonde, Lord Justice of Ireland 1392-1403, founder of the Grey Friars Monastery in Aylesbury 1386, died 1405 ; his effigy is in Aylesbury Church.

JAMES LE BOTELER, FOURTH EARL OF ORMONDE.

He held the office of Lord Justice of Ireland in 1407 ; Lord Deputy in 1420 ; Lord Justice again in 1426 ; he had confirmation of King John's Charter to Geoffrey Earl of Essex of this Manor, and a fair held therein ; ob. 1451.

JAMES LE BOTELER, FIFTH EARL ORMONDE AND EARL WILTSHIRE.

He was Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of England, K.G. ; he was taken prisoner at Towton, and beheaded at Newcastle, May 1st, 1461 ; his brother, Sir John Boteler, was also attainted, and died abroad.

THOMAS LE BOTELER, LORD ORMONDE DE ROCHFORT.

He was heir to his brothers ; attainted, but was restored by Henry VII., and made a Privy Counsellor, Great Chamberlain to the Queen, and Ambassador to France ; was summoned to Parliament as Lord Ormonde de Rochfort with precedence of all other Barons ; he died the 3rd of August, 1515.

SIR WILLIAM BULLEN, KNIGHT.

Margaret, second daughter of Thomas le Boteler, Lord Ormonde de Rochfort, carried Aylesbury Manor, by marriage, to Sir William Bullen, Knight, of Blickling, Norfolk ; he was son of Sir Geoffrey Bullen, mercer, and Lord Mayor of London, 37th Henry VI.

SIR THOMAS BULLEN, LORD ORMONDE.

He was son of Sir William and Margaret ; was created Baron Rochfort in 1495, and Earl Ormonde and Wilts 1529 ; married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and was father of Anne, the unfortunate Queen Consort of Henry VIII., who was beheaded, and of George Bullen, Baron Rochfort, who was also beheaded in the 28th of Henry VIII.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BALDWIN.

He purchased Aylesbury Manor of Sir Thomas Bullen ; was the son of William Baldwin, and Agnes, the daughter of William Dormer, Esq., of West Wycombe, the ancestor of Lord Dormer. At the Inner Temple, where he studied the law, he attained so high a reputation that he received the uncommon distinction of being thrice appointed leader. The last occasion, in the autumn of 1531, was on account of having been called upon to take the degree of the Coif, which he accordingly assumed in the following November, when he was immediately constituted one of the King's Serjeants. In 1530 he held the office of treasurer of his Inn. He probably practised in the Court of Chancery, as he was one of the persons assigned in 1529 to aid Cardinal Wolsey in hearing causes there. He and Serjeant Willoughby were knighted in 1534, being the first serjeants who ever submitted to receive that honour. In 1535 he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas. Within a few weeks he was called upon to act as a Commissioner on the trials of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, in which, however, he does not appear to have taken any active part. He continued Chief Justice for ten years, resigning between Trinity term, 1545, the date of the last fine levied before him being November 6th. He died on the 22nd of December following. He was in high favour with King Henry VIII., and obtained valuable grants from him. It was Lord Chief Justice Baldwin who built, or re-embellished, the original Market House or Town Hall in Aylesbury, which was pulled down about the year 1802. By his influence the County Assizes were at this period wholly held at Aylesbury. His property was divided amongst his daughters, as he left no male issue.

ROBERT PAKINGTON, ESQ.

He was M.P. for London ; he married Katharine, one of the daughters of Sir John Baldwin, by which marriage he became possessed of the Manor of Aylesbury, and other properties. He had acquired great wealth as a London merchant, was very devout, but came to a tragical end. In crossing Queen Street, Cheapside, in 1537, to attend early morning service at church, he was shot by an assassin ; and it being foggy the murderer escaped. The cause of the enmity to the deceased was that he had abjured the Romish

faith, and, being one of the representatives of the City, he had spoken severely in Parliament against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy. At this period Tyndale's "Translation of the New Testament" came over from Antwerp in large numbers. Tonstal, the Bishop of London, was anxious to suppress the translation, and he consulted Pakington, who traded to Antwerp. Pakington was a secret friend of Tyndale, and knowing his want of money, and that a great many of the Testaments were still on hand, told the Bishop that if his lordship pleased he would buy up all the unsold copies. The Bishop consented, and Tyndale had the money, Pakington the thanks, and the Bishop the books, which were burned in Cheapside. The printers in Holland, finding the books so eagerly sought after, immediately printed another edition, and next year they came over in greater numbers than before. The Bishop blamed Pakington for not buying all the books; Pakington averred he had, and hinted to the Bishop that to stop the supply he must buy the type and presses. The Bishop, having already bought experience, smiled at the proposal, and so the matter ended. Robert Pakington left an only son, Thomas, also three daughters, viz., Elizabeth, wife of John Lane, and afterwards wife of Sir Richard Mallory, Knight, and Alderman of London; Ann, wife of Richard Cupper, of Glympton, Oxon, Esq.; and Margaret, wife of Benedict Lee, Esq., of Burston, at whose death she married Thomas Scott, of Yorkshire, Esq.

SIR THOMAS PAKINGTON, KNIGHT.

He was an infant at the time of his father's cruel death, and was made an in-ward of the Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1551 he came into possession of the Manor of Aylesbury, with other estates; he was knighted by Queen Mary. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson, of Hawridge, by whom he had eight children; he died in London in 1571, and was buried at Aylesbury on the 12th of June, with great pomp, the officers of the College of Arms attending. The funeral was a very grand one, the like of which was never before seen in Aylesbury: "there were trompetors and heralds, and led horses all caparisoned, and the officer of the College of Arms was present; there was Robert Croke, Esq., Clarenceaux King of Arms, Hugh Cotgrave, Esq., Richmond Herald, and a vast retinue." The mourners were John Pakington, Esq., the son and heir; Sir W. Cordell, Knight; John Burlacy, Esq., and Richard Cupper, Esq.; and the ceremony was witnessed by a great concourse of all classes of people. Dame Dorothy, his widow, was his sole executrix; this is the lady who acquired great celebrity by her political interference in electioneering concerns, and might have vied with the most vehement partizans of her sex in this or any other county in modern days. She re-married with Thomas Tasburgh, Esq.; died in 1577, and is buried in Hawridge Church.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, BART.

He was son of Thomas and Dorothy Pakington, and succeeded his father as Lord of Aylesbury; he was educated under Lewis, Dean of Gloucester, and, having remarkably distinguished himself when Queen Elizabeth visited Worcester, was invited to attend the

Court, was made K.B. in his father's lifetime, and afterwards a Privy Councillor. He lived in such splendour that his fortune was injured, and notwithstanding the kindness of the Queen, with whom he was a great favourite, he quitted the allurements of the Court, and retired into the country, resolved, to use his own words, "to feed upon bread and verjuice until he had made up for his extravagance." The Queen, being informed of his intention and the cause of it, granted to him an estate of at least £800 per annum, in Suffolk, which had escheated to the Crown; but upon his going to take possession, the melancholy spectacle of the lady and her family to whom it had previously belonged had such an effect on his generous feelings, that he immediately repaired to Court and nobly refused the proffered benefit. Having taken leave of the Queen, in a manner which in this day appears romantic, he began his journey into Worcestershire, attended by 60 tenants and servants on horseback, who came purposely out of the country to pay him this compliment, and waited at the court gates while he was taking leave. The Queen further granted to him divers lands, and when the Earl of Pembroke was made Lord President of Wales, Sir John Pakington was appointed Lieutenant of Worcestershire, afterwards Custos Rotulorum, and Bow-bearer of Malvern chase. He enjoyed the favour of his sovereign during the remainder of his life, and was exceedingly popular. He retrieved his estate, and added considerably to his possessions. He had a spirit as truly great and noble as his designs were generous and honourable, so that his whole course was a continued series of laudable actions. He lived in great friendship with his neighbours, kept a hospitable table, built a stately mansion at Westwood, near Droitwich, but chiefly resided at Aylesbury, where he entertained James I. and his Queen, with a great train of courtiers, soon after their accession, in a manner as splendid as ever had been done by a subject. Lloyd remarks that "he was a brave gentleman and a fine courtier; for he could smile ladies to his service and argue statesmen to his designs with equal facility. His reason was powerful, his beauty more! Never was a brave soul more bravely seated. Nature bestowed great parts on him, and education polished him to an admirable frame of prudence and virtue. Queen Elizabeth called him her Temperance; the Earl of Leicester his Modesty." He adds:—"This new star was a nine days' wonder, engaging all eyes until it set, satisfied with its own glory. He came to Court, he said, as Solomon did, to see its vanity, and retired also, as he did, to repent it." He died in 1625, aged 77 years, and was buried at Aylesbury.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, BART.

He was the only son of Sir John. High expectations were formed of him when very young, and his father procured for him a Baronet's Patent, when he was about twenty years of age, soon after his marriage, which, although contracted without his father's consent, did not prevent his settling upon him the Manor of Aylesbury, after which he resided there, and was chosen M.P. for the Borough, but died in his twenty-fourth year. In the record of his burial, 29th October, 1624, in the Aylesbury register, he is denominated "Sir John Pakington, Knight and Baronet, the hopes of Aylesbury." His father survived only until the next year.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, BART.

He was the third Baronet, and succeeded to the title on the death of his grandfather. During his minority he was committed to the guardianship of Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Privy Seal, whose daughter he afterwards married. He was elected a Knight of the Shire of Worcester in 1639, and was also returned for Aylesbury, and again chosen for both in 1641, but made his election for Aylesbury, and was its representative until the Civil War, when, upon passing an ordinance for settling the Militia in 1642, he received a commission to array men for the King's service in Worcestershire. Having thereupon exerted himself with great zeal, and being taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces, he was committed to the Tower. The persecutions he suffered on account of his loyalty, his imprisonment in the Tower of London, the destruction of his mansion, the seizure of his Manor and estates at Aylesbury, have already been recorded in this work. In 1663 an Act of Parliament enabled Sir John Pakington and his trustees to sell estates for the payment of his debts and to raise a portion for his younger children, in which are set forth his prosecution and trial and the attempts made to confiscate his estate ; and an indenture is recited by which conveyance was made of "the Manor of Aylesbury and Abbotts-Broughton," and "divers other Manors," lands, and tenements, in Bucks, &c., and specifying "the Crowne Inne, two closes called Ffryer-mead meadow or pasture, 'hades' or 'leyes,' lyeing in Cow meade ; the King's Head Inn, St. John's meade, Long Will-bedds meadowe ; the Porch house, behind Kingsbury ; Paradise pond, &c.," to be settled upon Anthony Lord Ashley, Francis Coventry, Esq., William Coventry, Esq., Sir Edmond Hoskins, Knight, Serjeant-at-Law, and Thomas Child, Esq., as trustees (for Sir John Pakington and Dame Dorothy), charged with an annuity of £210 to the latter for life, and to raise portions for their two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, &c. In 1665 the acting Lords of the Manor of Aylesbury were Sharrington Talbot, Fras. Finch, John Prettiman, Thomas Westrow, Edmond Hoskin, Richard Salway, and George Gosnold, Esqs.; Christopher Egleton was steward. These were the parties to whom Sir John's property was subsequently assigned, to enable him to pay the fines imposed on him by the Parliament. In 1657 Thomas Scott, described as of Marlow, was Lord of the Manor ; he gave a receipt for the quit rents received at a Court held at that date, signing his name with one "t" only. This was Scot the Regicide, who was executed at Charing Cross.

Notwithstanding his persecutions, Sir John maintained a steady attachment to the Government, and was conspicuous for his firmness when questioned by Lord Carrington, Lieutenant of Worcestershire, who, by order, as is presumed, of James II., previously to an election, enquired "whether, if elected a member, he would consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws." To which he answered that the intent of the test and penal laws being to serve the Church, till he was convinced that the Church was in less danger than when those laws were enacted, or some better security proposed, he conceived that they could not be taken away without hazard of ruin to the Church of England, of

which being a member, he could neither in honour nor conscience consent to their repeal. He is recorded to have been an indulgent parent, a kind master, charitable to the poor, loyal to his sovereign, faithful to his country, speaking his mind freely in Parliament, without fear or flattery, and despising titles and preferments obtained by base and dishonourable means. He was the last of the family who resided at Aylesbury, and at his death the close connection of the family with the town, which had existed for so long a period, ceased. He died in 1680, and was buried at Hampton Lovett, Worcestershire. His wife, Dorothy, daughter of the Lord Keeper Coventry, as stated, was eminently distinguished for her wisdom and piety; her virtues and talents have been abundantly celebrated, and she was the accredited authoress of several excellent books. She lived in intimacy with many bishops and other learned divines, who admired her genius and declared themselves edified by her conversation and instructed by her writings. In 1719 A. Crabb, gent., was steward of Aylesbury Manor. From 1750 to 1758 Dame Elizabeth Pakington was the Lady of the Manor, and Joseph Eyre, gent., was her steward. In 1780 the Lord was Sir Herbert Perrott Pakington, and Joseph Burnham, gent., steward; in 1790 Thomas Hatten, gent., and in 1792 Joseph Burnham, gent., were stewards of the Manor, and subsequently John Parker, gent. The descendants and successors of the Pakingtons continued to hold this Manor and estate until April, 1802, when Sir John Pakington, the eighth Baronet, conveyed all his rights, &c., in the Manor of Aylesbury, Bierton, and Broughton-Hollands (*alias* Stavely) to George Nugent Grenville Temple, Marquis of Buckingham, K.G.

GEORGE, MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

The Grenville family is of Norwegian origin, and, according to Collins's Peerage, the Granvilles, Earls of Bath, and Grenvilles of Buckinghamshire sprang from the same stock, of which Bigot, first Duke of Normandy, is reputed the common ancestor. Rollo, surnamed Bygot, first Duke of Normandy, was the son of Rognwald, a Norwegian Jarl, by Hilda, daughter of Harolst, and is said to have taken the name of Robert at his baptism. He died about A.D. 922, having had two wives; first, Papia, daughter of Berengarius (generally called "Berenger"), Count of Bayeaux; and, secondly, Gisella, or Gilette, daughter of Charles the Simple, King of France. From the issue of his first marriage, the De Grenville who, popularly speaking, "came in with the Conqueror," derived his descent. The name of Grenville is said to have been taken from a Lordship in Normandy. It is recorded that Richard de Greville, or Grenville, accompanied his elder brother, Robert Fitz-Hamon, Earl of Carboile, into Wales, assisted in the conquest of Glamorganshire, and was rewarded with the Lordship and Castle of Neath, where he founded an Abbey. On the death of his brother, without issue male, he is represented to have succeeded to the Earldom, and was styled Earl of Carboile, Thorigny, and Grenville. From one of his sons issued that branch which has flourished in Bucks. Sir Eustace de Grenville had a grant of lands in Wotton and Hame-juxta-Brehul in 1273. William de Grenville was sheriff of Oxon and Bucks in

1289. At that period a member of the Grenville family was Lord of Chilton, and resided there. The Manor of Wotton came into the possession of the family in the reign of King Edward III., and subsequently they increased their estate (which was called Grenville's Manor) by the purchase of two other manors in Wotton, called Burwell's Manor and the Manor of Hame, or Ham. Richard Grenville, Esq., died in 1519, possessed of these Manors. His son and successor, Edward Grenville, Esq., was Sheriff of Bucks and Beds in 1527, and by his will, proved in 1536, he bequeathed his soul to God, the Blessed Mother, and all the company of Heaven, and directed his body to be buried within his chapel at Wotton. Richard Grenville, Esq., of Wotton, was Sheriff of Bucks in 1642 and in the two following years ; he commanded a troop of horse in the Parliamentary army. In 1654, 1655, and 1658 he was one of the Knights of the Shire for Bucks. Richard, his son and successor, who was Sheriff of that county in 1761, married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Peter Temple, Knight, and his son, named also Richard, married Hester, second daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Temple, Knight and Bart., of Stowe, and who in 1718 was created Viscount and Baron Cobham, of Cobham, in Kent, with remainder to the heirs of his body, and in default the title and dignity of Viscountess and Baroness Cobham to descend to the said Hester Grenville and her heirs male, and in default to Dame Christian Lyttleton, another sister, and her heirs. Richard Grenville, Esq., died in 1727, leaving Hester, his wife, surviving, and at her father's death she became possessed of the before-mentioned titles and the estates of her ancestors ; in 1749 (23 George II.) she was further advanced to the dignity of Countess Temple, and, in remainder, the title of Earl Temple to her heirs male. This lady died at Wotton in 1754, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Richard Grenville, Esq., who became Earl Temple and Viscount and Baron Temple. This nobleman died at Stowe in 1779. The Grenvilles made Stowe their chief seat, and Wotton became the residence of the junior branch of the family.

George Grenville Nugent Temple was son of Richard Grenville, Esq., who became Earl Temple and Baron Cobham. He was made one of the tellers in the Exchequer ; created Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham in 1779 ; took the name and arms of Nugent 1780. He was Lord Lieutenant and Cust. Rot. of Bucks ; Lord Lieutenant, and general Governor of Ireland in 1782 ; principal Secretary of State 1783, but resigned in the same year ; was created Marquis of Buckingham in 1784 ; was again Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1787-1789 ; he died in 1813, and was buried at Wotton. He married Mary, sole heiress of Robert, Earl Nugent, who died in the same year as the Duke. They had issue Richard Grenville, who succeeded to the Marquisate, George Grenville, who at the death of his mother took her maiden name and was styled Lord Nugent, and Mary, who married Lord Arundel. On becoming Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury the Marquis demolished the ancient Guildhall or Market House, embellished or built by Sir John Baldwin, and replaced it by a substantial stone-built edifice which, in its turn, gave place to a successor in another

part of the town, erected at the time of the formation of the Aylesbury Market Company in 1864.

RICHARD, MARQUIS AND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Richard Grenville Nugent Chandos Temple, born in 1776, was a nobleman of great abilities, both as a scholar and politician, and a most munificent patron of literature and the fine arts. As a politician he for the most part supported Conservative principles; in early life he was both an eloquent and frequent speaker, but for some years previous to his death he was so much afflicted with gout as to be compelled to remain in retirement, mostly at Stowe House, where he found consolation under his suffering in the exercise of a literary and scientific taste, in which few men of his time excelled him. He was a firm friend to the agricultural interest and his numerous tenantry, and especially the poorer amongst them, who at his death lost a sincere friend. Of the extent of his patronage of the fine arts some idea may be formed from the fact that the sale of a part only of his vast collection of fine and rare engravings lasted thirty days. The Marquis was elevated to the Dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos in 1822. He died in 1839. His Duchess was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Chandos; she was born in 1779, and married the Marquis, then Earl Temple, in 1796. Throughout life this amiable and accomplished lady displayed those traits of character which shed the brightest lustre on exalted rank and hallow the memory of their possessors. She was boundless in her charities, pious, affectionate, and sincere, withdrawing from the "pomps and vanities" of the world to indulge in the secret charms of retirement, where she could encourage the deserving, reform the erring, and minister to the necessities of the distressed. She died at Stowe house, in 1836, and her remains were interred at Avington, a retired village near Winchester, the seat of the Chandos family. One child only was the issue of this marriage—the Marquis of Chandos, who at his father's death succeeded to his estates, including the Manor of Aylesbury, also to the titles of Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. The minor titles are—Marquis of Buckingham (1784), Marquis of Chandos and Earl Temple of Stowe (1822), Earl Temple (1749), Viscount and Baron Cobham (1718) in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and Earl Nugent in the peerage of Ireland.

RICHARD, SECOND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

The Most Hon. Richard Plantagenet Temple Nugent Brydges Chandos Grenville, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776), K.C., G.C.H., P.C., LL.D., F.S.A., Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Bucks, and Colonel of the Buckinghamshire Yeomanry, was born February 11, 1797; and was the only son of Richard, second Marquis and first Duke of Buckingham, K.G., P.C., D.C.L., F.S.A., Lord Lieutenant of Bucks, by Anne Eliza, sole heiress of James Brydges, third and last Duke of Chandos, the sole representative of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, daughter of Henry VII. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. By his wife Mary, youngest daughter of John Campbell,

Marquis of Breadalbane, whom he married May 13, 1819, he left issue one son and one daughter. Lady Anne Eliza Mary Grenville was born February 7, 1820, and married, June 9, 1846, Mr. William Henry Powell Gore Langton, M.P. for Mid-Somerset; she inherited the title of Temple of Stowe, in right of her grandfather. The only son, Richard Plantagenet Campbell, third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, was born September 10, 1823.

The late Duke of Buckingham, as Marquis of Chandos, commenced his parliamentary career with vehement protestations against the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, which was then as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, just seen rising out of the sea of Irish troubles. On April 6, 1827, he was railing at the Roman Catholic Association, and taunting Attorney-General Plunkett. On the order of the day for bringing up the resolution with regard to a provision for the late Mr. Canning's family, Lord Chandos protested against the grant, to mark his disapprobation of that Minister's principles. Sir Thomas Acland, one of the most honoured of the Tory party, quietly expressed his regret at any such opposition, and Lord Palmerston observed that "Mr. Canning's name would be venerated long after his detractors had been consigned to oblivion." In 1829 the Marquis presented innumerable petitions against the Roman Catholic claims.

In the debates on the Reform Bill, Lord Chandos took an equally vehement part in opposition. He spoke often, but not at very great length. During the passage of the second Bill through Committee, Lord Chandos—aided by Mr. Hume and the ultra party—carried by a majority of 84, against Ministers, the clause known as the Chandos Clause, giving to the tenants-at-will of £50 rental the right of voting for counties. Lord Althorp vainly objected on the score of the dependence of these tenants on their landlords, which would necessitate the ballot—for which reason, probably, Mr. Hume thought it so beneficial. Except upon these two great topics, the Duke did not take any part in the debates of the House of Commons.

In 1841 he accepted office under Sir Robert Peel as Lord Privy Seal (an appointment not generally popular in the country, though circumstances made it unavoidable), and was made a Privy Councillor. Early in 1842, however, when it was proposed to insert in the Queen's speech, at the opening of the session, a paragraph relating to the state of the laws affecting the importation of corn, the Duke promptly retired from so reforming a Cabinet, but, when taunted by Earl Fitzwilliam in the House of Lords, boldly avowed that he would not and could not change his views on the corn laws, and, as an honest man, he had withdrawn from the Ministry, though he should afford them a cordial support on other points. In this year he became a Knight of the Garter, and was created honorary LL.D. at Cambridge. He died in the year 1861 at the age of 64 years, and was succeeded in the titles by his son.

ACTON TINDAL, ESQ.

At the dispersion of the Duke of Buckingham's estates in 1848, Acton Tindal, Esq., became the purchaser of the Manor of Aylesbury and its appurtenances. The Tindal family trace their descent from the Fortescues of Devonshire, through the Hals and Cliffords. Robert Tindal, Esq., of Coval Hall, married the only daughter of John Pocock, Esq., of Greenwich, and had sons—Sir Nicolas Tindal, Knight, D.C.L., Solicitor-General, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and who died in 1846; and Thomas Tindal, Esq., of the Prebendal House, Aylesbury, Clerk of the Peace for Bucks, and County Treasurer; he died in 1850. He married, first, Anne, daughter of Acton Chaplin, Esq., of Aylesbury, Clerk of the Peace, and Treasurer of the County of Buckingham, and, secondly, Mary Anne, daughter of the Rev. H. Uhthoff, rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk, and had issue by both marriages. The only son by the first marriage was the late Acton Tindal, Esq., of the Manor House, Aylesbury, Clerk of the Peace for Bucks. He married Henrietta Euphemia, only surviving child of the Rev. John Harrison, vicar of Dinton. She died in 1878, leaving three sons and one daughter. On the purchase of the Manor Mr. Acton Tindal made a present of the public clock to the town, which for some years was the well-known authentic time keeper, erected on the turret of the late Market House, and which now performs a like useful duty in the present Clock Tower, the foundation stone of which building was laid by the late Mrs. Tindal in 1876. On the occasion of Mr. Tindal's presentation of the town clock, a public complimentary dinner was given to him, which was largely attended by the residents of the town and neighbourhood. He died in 1880, after a very short illness.

Legislation of late years has tended to the extinction of copyholds; it is now in the power either of the lord or copyholder to enforce the enfranchisement of properties held by Court rolls; and, in course of time, lords of manors, copyholders, quit rents, Courts Baron, and Courts Leet will have to be numbered amongst the things of the past. One of the most ancient custom of manors, the perambulation, was continued at Aylesbury down to 1859, in which year the bounds of the Rectory Manor were beaten by the jury, who perambulated the estate, according to the recognized borders of the Manor then existing. On this occasion a penny was demanded from every resident, but few, if any, pence were collected, the custom of suit and service having become obselete. Only one relic of ancient manorial customs attached to the courts retains its character, that being a dinner given by the Lord to all those concerned in the business of the Court on the Court-day.

There are no special entries in the Aylesbury Court rolls, although a great many documents have been preserved; they are mostly records of presentments made at the Courts, of encroachments on the Lord's waste, nuisances, deaths of tenants of the Manor, and of the accustomed fees consequent thereon, surrenders of copyholds and admittances of new tenants. These entries are of no public interest whatever. No customs of the

Manor are enrolled, but it has always been what is termed an easy Manor; that is, where the customs are not arbitrary; the fines certain and not excessive, nor, as in some instances, exacted at the will of the Lord. An extract from the ancient rolls of Monks Risborough Manor will show the power once possessed by its Lord:—"By the custom of this Mannor the Tennts. were to have performed dayes of labour to ye Lord, which were works of divers kinds, very serville and burthensome to the Tennts., and likewise were tyed to divers inconvenienses as that they could not marry their daughters without the Lords' Lycense and dyvers such like. Upon petition therefore made by the Tennts. to the Lord it was agreed that every yard Land *pro operibus* due to the Lord should pay twenty pence, and every half-yard land should pay tenn pence pr Annum, and evry Cottage should pay three pence; this Composition money is added to the rent which being formerly five shillings for a yard-land is now by reason of the Composition six shillings eight pence."

There is one ancient extract from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Aylesbury; it is of the date of Henry IV. (1399—1413); in this extract names can be traced, both personal and local, some of which still exist in the town day—Anne (now Hanney), Tyrpin (now Turpin), Gurney, Clarke, Thomas, Dalby, sen. and jun., Ford; also the name of Atte-Gate. Amongst names of places are Haydon Field, Water Furlong, ye Foote Brigge to Quarndon, Aldman Field, Long Furlong, Neyte Field, Homany's Brygge (Now Holman's Bridge), Dunfield Furlong, Beerton Great Tree, Mangels Field, Stock Lake, Trotty's Butts, Broughton Mede hegge, Houghan Field; these are places situate in or contiguous to the then open field of Aylesbury.

In 1804 Courts Leet and Baron, with a view of Frankpledge of the Most Noble George Grenville Marquis of Buckingham, were held, at which a large number of transactions were disposed of. These appear to have been the first Courts held after the Marquis had become possessed of the Manor, and matters had probably been neglected for a time. The jurors and homage were Daniel Lathwell, Francis Gurney, John Hilliard, William Todd, jun., William Clarke, William Bunce, Robert White, Thomas Deverell, Thomas Fox, John Collins, George Collins, and John Fowler (baker). The presentments made were numerous, mostly for encroachments on the Lord's waste; fourteen persons were presented for allowing nuisances to exist near their premises. Every defaulter of attendance was fined. William Woodman and Jonah Dawney were appointed constables, and Thomas Collins tythingman. Courts were held in 1808, 1811, 1813, and 1815. At the last Court, several persons were again presented and fined for allowing dung to lie in the thoroughfares. A Court was held in 1820, when Jonah Dawney and William Cross were sworn in as constables and returning officers; in 1823, 1825, 1827, 1830, no presentments were made. In 1833 James Jackson was appointed constable and returning officer. In 1843 John White was made returning officer, and in 1849 Mr. W. H. Green; in 1852 Mr. Joseph Hedges, and in 1859 Mr. George Andrew Lepper; in 1867 Mr.

George C. Bennett and in 1880 Mr. John Locke were sworn as constables and returning officers of the Borough. Little excepting the filling up of vacancies in the list of constables and returning officers, caused by death and resignations, was transacted at these Courts. The present constables and returning officers for the Rectory Manor are Mr. G. A. Lepper and Mr. John Locke, with Mr. James Gurney and Mr. Edward Terry for the Manor of Aylesbury with Bierton. On the purchase of the Manor, in 1802, Mr. Parrott, the Duke of Buckingham's agent, became Steward; subsequently the stewardship passed to Mr. Acton Chaplin, then to Mr. Thomas Tindal, who was succeeded by his son, Mr. Acton Tindal, who on becoming Lord of the Manor appointed Mr. Edward Robert Baynes, who is the present steward.

Chapter XXXIII.—THE PARISH REGISTERS.

Ancient registers—their origin—their unpopularity—Carelessness of parish clerks as registrars—Registers destroyed and lost—The Aylesbury registers—their preservation—Names of old inhabitants—Great changes in customs in marriages—Passes—Marriages proclaimed in the Market Place—solemnized before justices of the peace—Feasting at funerals—Briefs—Burying in wool—Public recantations—Strange entries—Taxes on births and deaths—Baptisms allowed to be performed by Presbyterians and Roman Catholics—Frequent executions—Burials of criminals—New arrangement as to parish registers—Registers incomplete—New Registration Act.

PARISH REGISTERS were first instituted in Spain by Cardinal Ximenes A.D. 1497, and introduced into England about 1538, under the direction of Cromwell, Vicar-General to Henry VIII. This, it is asserted, is the first era of their general introduction, and entries in many of the old books attest their adoption at that date. Traces of registration are found prior to that time, but they are merely relics of the various books kept for that purpose in the religious houses before the Reformation. After the suppression of the monasteries, the work of registration, when commenced, fell upon the clergyman, or more frequently on the parish clerk, to whose ignorance we are indebted for the defects in the few remaining early registers and the total loss of the rest. Or if the clerk kept the registers at all, it was only by occasional entries, blanks of several years being very common. One clerk extenuates his offence in making no entry for three years, as the parishioners refused to allow him five shillings per annum for his trouble. In one parish, a clerk, who was a grocer, took his waste paper out of the parish chest; other registers had leaves torn out by the Parliamentary soldiers during the Civil Wars. The registrar of Torporley, in Cheshire, explained that a breach of five years "hapned by reason of the great wars obliterating memorials, wasting fortunes, and slaughtering persons of all sorts."

Parish Registers were also liable to be tampered with. There was the case of Miss Chudleigh, who, for an iniquitous purpose, wished to conceal her private marriage with Lieut. Hervey. Accompanied by a female friend she made a journey to Laniston, where the marriage took place, and desired to see the parish register; while her friend engaged the clerk's attention she cut out the page, which contained the entry of her marriage, and with that important document in her possession returned to London. By a strange irony of fate the poor Lieutenant became Earl of Bristol. To be plain Mrs. Hervey was one

thing, to be Countess of Bristol another. The lady was equal to the occasion; she took another journey to Laniston, and by the assistance of an attorney and a bribe to the parish clerk, she got the abstracted leaf re-inserted in its proper place.

The early registers of Christchurch, Hampshire, were found in course of being steadily used up by the curate's wife, who had made kettle holders of them. In an Essex parish, the clerk being applied to for a copy of an entry, and not having pen and ink at hand, cut out the whole page of the register and handed it over to the applicant. An inhabitant of Lambeth once got a tradesman's packet in a leaf of a parish register, and found that it contained the entry of his own baptism. The register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, contains the following reason for a break in its records—"In the year 1625 Mr. Downing, the curate of this parish, his wife, three of his children, and the parish clerk were victims to the plague, and the consequence was that a hundred names were entered in the register from recollection." A good excuse might be made for any omissions in the Aylesbury registers, as in the time of the civil wars the Rev. John Barton, the vicar, was, for his loyalty, imprisoned in the Gatehouse for a considerable time.

The Rev. F. G. Lee, D.D., in his "History of the Prebendal Church of Thame," gives this extract from the present oldest register at Sydenham—"About the yeare 1653 there came One ffrances Bayley & seized the Minister's place at Sidnam, & about the year 1661 he and his whife run away & took with them the Register book There, being no Register book kept This book was provided by the Churchwardens A.D. 1663." Perhaps the fate of some early registers is the most curious part of their history. Ignorant clerks, looking upon old books as worthless, left them to rot in damp corners of belfries, if they escaped more utilitarian ends. Some were buried, some lost, leaves cut out of others. One parish clerk, who was a tailor, cut up the registers into slips wherewith to measure his customers for their garments. In one case the registers, in the heat of a parish dispute, were thrown into the village pond. Occasionally a careful vicar was found, as may be learnt from this injunction—"If ye will have this book last, bee sure to aire it att the fire or in the sunne, three or foure times a year, els it will grow dankish and rott; therefore look to it." The earliest registers are transcripts of the originals, which accounts for the same handwriting extending over a great number of years.

Parish registers were a most important feature in the English local organisation. Amongst the records of a parish were the church building itself, the church furniture, the storied monuments, the gravestones, the registers of births, deaths, and marriages, the churchwardens' accounts, the rectors' note-books, the episcopal letters, briefs, and other documents, preserved usually in oaken chests. The decree for keeping registers excited opposition, it being feared that Henry VIII. wished to obtain particulars of property in the kingdom with an ulterior design. A study of these registers bears out history, in many cases revealing some curious facts. They show how in olden time rich people paid the legal penalty to avoid being buried in wool, according to a

Protectionist law passed in 1678 ; how William III. taxed people on a graduated scale, according to their means ; how bachelors and widowers had to pay an annual impost ; how clergymen were charged 3d. on each entry in their registers, and, turning tax collectors, recovered the money from their parishioners as best they could ; how dire were the plague and the fire of London ; how exciting were the times of the great rebellion ; how eager people were to get touched for the king's evil ; how it was suspected that they were eager to be touched more than once to get the gold coin on a riband which accompanied the ceremony, and how a proclamation was issued that people must only be touched once. Many are the curious customs in old times recorded. Illiterate parish clerks had noted most trivial events as if they were worthy history. One register told how a youthful parishioner, before two years of age, climbed on a ladder to the top of his father's house. Other registers show that there was a woman parish clerk at Totteridge, near Finchley, for 46 years ; that clergymen were in some instances too exacting in their demand for the "mortuary gift, or the second best chattel the deceased person had left behind ;" that St. George's Day was, up to a century ago, as great a holiday as Christmas now is.

In the registers of burials may be found such entries as these :—"A crysom man child," or a "chrysome," that is to say, a child which died before the mother was churched. The term "Crysom," or "Chrisome," also refers to an infant dying within a month of birth and is taken from the chrism cloth, a napkin annointed with holy unguent, which infants anciently wore until they were baptised. The chrysom, which was the fee of the priest if the child lived, was buried with it in case of its death. As late as 1688 an entry was made at Horndon-on-the-Hill, "for churching a woman, 1s. or one yard of holland;" that is to say, a chrysom. At Maresfield a baptismal entry of 1551 runs thus—"Johannes Norman, renatus est." At Hillingdon, towards the end of the 17th century, we find the birth, baptism, and death of an infant entered—"Natus, renatus, denatus eodem die." The following extracts from burial registers show how they serve to illustrate history :—"St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1642, Nov. 21.—Ralph Walcott, Gent., died at Lord Brooke's house, Holborn, being shot with a bullet at ye fight near Brainford." "Egglescliffe, 1644.—In this year there died of the plague in this towne one and twenty people ; they are not all buried in the church-yard, and are not in the register." Rumsay.—The register mentions 400 deaths in 1665, from infection by a coat made of cloth, brought from London. Various singular facts are preserved from oblivion in the registers. To prevent the evil of these national monuments being lost, stolen, mislaid, or destroyed, an injunction of Queen Elizabeth was issued to enforce their being forwarded to the Episcopal Archives for preservation, and it was an imperative duty on the clergy, in whose custody these documents were, to send them there ; but as no fee for so doing was allowed, and the duties entailed were unprofitable, the order was frequently neglected, and the duplicate registers are not perfect in any diocese in the kingdom.

Before commencing extracts from the Aylesbury registers some names of those who

were principal inhabitants of, or connected with, the town at a very remote period may be noticed:—A.D. 1222—Robert de Walton; Elias le Draper. 1300—The families of Audlet, Caperon, Robert le Ward, the Stonors, Poygnaunts, and the Fitz-Simonds. In 1318 and 1327 Philip de Alesbury served the office of Sheriff for Bucks; in 1324 he was one of the Knights of the Shire, and continued to represent the county of Bucks in several Parliaments. In 1337, 1381, 1386, John de Alesbury was High Sheriff; he was also returned as one of the Knights of the Shire from 1378 to 1390. In 1392 Thomas de Alesbury was one of the Knights of the Shire.

A return of the gentry of Bucks, made 12th Henry VI. (1433), included the following names as connected with Aylesbury:—Thomas Botelier, Edmundi Brutenell, Will. Chapman de Aylesbury, Robert Delafield, John Gold de Aylesbury, Will Coombe de Aylesbury, John Balke de Aylesbury, and Johan Baldewin de Aylesbury. The following is an extract from a list of names of those families of Aylesbury and the immediate vicinity recorded in a subsequent visitation of Bucks a century later:—Brudnell, of Stoke Mandeville, Baldwyn of Aylesbury, Bacon of Weston Turville, Bosse of Bierton, Beake of Haddenham, Brett of Quainton, Babham of Weston Turville, Beard of Aylesbury and Quainton, Bird of Bierton, Barker of Great Horwood (afterwards of Aylesbury), Duncombe of Aylesbury, Morton of Brickhill and Whitchurch, Duckett of Aylesbury, Goodwyn of Upper Winchendon, Hampden of Hartwell, Hampden and Kymble, Halley of Aylesbury, Harley of Aylesbury and Stone, Kyngeston of Wendover, Leckingham of Wendover, Lee of Hartwell and Morton, Lee of Quarrendon and Hulcot, Lake of Buckland, Mayne of Dinton, Marshall of Wendover, Okebank of Wendover, Pigott of Doddershall, Pakington of Aylesbury, Palmer of Waddesdon, Roffe of Dadbrook, Slater of Great Hampden, Sanders of Dinton, Vachell of North Marstone, Verney of Claydon, Woodward of Upton, Walwyn of Aylesbury, Wallynger of Whitchurch, West of Aylesbury and Marsworth, Woodliffe of Aylesbury, Waterhouse of Whitchurch, and Wilkinson of Waddesdon.

Prior to the commencement of the parish register, the leading names of the townspeople included those of—Walwyn, Bosse, Anne, Woodlef, Berd, Fryer, Dale, Atkyns, Munday, Ballard, Cutler, Hyndes, Duncombe, Hychendon, Hales, Tomes, Goldyng, Parrell, Brooke, Fundale, Tyrpin, Dalby, Atte-gate, Gurney, Pyryman, Cockman, Bryckett, Oliff, Bedford, Elstowe, Speed, Giblett, Wolf, Hill, Newers, Lane, Barlow, Verney, Williams, Hance, Jordan, Hester, Myles, Aylward, Hickman, Farrar, Hayward, and Maine.

The parish registers of Aylesbury have been generally well kept and are in an excellent state of preservation. The first volume is labelled "1564 to 1653," is bound strongly in rough calf, is folio in size, and composed wholly of parchment; is ruled throughout in three columns, with headings for "Christenings" "Marriages," and "Buryalls;" it is entitled "A register of the names of all persons that have been either

christened married or at any time buried in or at the church of the towne of Aylesbury, from the year of our Lord God, 1564." From the commencement to the end of the 16th century the entries are exceedingly regular and of great neatness, so much so as to lead to the supposition, indeed the certainty, that these pages are a transcript, and not the true and original register. Entries at promiscuous periods could not have been made with such regularity. The writing generally is particularly good, and the ink retains its colour perfectly. Still, the antique characters and the ancient and various modes of spelling make a research somewhat difficult to the uninitiated. There appears a few entries of 1592 in another handwriting ; afterwards the primitive neatness is departed from. In 1620 the entries of marriages are few, and in 1621 still less, and they continue few for some years. In 1631 there is an increase, but in 1632, 1633, 1634, and 1635 they again fall off. In 1636 there is no entry of a marriage in five pages, but a few are recorded to the end of that year. In 1639, and the beginning of 1640, the neatness observed at the commencement of the registers entirely disappears, but in the latter end of the year 1640 quite a new feature is shewn in the entries; the antique writing is altogether cast aside, and they are now made in a bold hand-printed style, and as plain as letter-press.

The earliest entry in the register of 1564 relates to the christening of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Costarde ; then follow the names of the children of Beard, Stanley, Edmonds, Hawkins, and Oxten. No marriage is registered for that year, but the first entry of burial is somewhat a remarkable one, that of Robert Downinge, the vicar of the parish.

In 1565, amongst the births registered were those of Hall, Ffarmbro, Benet, Hayward, Bowling, Egleton, Bailey, Johnson, Montague, Gibbes, Ffranklin, and Barnard. In the marriages, Speede, Hodgkinson, and Simons. Amongst the deaths, Brookes, Barnaby, Edmonds, Gibbes, Hall, Fountayne, Fellowes, and Hughenden.

In the years 1566 to 1570 the names most prominent as inhabitants were Stone, Miles, Pollicot, Fisher, Arnold, Fyndal, Foard, Smith, Tod, Brooks, and Allday. From the middle to the end of the 16th century the names of inhabitants more frequently entered were those of Fisher, Arnold, Foard, Smith, Topping, Ballard, Rowland, Eymes, Playtor, Greene, Wood, Horton, Willet, Freer, Bate, Ginger, Jeffres, Ellis, Ashbye, Cockman, Munday, Chapman, Dover, Arnold, Burman, Oliver, Horwood, Enney, Neild, Joyner, Toms, Profett, Stokes, Miller, Payne, Carey, Bryan, Lawrence, Stanley, Burnaby, Goodson, Bone, East, Cox, Cook, Brown, Almond, Cutler, Paton, North, Marlin, Goodall, Westone, Hoskins, Bowden, Sanders, Syms, Batte, Goldinge, Russell, Stranks, Collins. Nichols, Mortimer, Woodbridge, Turner, Gurney, Smith, Fox, Carter, Bett, Wilson, Bell, Duncombe, Tredwell, Morgan, Earnot, Claydon, Oliffe, Woodliffe, Dudley, Eveet, Hoare, Hartnell, Gouldney, Stratfold, Parsons, Carter, Furber, Parrett, Goolde, Chilton, Goldebe, Bigg, Norwood, Porter, Norman, Franklin, Ball, Phillips, and Woodward.

About 1650 the names of residents included—Cockman, Russell, Sexton, Dover, Edmonds, Brasbridge, Baker, Ffreer, Rose, Wray, Eversley, Cleydon, Banks, Speed, Pratt, Coleman, Jordaine, Proctor, Weaver, Meade, Kingham, Stephens, Winchester, Parrat, Benson, Chilton, Russell, Veary, Jennings, Bell, Hadgood, Welch, Cave, Dagnall, Burnham, Parish, Nicholls, Peppiatt, Trendall, Ffurbur, Lee, Humphrey, Phillips, Payne, Higgens, Newnes, Wetherhead, Jackman, Todd, Reymer, Paton, Heawood, Grymes, Wildgoose, Alsonne, Andrew, Ardyn, Arnett, Stratford, Gurney, Pratt, Horwood, Howes, Cosberd, Smyth, Harding, Hall, Rolph, Dorsett, Druce, Porter, Worcester, Hanley, Cooper, Ells, Wingrave, Edwards, Goldsworth, Dagley, Foster, Hitchenden, Higgins, and Dale.

In the next century (without in every case repeating those names already recorded) are to be found—Woodman, Fordham, Goodall, Edmonds, Moore, Wheeler, Meadow, Twydale, Wright, Fowler, Thorp, Wells, Bernard, Adams, Humfrey, Parker, Wytwell, Parrott, Cawdry, Capell, Berry, Phillips, Holloway, Kingham, Dawne, Hocraft, Alexander, Shackspeare, Ray, Hoare, Weadon, Warner, Saxton, Eldridge, Burnham, Welch, Holyman, Howse, Humphrey, Durham, Palmer, Parish, Arnott, Rainsford, Lee, Verey, Ffrayne, Norris, Kingham, Oviatts, Ivatts, Bowler, Ray, Sharp, Speed, Ledbetter, Lathwell, Rickford, Wethered, Claydon, Dickson, Kempster, Tratt, Stopps, Lawrence. Amongst those of which there is the most repetition are the names of Bell, Topping, Payne, Hickman, Gibbes, Fundale, Barnabee, Hill, Hall, Russell, Phillips, Gurney, Eman, Cockman, Speede, Freere, Briar Miles, Neale, Pratt, Dagnall, and North.

It is noticeable how long a family once engrafted in a place survives, and there is also apparently a great desire to retain a favourite family Christian name; such are handed down for generations. The orthography in names in course of years undergoes great changes. We have Freere, Freer, Friar, Fryer; Neil, Neild, Neel, Nele, Neele, Neale, Neal; Burnabe, Barnabee, Barnabyey, Barnaby; Baldwyne, Boldin, Baldwin; Dawne, Daney, Dawney; Gibb, Gibbes, Gibbs; Ffreane, Defraine; Farmeborowe, Ffarmbo, Flamboro, Farmbrough; Baillee, Ballay, Bailey; Anne, Enney, Anney, Hanney; Eglinton, Egleton, Eggleton; Earnot, Harnot, Arnot; Ocraft, Odcraft, Hopcraft. Many of these ancient names are still in existence in the town, but time has in some instances effected further alterations in their orthography.

Among the burials of November, 1590, is recorded that of Lady Lee, wife of Sir Henry Lee, Knight. In November, 1600, Dorathie, the daughter of Sir John Pakington, was baptised, and in 1602 Ann, another daughter of Sir John, was also baptised. In December in the same year Dorathie was buried. In November, 1604, Mary, daughter of Sir John, was baptised, and in February next year a second Dorathie went through the like ceremony. Amongst the deaths of 1608 appears that of "Willyam Bell, of Bedall, in the county of York, father of Robert Bell, Vicar of Aylesbury;" and in 1610 the interment of the Vicar, Robert Bell, was recorded.

In retracing a few pages of the register several interments of "strangers" are found mentioned. This term is supposed to mean non-parishioners, in many places termed "foreigners." In April, 1619, the baptism was recorded of "John, the childe of a vagabond roaugh (rogue) from the jaile." The plague is referred to—"In December, 1624, began the great plague, which continued till the end of December, 1625, in all which time there died not one in the towne of Aylesbury." In October, 1624, Sir John Pakington, Knight and Baronet, died, and there is added to the entry "the hopes of Aylesbury." In January, 1625, the death of Sir John Pakington the elder was entered, "father of the former." In January, 1627, the following entry appears without any explanation—"The bones of Richard, the son of George Reinere, were here interred," and in the following month is another strange entry, that of the burial of "Neglected," the daughter of Jeffery Hoaks, "and she was so named because she had no godfather or godmother prepared at the time of her baptism." Jeffery Hoaks must have been an unkind parent; his child "Neglected" is buried one year, and in the following year is found the entry of a baptism of another daughter of his; this child was also named "Neglected," probably from the same cause as that which gave so peculiar a name to her deceased sister.

In 1628 it was noted—"This year the chancel was repaired by Sir Henry Lee at the charge of Sir Henry Lee." August, 1628—"William White, a stranger, was rideing through this Towne towards Brackley when he fell from his horse near Stonebridge, and broke his neck, and was buried here." In September, 1629, was buried Thomas Norwood, "who died off breaking his leg on a Sabbath day after evening service, being caught up by one of the bell ropes." In 1631, Thomas Gurney was buried, "who was found dead in the King's Head Yard." In August, 1636, Sir John Savage, Knight, was buried, and in March, 1637, Henry Fountayne "an old man called Mr. Fountayne." The year 1642 marks the exciting Civil War period. Richard, "a boy who followed the army," was buried, and, shortly after, the interment of William Worley, a Lieutenant, took place; also that of Barnaby Mever, a soldier, and Thomas Howell, a sergeant. In July, 1645, the burial of George Higgs, a trooper in Captain Shilborn's regiment, was recorded.

The marriage columns are nearly blank for three years. In 1643 the only marriage entered was that of Stephen Dagnall to "Ellanor" Palmer; and in April, 1644, John Gurney was recorded to have been married to Sarah Horne, by Mr. Fran. Wells. In 1645 one marriage only was entered in the register; in 1646, again only one. In 1647 the term "borne" was substituted for "baptised," and the hand-printed entries again appear occasionally; in the use of this large writing the quality folks are mostly favoured. It is registered in capitals that the child of Mr. John Baxter, of Fanchurch Street, London, was "borne" on the 25th July, and that "Joseph, the sonne of Rowland Brasbridge, gent., was baptised on the 25th Dec." In the same year another Stephen Dagnall, it is recorded, was married at Bampton to one Joan Webly, of Witney,

by Mr. Osbourn, the "minester of the same." Andrew Hunt was also married to Elizabeth Cockman; these entries are all hand-printed. It will be known to some that the Brasbridges, Dagnalls, and Cockmans were great people at Aylesbury in their day. In 1647 no marriages were registered, and for a great period of the year no burial; in 1648, few; in 1649, only two marriages; and in 1650 only four; for this year also the burial columns of the register are vacant. In 1651 the register was again overlooked, as but few burials are recorded, and in 1652 the marriages were, according to the record, very sparse. This could not have been caused by the operation of the Act of the House of Commons for solemnizing marriages by justices of the peace, as that Act did not pass until the year 1653; the period was a troublous one; the confusion consequent on the unsettled state of the nation was at its height, and in the national calamity, Aylesbury, and the district in which it is situate, suffered severely. The omissions may be ascribed to the unsettled state of the country occasioned by the Civil War. The registrar also died about this time, and there was probably some delay in the appointment of a successor. In 1653 a new registrar was appointed and duly sworn, referring to which this record is entered:—

"John Jordan, of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks, clerke, being, by the major part of the parish of Aylesbury present at the Church uppon the 20th day of September, in the year 1653, chosen Register (*sic*) according to an Act touching marriages and the registry thereof as also touching Births and Burials dated the 24th of August, 1653, we, therefore, whose names are underwritten, justices of the peace for the said County, doe approve of the said John Jordan to be registrar, and to have the keeping of the Register Booke for the said parish of Aylesbury, under our hands this 20th September, 1653.

(Signed) "Will. Abel,
"Henry Phillips,
"Rich. Dalby.

"John Jordan was sworne to the office of Registrar the 23rd of September, 1653, as aforesaid."

The second part of the register is in an enlarged size; it is now a quarto. This was requisite from the provision of the new Marriage Act of 1653, by which marriages could be made by justices of the peace, and which necessitated the entry of the publication of intended marriages in the parish register. This part of the register is entitled "A register beginning the 29th day of September, A.D. 1653, of all publications of marriages, birth days, and burials within the Towne and parish of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks, entered and registered by John Jordan, parish register." The first entry of an intended marriage is of that between Thomas North, of Aylesbury, barber, and Dorothy, daughter of William Meaden of the same parish; it is dated October, 1653, and on the 1st of November, the marriage ceremony was duly performed, by Henry Phillips, a justice of the peace. The local justices usually called upon to perform the marriage ceremony were Henry Phillips, Christ. Herne, Christ. Egleton, John Dormer, Thomas Boughton, Arthur Chittwode, Henry Ardinge, and Simon Mayne.

In the year 1655 there was left a blank page in the register; the registrar died, and the register contains the following entry:—

"Memorandum.—That upon the death of John Jordan, late register for the prsh of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham, John Saunders, of the said prsh of Aylesbury, the elder, was, att a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the said prsh on the 23rd of Aprill, in the year 1655, nominated, elected, and chosen, and sworne to be Register in the Roome and stead of the said John Jordan, deceased, according to an Act of Parliament, entitled "An Act touching marriages and the Registering thereof, also touching Births and burialls,' dated the 24th of August, 1653, Ffrancis Russell, one of the justices of the peace for the County of Bucks aforesaid, Doe approve of the said John Saunders to be register and to have the keeping of the said Register Book for the said prsh of Aylesbury.

"Witness my hand this 23rd of Aprill, 1655.

"Fra. Russell.

"The persons, inhabitants, that nominated are—John Luffe, minister, Thomas Boughton, Francis Wethered, Thos. Due, Giles Child, Thomas Miller, William Dany (Dawney), William Ray, John Gurney, Hugh Glover, William Porter, John Kitson, Henry Rie, Joseph Layton, Henry Payne, Thos. Dawson, William Farmborough, and Richard King."

On the 10th October, 1644, the entry was made of a child being baptised and its mother executed the same day for house-breaking. On the 5th of August, 1654, it was duly registered that the intended marriage between "Robert Huffly, labourer, and Ann Morgan, of Bearton, was published in the markett, Aylesbury, for the second time;" on the 27th of August they were duly married by Christ. Herne, the justice of the peace, in the presence of John Forder and Richard Alexander. On the 28th February, 1656, it was entered "that the intended marriage of Nicholas Baker, of Winge, and Elizabeth Absolom, of Cublington, was published three several markett days in the Market Place at Aylesbury."

Our customs observed at births, marriages, and deaths have undergone very great changes. Baptisms were in early times observed with much ceremony. Amongst the rich, a baptism was the occasion of great banqueting, the whole country round being invited. At the christening entertainments of the poorer sort of people the order was reversed, and in cases where the mouths were sent to one house and the loaves to another collections were made, and after defraying the cost of feasting the surplus was given over to the parents. Bishop Kennett tells us that "At Burcester (Bicester), at a christening, the women bring every one a cake, and present one to the minister. At Wendlebury, near Burcester, and other places, they bring their cakes at a Gossiping, and give a large cake to the father of the child, which they call a rocking cake." These customs varied in different districts. The well-known christening present made to the infant, the coral with bells, had its origin in an ancient superstition which considered coral as an amulet or defensative against fascination. Reginald Scot, in his "Discovery of Witchcraft," says—"The coral preserveth such as bear it, from fascination or

bewitching, and in this respect they are hanged about children's necks. But from whence that superstition is derived, or who invented the lye, I know not; but I see how ready the people are to give credit thereunto by the multitude of corrals that were employed."

According to Thrupp, in his "Anglo-Saxon Home," the bride's father performed the marriage ceremony. "The father was the house priest, the village home the temple of the old domestic religion, the hearth the altar where the rites of the Lares and Penates* were performed. The marriage ceremony appertaining to the old house religion is distinctly traceable from the relics which folklore has preserved for the modern student, and standing out prominently among the forms of this ceremony are—(1) The sanction of the village to the marriage; (2) The sacrificial ceremony at the threshold of the house; (3) The delivery of the bride price at the domestic altar." The ancient missals mention that at the beginning of the nuptial ceremony the custom was that of placing the man and woman at the church door, and direct towards the conclusion, that "here they shall enter the church as far as the step to the Altar." Selden asserts that nowhere else, but before the face of, and at the door of the Church, could the marriage-dower have been lawfully assigned. In Bridge's "History of Northamptonshire" it is recorded that Robert Fitz-Rogers, in the 6th of Edward I., entered into an engagement with Robert de Tybetot to marry, within a limited time, John, his son and heir, to Hawisia, the daughter of the said Robert, who promised *to endow her at the Church door* on her wedding day, with lands amounting to the value of one hundred pounds per annum. Under the marriage rites in the reign of King Edward VI. the man and woman were first permitted to come into the body or middle of the Church, standing no longer at the door as formerly.

The funerals of the rich were usually carried out with very great display. The grandeur on the occasion of the burial of John Fitz-Piers, Lord of Aylesbury, in 1258, has already been recorded. These funerals were often attended with torch-light processions. The funeral of Sir Thomas Pakington, which took place at Aylesbury in 1571, was exceedingly grand, "the like of which was never before seen at Aylesbury; there were trumpeters, heralds, and led horses caparisoned; the officers of the College of Arms attended; there was Robert Croke, Esquire, Clarenceaux King of Arms, Hugh Cotsgrove, Esquire, Richmond Herald, with their vast array of retinue, in addition to the family mourners and a great attendance of the household." Feasting was considered a necessary adjunct to funerals; on some occasions feasting was so profuse that it would cost less to portion off a daughter than to bury a wife. These feasts were provided for in some cases in the will of the deceased. In 1544 Margaret Atkinson (according to the Registrar, London) ordered that the "next Sunday after her burial, there be provided two dozen of

* Lares and Penates.—Inferior deities, who presided over houses and domestic affairs of families. The powers of the Lares extended over streets, ways, and countries, and the sea. Some have confounded the Lares and the Penates, but they were different.

bread, a kilderkin of ale, two gammons of bacon, three shoulders of mutton, desiring that all the parish, as well rich as poor, to take a part thereof; and a *table to be set in the middle of the Church*, with everything necessary thereto." Gough, in his "Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain," says it is from "an entertainment or supper which the Greeks made a part of a funeral we obtained the practice of giving wine and cake among the rich and bread and ale among the poor." In 1670 the overseers of Aylesbury paid 1s. 6d. for fetching 30 dozen of bread, "which was given to the poore of this towne at Mr. Ligo's funeral."

The practice of giving alms at funerals was formerly exceedingly common; indeed the custom was seldom omitted. Small loaves of bread were the usual doles, and they were very liberally distributed, without distinction of age or circumstances. To decline receiving the funeral dole was considered a mark of great disrespect to the family of the deceased. The dole given at Aylesbury on the occasion of Mr. Ligo's funeral in 1670 consisted of 360 small loaves. Mr. Ligo was of Stoke Mandeville; he is returned as an inhabitant of Aylesbury: thus the distribution of bread there; he was a justice of the peace for Bucks, and apparently much engaged in his public duties, as his name is frequently met with in old records relating to Aylesbury. The distribution of doles in superstitious times was supposed to procure rest to the soul of the deceased, and that it might find its Judge propitious.

In Hayward's "Life and Reign of Henry IV.," it is noted—"Then hee (King Richard II.) was conveyed to Langley Abbey in Buckinghamshire,* and there obscurely interred, without the charge of *a dinner for celebrating his funeral.*"

In 1656 there is another blank page in the register, which is explained by the following entry:—

"Memorandum.—That upon the death of John Saunders, the late register for the parrish of Aylesbury, in the county of Bucks, Edward Cotton, of the said parrish of Aylesbury, was, att a meeting of the Inhabitants of the said parrish, on the 16th of ffebrurie, in the year 1656, then nominatted, elected and chosen to be sworne Register in the roome and Steade of the said John Saunders, deasesed, according to an Act of Parliament entitled 'An Act touchinge marriages and the registeringe thereof, as allso touching births and burialls, dated the 24th of August, 1653.' I, Simon Mayne, one of the justices of the peace for the county of Bucks aforesaid, doe approve of the said Edward Cotton to bee register, and to have the keeping of the said register book for the said parrish of Aylesbury, and the said Edward Cotton was sworne before me the 24th of februre, 1656.

"Simon Mayne."

The entries of marriages before justices of the peace soon disappear, as in 1657 a marriage was solemnized by Mr. John Barton, the then vicar, and another follows where "Doctor" Burges officiated as minister, and in the same year was one by Mr. John Luff,

* This should be King's Langley, Herts.

the then minister. In 1659 and 1660 the registry of marriages disappeared; they were resumed in 1661, but the officiating parties are not referred to.

In 1657 a new item appeared in the register, being a record of collections by "breefes." These briefs, authorised by Parliament, were licenses to make collections for loss by fire, and other charitable purposes, and were issued from the Court of Chancery; the sums collected were endorsed on the brief, and signed by the minister and churchwardens, a register being kept in the parish books of all money collected. In most churchwardens' accounts, and on the fly leaves of old register books, accounts are to be found of money collected in this way for various purposes. Owing to the frequency of briefs in the last century it was ordered that they should only be granted on the general application of Quarter Sessions; they were finally abolished in 1828. Application to Parliament used formerly to be made for liberty to use these briefs. Here is a copy of a favourable reply:—"The Lords and Commons, taking the great sufferings and sad condition of the said poor distressed inhabitants into a pious and serious consideration, do order and ordain, and be it hereby ordered and ordained, that the Commissioners of the Great Seal do pass, under the said Great Seal, a brief or letters patent in usual form prepared, for a collection of the free and charitable benevolence of all well-disposed people in all the counties, cities, towns, towns corporate, and places within the Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, for relief of said inhabitants, repair of their habitations and Parish Church. The said brief, or letters patent, to continue in force for the space of two years from the date thereof, and no longer." The register contains notes of collections by briefs at Aylesbury Church—"On the 8th of February, 1657, there was collected by the Churchwardens of this parish the sum of £2 4s. 6d. towards the losse sustained by fier att Leaster (Leicester)." In 1661 there was collected for Sowerby, in the parish of Thirsk, in the county of York, the sum of 8s. 6d., and for some place in Somerset 8s. 2d. In 1662 there was a collection for a loss by fire, when 7s. 5¾d. was collected; another for the town of Bolingbrooke, the result of which was 8s. 2d.; collections for two other unfortunate towns produced 8s. 8d. and 8s. 10d, and for the repairs of Bolingbrooke Church 8s. 3d. was also subscribed.

In September, 1657, John Dover, a baker, was buried, and this memorandum is added to the entry—"Who was one that helpe bear the corpse of many good men to the grave, fell downe sudinly and died." In 1658 is this entry—"Upon the 11th of December, in the year 1658, being a Saterday, a lecture being constantly keept, there hapned to fall in time of sermon a greate stone which wayed about three or four score pounds, and there was then present in their seats neere an hundred scoolers, which stone did breake to of their heads and part of the gallery wherein they sate; through the providence of God there was none other hurt done. I pray God wee may all eye his mercies in this and others of his deliverances. Thomas Daney (Dawney) and Robert Bryan were the 2 scoolers which were hurte."

On the 10th of July, 1659, Ould Gamer (Grandmother) North was buried; and on

the 16th February, 1660, Ould Gamer Butler, widow, was buried. On the 23rd of April, 1660, was this entry, "This day his majestie was crownde Charles the Seconde." On the 9th of February, 1662, it was recorded that "Samuel Robinson, of Wingrave, who lived with Thomas Brookes, was buried, he being killed by Thomas Harris, who lived in Baker's Lane." On December 12th, 1662, "An infante childe of Thomas Parsons died, and was buried the 15th off the same ; there was a verie greate snow and a flood which was the cause they could bringe itt no sooner ; they lived at Walton Mill." In July, 1663, Nathaniell Pratt, a debtor from the prison, was buried.

Under June, 1663, there is this entry—"Thomas Brandom, of Buckland, hath openly confessed and declared in the Parish Church of Aylesbury, that hee doeth abhor and detest the seduceing wayes of the Anibaptists or any other separies, and will yelde conformitie to the lawes no establish'd, and will come too Church and heare divine service, and other duties."*

Some of the names in the early registers disappear, whilst others fructify. Of the Norths, Bells, Gurneys, Eggletons, Paynes, Baldwins, Lees, Brooks, Dells, Neales, Franklins, Freeres, Welchs, Dagnalls, Clarkes, Biggs, Parsons, Russells, Dovers, Laurences, Hills there seems to be no end. These frequent repetitions are a reminder of the case of the old clergyman at Tunstall in Kent, who was annoyed by the number of parishioners with the particular name of "Pottman." In one year he christened three Pottmans of the name of Mary, and soon after the disgusted pastor coolly enters in the register, "From henceforward I omitt the Pottmans." From 1653 to 1683 the names met with are Chilton, Lake, Rose, Dawney, Brassbridge, Kingham, Seabrook, Goldworthy, Rolfe, Farrar (Esq.), Newman, Jennings, Dagley, Nichols, Cristmas, Laurence, Thorp, Lee, Proctor, Harding, Bowler, Evett, Cotton, Kitson, Topping, Billing, Brooks, Horne Holland, Defraine, Meadow, Reade, Whitchurch, Basse, Balle, Nash, Stratfold, Hickman Collins, Trott, Worster, Oviatts, Wildgoose, Layton, Hunt, Higgins, Norris, Porter, Babham, Howse, Goodman, Anthony, Harrison, Williams, Humphrey, Phillips, Goodwyn, Mayne, Montague, Hearne, Rainsford, White, Oliffe, Hill, Row, Bunce, Marsh, Holland, Wheeler, Talboys, Grimes, Stratford, Parker, Edmonds, Miles, Wells, Meade, Goney, Ray, Foster, Hester, Woods, Holaway, West, Hammon, Warner, Woster, Tuckwell, Bishop, Goodson, Gilman, Pratt, Ledbeter, Bates, Creswell, Hewet, Rigford, Kirby, Hore, Miller, Stops, James, Dawson, Allen, Short, Pitson, Paty, Fincher, Ludenham, Hathaway, Ash, Heywood, Phillips (gent.), Wilson, Eymes, Harris, Parish, Woodward, Pigot, Wootton, Hadgood, Dosset, and Smart.

On the 16th February, 1673, it was noted that "William Oviatt, the miler, of Hedon Mill, was buried, who died att the Grayhound, with a blow of a man's elbow, being a quarrilinge Coward." On the 24th of August, 1673, was buried Richard, the son of

* In the Bierton register of baptisms for the year 1647 is this entry :—"Nov. 7—John, ye son of Alice Amousel, born ye 5th day of October (illegitimate), she having ye 7th day of November, made Public Confession before the Congregation."

Joseph Brooks ; "he hanged himself in the 17th year of his age." On the 24th of October, 1678, a son of "Hallellujah" Clarke was baptised. About this period there are ominous entries in the register showing that some of the inhabitants were more strict in the observance of the rites of baptism than those of matrimony. On the 9th March, 1680, Jeffrey Gore, Thomas Johnson, William Yonge, and John Browne, four felons, were buried; the entry of their interment signifies that they suffered violent deaths, under the sanction of the law. On the 17th March, the next year, John Dalton, the vicar of Aylesbury, "departed this life, and he was buried the 24th of same, aged 78 years." "Richard Knight, who was hanged, was buried on the 13th March, 1681." On the 7th June, 1683, is recorded the death of Mr. Robert Burton, vicar of Aylesbury; he could have held his appointment but two years.

The entries from the date of the appointment of John Saunders, who only held the office of registrar for one year, are exceedingly slovenly and the writing very bad, scarcely legible ; in 1656 particularly so. After the installation of Edward Cotton as registrar they somewhat improve. Up to 1666 the register was still neatly kept. After that date the parchment of which the book is composed is very inferior; some entries of 1676 and 1677 are not legible. This part of the register closed in 1683, and there is this note entered on the last page—"This book was new bound at Mr. Dagnalls', Aylesbury, March 25th, 1730."

The third part or volume of the register contrasts favourably with its predecessors ; it is well and neatly bound, lettered, its edges cut, and its size a folio. Paper is substituted for parchment; the entries are not jumbled together as in the former vols., but run through the pages ; the ruled columns are altogether discarded; nor are there entries of the publications of marriages, "breefes," or such like ; the baptisms, marriages, and burials are entered on separate pages. It commences in March, 1684, and ends 1700. There are but few extraneous matters introduced. In 1686 several entries relate to the burials of soldiers ; on the 5th of January in that year, B. Staplin, a trooper who died at the "Crowne," was buried ; in March, William Edwards, who was hanged, was buried; in September, 1687, John Todd was buried, "who was killed by Charles Emans"; in May, 1688, Thomas Clay, a soldier in the Earl of Huntingdon's regiment, was buried ; in 1689 Thomas Dawney was buried, and a note is attached—"In linninge" (linen). This note refers to the time when woollen shrouds only were allowed to be used. By the amendment Act of 1678 (30th Charles II.) bodies were not permitted, from a protective reason, to be buried in linen ; consequently the burial of Thomas Dawney was contrary to law, and thus a note was made of it.

The representatives of rich deceased relatives often declined to conform to this law, and were consequently liable to a fine of £5. Mrs. Ann Oldfield, the celebrated actress, who was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1730, by her express request had her body dressed "in a very fine Brussels lace head dress, a holland shift with a tucker and double

ruffles of the same lace, and a pair of new kid gloves, and was then wrapped in a winding sheet of fine linen." Her posthumous vanity has been immortalised by Pope in the well-known lines :—

> Odious ! in woollen ! 'twould a saint provoke
> (Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke) ;
> No, let the charming chintz and Brussels lace
> Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.*

The singular sumptuary law of burying in woollen was devised by the Parliament of 1666, and was conceived in the same spirit of protection as prohibited the importation of cattle bred in Ireland and of fish taken by foreigners. It was professedly passed for the encouragement of the woollen manufacturers, and the prevention of the exportation of monies for buying and importing linen ; it enacted that after March 25th, 1667, no person should be "buried in any shirt, shift, or sheete, other than should be made of wooll onely." The provisions of the Act were so strict, that even the quilling round the inside of the coffin, and the ligature round the feet of the corpse, were required to be of woollen. But custom is stronger than legislation, and the practice of wrapping the dead in linen is older than Christianity itself. The statute was generally disobeyed, and the penalty seldom enforced, because an information could only be laid by those who were most interested in concealing the offence. To remedy this, a more stringent Act was passed in 1678, which obliged a clergyman to make an entry in the register that an affidavit had been brought to him within eight days after the burial, certifying that the requirements of the law had been fulfilled. It now became the practice of the parish clerk to call out at the grave, immediately after the conclusion of the burial service, "Who makes affidavit ?" Upon which one of the relatives came forward and made the necessary oath, which was duly noticed in the register.

The order for burying in woollen was as follows :—"Act for burying in Woollen, only to be read ye first Sunday after St. Bartholomew every year for seven yeares, commencing 1678. Contents of it ar.—1. That ye minister register all burialls. 2. That some relaion or credible person make affidavit in eight days before some Justice yt. no manner of stuff whsoever but of sheep's wool only be about in the coffin (or about ye body of ye interred) and bring ye affidavit to ye minister who shall register ye same. 3. If no sure affidavit wf. in eight days be brought to ye minister, hee forthwith to give notice or cause notice thereof to be given, under his hand to ye churchwardens or overseers of ye poor, who shall in 8 daies after repayr to ye Justices who shall forthwith grant warrant for ye forfeiture, whereof one moiety to ye poor, ye other to ye informer (and that surely is ye minister). 4. If ye Minister, Churchwardens, Overseers, Justices,

* From the Parish Register of Aston Sandford :—"1680, John Town oppressed and smothered by ——— a straw cock buryed in woolen." "1680, Jan. 30, William Saw, a very ancient man and formerly an householder here, buryed in woolen ; Mr. Barry (of Kingsey) gave oath." "1695, Joannah Bernard, buried in woolen, June 22 ; affidavit sworn before Mr. Lodington, of Aylesbury." "1700, Geo. Smith was buried in woolen, Nov. 18 ; affidavit sworn before Richard Ingoldsby, Esq." "1702, Sam. Arnett, sen., buried in woolen only, Jan. 12 ; affidavit sworn before Thos. Webb, of P. Risboro'."

neglect their forsd. respective duties, are to forfeit Five Pounds," and so on. This law was formally repealed in 1814; but it had been allowed to fall into desuetude some years previous to that date.

In October, 1689, Christopher Linfield, a prisoner, was buried; also the child of Mary Pringe, a prisoner, "born in the goale," was baptised, and a few days after the name of the little innocent was inserted amongst the burials. On the 16th April, 1691, were recorded the burials of Thomas Butterfield, Thomas Sherwood, and Elizabeth Perry, who had been executed that morning, and on July 3rd John Hambledon, a debtor from the gaol, was buried. In 1693 William Maund, a "hiewayman," hanged, was buried. In March, 1693, William Hunt, Hugh Dyston, John Emans, and John Groom were all buried together, having been executed. In July, 1694, Andrew Hill was interred, having drowned himself in his well.

The Parliament of William III., in 1694, made a novel use of parish registers. Amongst other taxes for carrying on the war against France with vigour, a graduated scale of duties was imposed for five years upon marriages, births, and burials; and for the better collection of this tax the clergy were, in 1695, required, under a penalty, to keep a register of all births in the parish, whether the children were baptised or not. The birth of a child of a duke was taxed at £30, and of a common person at 2s.; the Act was allowed to expire at the end of the term for which it was passed. In 1695 a tax was also laid on marriages; the marriage of a duke was taxed at £50, of a common person at 2s. 6d.

On the 13th of February, 1695, was buried "Elizabeth Hardinge, spinster, who was killed in her owne howse, a fowle murder." On the 12th of April, 1696, a soldier from the Black Swan was buried, and this note is added "5£ pounds payd." On the 26th March, John Quarrendon and Thomas Hitchcocke, convicted of high treason and executed, were buried, and at the same time, Thomas Quaint, for felony and murder; these were the fruits of the late assizes. Among the baptisms of 1697 was the entry of the birth of Francis Tyringham, son of Francis Tyringham, of Nether Winchendon, and Mary, his wife. In 1697 was a note of a birth omitted by Edward Cotton, the registrar, but as in the next page the name of Edward Cotton appears amongst the burials in another handwriting, and thus the omission is explained, as the death of Cotton himself had to be registered by his successor.

On the 5th of July, 1698, was entered—"The constables of Aylesbury did take up Catharine Quinney with her child, and sent her and her child with a pass for Plymouth. In October, the same year, "William Hopkins, 16 years of age, and Charles Hopkins, his brother, 13 years of age, were sent from Aylesbury with a pass to Newington, in the county of Surrey;" and in the same month "Henry Bell, 18 years of age, was sent by pass from Aylesbury to Brathhampton in Hampshire, the parish he said he was born in."

By the 17th of George II. it was enacted that rogues, vagabonds, and beggars, who

were found in any parish to which they did not legally belong, should be apprehended and committed to the House of Correction for any term not exceeding one month, and each should afterwards receive a pass from a magistrate. The constable had to convey him in such manner and time as by the pass was specified the most direct way whither such person was ordered to be sent ; he had to deliver the vagrant to the proper officer at the next town, together with the pass, and take a receipt for such ; this officer in his turn passed the traveller on to the next place, and the like was continued until the destination of the vagrant was reached. The pass entitled the traveller to support from the officers of the parishes which were in the direct way of his destination until he arrived at his home. By the 32nd of George III. it was further enacted that such passes should not be given until the parties for whom they were required had been either privately whipped or imprisoned in the House of Correction for not less than seven days. Under the 13th and 14th of Charles II., when persons residing in a parish to which they did not belong became chargeable they were conveyed by the officers of the parish, on an order signed by two magistrates, to the place of their legal settlement. In order to save this expense, which in most cases fell on the removing parish, it was a very common practice to entice such distressed persons into an act of public begging, and after punishing them as rogues and vagabonds to send them to their parishes on common vagrants' passes. These passes were frequently put in force in a very unfeeling and barbarous manner, parish officers caring nothing as to what became of the poor wretches so that by any means whatever they could get rid of them out of their own parishes. In the register of Staplehurst is this entry :—"There was comytted to the earth the body of one Joan Longley, who died in the highway as she was carryed on horseback to have been conveyed from officer to officer, tyll she should have come to the parish of Rayerthe." This entry shows how strictly the inhuman law was enforced for removing the aged and infirm poor to the places of their birth, last residence, or legal settlement.

In May, 1698, there must have been a severe distemper of some kind raging in the gaol, as five burials of persons were recorded from that place in that month, and three in the following month. In August, Thomas Burroughs was buried, having been executed for felony. On the 6th of October was this memorandum, "That Henry Edmonds paid 5lbs., which was 50 shilings to the informer and 50 shilings to ye Churchwardens to be Desposed off to the Poore of Aylesbury as they shall think ffitt, for not making affidavit within 8 days after his son Henery was Buried.—Signed, Nathanell Birch, Thomas Hobbs, Churchwardens." This was under the Act of 1678; similar entries occurred in the overseers' accounts.

Roger Carrell, George Mackinny, Anthony Carr, and Thomas Hunt were executed for highway robbery, and buried the 17th March, 1698, and in March of the following year (1699), William White for murdering his brother, Joseph Green for robbing on the highway, and Zachary Tompkins and William Wilkins for housebreaking were

executed and buried. In August, 1699 Anthony Swan was executed for felony, and was "buried at ye gallows." This appears to have been a fruitful period for the hangman. In November in that year Joseph Elyman, a servant to William Batt, was buried; "he was killed by John Welch's waggon."

In 1698 and the following year there was a great influx of marriages, from some cause not explained; parties from many distant places came to Aylesbury to be married—from Haddenham, Hedsor, Chipping Wycombe, Oxford, Long Crendon, Padbury, Hitchendon, Upper Winchendon, Stoke Mandeville, Drayton Beauchamp, Chesham, Bow Brickhill, Great Missenden, Aston Clinton, Edgcot, Little Missenden, Puttenham, Dinton, Brill, Waddesdon, Stony Stratford, Newport Pagnell, Aston Abbots, Ridgemount, Princes Risborough, Eddlesborough, Swanbourne, Wingrave, Woburn, Prestwood, Cheddington, Thornborough, and many other places.

Most of the old names continue to appear in the register at the end of the 17th century, the principal ones being—Goldsworthy, Babham, Parker, Ells, Ray, Brooks, Cockman, Howse, Neale, Tue, Burnham, Hitchendon, Stockings, Talboys, Field, Horne, George, Nelson, Right, Wilson, Woodward, Ironmonger, Lodington, Pitson, Harris, Rawson, Sheene, Ferber, Kingham, Hoskins, Hedon, Lawrence, Kempster, Humphrey, Cox, Greene, Basse, Dixon, Walker, Tuckwell, Myles, Tringe, Monke, Dolofield, Ball, Heybourn, Freemen, Pearson, Palmer, Howe, Ivatts, Foscott, Rodwell, Bonick, Bridgfoote, Badrick, Pryor, Bowler, Jeffs, Wootton, Pipkin, Gibbs, Tyler, Paty, Pitchers, Parrott, Wagstaffe, Hatton, Capell, Rose, Woodhouse, Pitches, Beates, Osborne, Hurst, Stone, Stonhill, Wigg, Mann, Smart, Billington, Lucas, Hunte, Bowden, Jolly, Shoulder, Rickford, Hawkins, Lovett, Gibbons, Wall, Weste, Flexman, Turpin, Ashby, Skilman, Hitchcock, and Dudley.

The fourth part of the register commences with the year 1701, and is entitled "A Register of Marriages, Births, and Buryall within the Parish of Aylesbury-cum-Walton, in the County of Bucks, Beginning Anno Christi 1701," &c. This volume is much more bulky than its immediate predecessor and more antique in appearance. Parchment is reverted to and ruled columns are revived. The marriages of non-residents are still recorded in large numbers, persons coming from long distances to be married here, who seem to have had no connection with the place. In this volume the occupations of the people are added, and thus we have Brooks the maltster, Impey the miller, Tallboys the "joyner," Ray the collar maker, Gibbs the tallow chandler, Sheen the fellmonger, Harding the linen draper, North the barber, Ashby the "vitler," White the butcher, Barnaby the yeoman, Dawney at the "Crowne," Ginger the glover, Williams the apothecary, Fowler the baker, Todd the farmer, Tuckwell the cutler, Boughton the woollen draper, Egleton the sexton, Holloway the waggoner, Woodcock the gaoler, Alexander the "skoolmaster," Wheeler the basket maker, Hickman the carpenter, Thorp the fellmonger, Burnham the attorney, Bigg the farmer, Ledbeater the "taylor," Dell the maltster, Wilgoose the bricklayer, Ivatts the shoemaker, Russell the glazier, Heywood

the woollen draper, Dorrell the bellman, Neal the schoolmaster, Bell the registrar, Noah Pitches* the "chyrurgeon," Wilson the doctor of physick, Prince the apothecary, Wilson the ironmonger, Patten Burnham the proctor, Mead the attorney, Dagnall the stationer, (no printer). There also appear several occupations which are not now followed in the town; there were a button maker, a pinmaker, a flax-dresser, a weaver, a tapster, a wiredrawer, a water carrier, a fuller, a pipemaker, a clocksmith, a hayward, an oatmeal-man, a limner, a corkcutter, a haberdasher of "hatts," a parchment maker, a cider maker, a costardmonger, a woolman, &c., &c. Amongst the titled residents were Mr. John Burnham, W. Cockman, gent., W. James, gent., Mr. Paul Heywood, Mr. Noah Pitches, Mr. Joseph Bell, Mr. Robert Hitchcock, Edward Wells, gent., Mr. Neil Cambell, F. Ligoe, gent., and W. Croke, gent.

Amongst the noticeable entries of this volume, one states that in 1701 a pair were married, and the registrar adds "Both had but one legg;" the burials of two felons who had been executed are recorded. In 1702, Henry Russell was buried, having been executed for robbing the minister of Sherrington; he declared that "John Barnes, the bellman, and Joseph Sapwell, the crier, both of Newport Pagnell, were with him at the robbery, and no one else." There are, again, several entries of the deaths of soldiers; in 1707 a lieutenant in Colonel Churchill's regiment was buried, and in 1708 a soldier in Colonel Ellis's regiment. In this year baptisms were allowed to be performed by Mr. Ward, the Presbyterian minister. In 1709 a trooper in the Duke of Northumberland's regiment was buried; both he and Joseph Harding were drowned in a pond in Bull Close. At the end of March, 1710, two men were buried at the same time, having passed through the manipulations of the hangman. In 1713 "Pompey," a "blackamore" in Lord Peterborough's regiment, was buried. Aylesbury Gaol must have been thickly populated at this period, several children having been baptised with the note "Father, a prisoner," "Mother, a prisoner," &c., and strangers' children from the "Peecock," "Katherine Wheel," the "Tun," the "Cock and Bottle," and the "Blew Boar" in Walton; these houses are supposed to have been lodging-houses for travellers. In August, 1714, Richard Hinson, a traveller, was buried, having died under William Stopps's penthouse in Walton. On the 18th of November, 1714, Mr. Henry Phillips, of London, linen draper, was buried; "he was in the 75th year of his age, and gave £5000 to poor children of this parish; left it in the hands of Mr. William Mead and Mr. John Mead, trustees." In the month of March two brothers of the name of Longford were buried; their deaths were the fruits of the late assize; other such cases take place in the following year, both in March and July. In 1716 William Viccars was buried; he was in Capt, Hawkins's troop of Horse Guards, and was killed in a fight with a comrade. The

* The name of Pitches as a chyrurgeon is met with in the Quarter Session report at Epiphany, 1704. One Gerard Wilding, a vagrant who had been taken up for her Majesty's service, had, to disable himself from that service, "in a malicious and barbarous manner, cut and divided the greate Tendon of his Legg," and Mr. Pitches, "in order to have made him serviceable," had "made severall operacons, and applyed severall medicaments, and constantly attended him for a considerable tyme." Mr. Pitches only claimed £3 13s., but the Court of Quarter Session cut him down to £3.

following month of March brought its accustomed fatality, three poor fellows having met violent deaths under the sanction of the law. In August, 1718, a child was baptised, belonging to some travelling people; this note is attached, "Shee was Born in ye street, without the help of any." A woman, who died, is recorded as being of the reputed age of 103 years.

The summer assize of 1718 was fatal to two felons. In March, 1719, again, two culprits met their fate as usual, one being buried under the "gallus." In December of this year William Harding, of Walton, was buried: "he left a great part of his estate to ye poor of Aylesbury and Walton." In August, 1720, the body of a child of a traveller was buried, "whose name wee know not;" it was left in Thomas Bigg's barn, in Walton. In 1726, Thomas Hicks, Esq., "Captain Lieutenant in ye Hon. Major General Wade's regiment of horse, was buried from the George." On the 7th of August, 1727, John Walton was buried, "he was drowned in Friarage brook;" and in the same month a trooper in Col. Wade's regiment was buried; in the next year the Quartermaster was buried. On the 27th of October, 1728, Mr. Isaac Lodington, the vicar of Aylesbury, was buried. In March, 1729, the usual interments followed the assizes: there were two felons on this occasion, and two others after the Midsummer assizes. On the 22nd of November, 1729, it is recorded, "Mr. John Dudley, M.A., vicar of Aylesbury, did take his induction." The mortality in the gaol must have again been great, there being frequent burials of prisoners who had been confined for debt. This volume closes as it began, and its last page records the deaths of two more victims of the gallows.

From the poll book of a contested county election which took place at Aylesbury in 1722 is obtained a list of the names of the freeholders then residing at Aylesbury, who voted at that election; they were—Robt. Peverell, Richard Saunders, Esq., Isaac Lodington, clerk, Francis Ligoe, gent., George Rowland, M.D., Joseph Bell, gent., Francis Mayne, gent., William Church, gent., Arthur Crab., gent., Robert Cox, William Collins, Richard Kingham, William Dawney, Thomas Ray, Thomas Bourn, J. Dodston, Anthony Todd, Charles Foster, J. Welsh, H. Edmonds, J. Bishop, J. Goldsworthy, sen., P. Goldsworthy, T. Price, T. Bigg, sen., T. Clark, T. Aldridge, G. Hayward, J. Brandon, W. Bell, J. Palmer, Richard Harris, Richard Oviatts, John Wise, John Edmonds, John Ironmonger, R. Clarke, W. Parker, sen., J. Stockings, W. Coxhead, W. Parker, jun., T. Kirby, J. Russell, A. Ward, E. Anthony, A. Saunders, T. Pool, gent., T. Edmonds, T. Berry, W. Goldsworthy, J. Hayward, T. Lee, sen., T. Monday, P. Hayward, J. Ginger, A. North, sen., R. North, J. Pitches, W. Kennay, E. Clarke, T. Smith, R. Barnaby, W. Bowden, J. Braunch, R. Todd, R. Defraine, T. Edmonds, W. Webb, T. Chilton, E. Hawkins, E. Dayrell, Jacob Dell, J. White, M. Wildgoose, J. Delafield M. Ginger, R. Harris, W. Barnaby, W. Webb, T. Smith, T. Ray, A. North, jun., J. Kingham, J. Brassbridge, E. Darval, sen., W. Holton, W. Edmonds, T. Sheane, T. Woodward, J. Miller, J. Humphrey, H. Barker, R. Meade, gent., S. Partridge, W. Partridge, H. Hood, R. Edwards, R. Read, N. Symes, J. Harding, W. Lee, H. Spender, M. Dagnall, T. Lee,

W. James, gent., R. Hitchcock, gent., T. Parker, A. Willis, J. Wilson, T. Bigg, jun., T. Wootton, R. Bruer, T. Barnaby, R. Todd, John Welsh, sen., J. Harping, John White, jun., Arthur Hoskins, J. Goldsworthy, jun., J. West. E. Hitchcock, Jacob Dell, sen., W. Birch, R. Tuckwell, W. Williams, T. Shouler, W. Mason, clerk, W. Mead, Esq., S. Dancer.

The fifth volume of the register appears as a supplementary one, only extending from the year 1730 to 1736 ; it is in excellent preservation, well bound and lettered, and composed of parchment. The volume is prefaced by a pastoral from the Bishop of Lincoln, addressed, "To the Reverend the Minister and Churchwardens of ye Churches in ye Diocese of Lincoln." The title of this register is set out as "A Register of Marriages, Births, and Burials within the parish of Aylesbury-cum-Walton, in the county of Bucks, beginning Anno Dom. 1730." The book is very clean and well kept, every entry being in plain and bold writing, although somewhat antiquated. In 1731 was recorded the burial of Thomas Burck, a traveller, "drowned in John Ells' pit.". In 1732 there were the registers of the baptism of several of the children of troopers in the Duke of Bolton's regiment. This year a man of the name of Robert Meade, of Kimble, was executed for highway robbery ; he denied the crime at the place of execution to the last; he was tried before Judge Page (who was noted for his propensity for hanging). In 1733 a birth was registered with the note that "She was born in Dr. Pitches's orchard." On the 22nd April, 1734, after the entry of a marriage, this note followed, "being that great day wherein George Champion and Christopher Tower, Esq., were chosen by this Burrough to represent them in Parliament." In 1734 was this entry, "John Higgins, shoemaker, was drowned, on Sunday ye 6th of October, as he was coming from Waddesdon feast, and was not found till ye 21st, notwithstanding ye daily search of most of ye inhabitants of this parish, and was buried ye 22nd of ye same. N.B.—There was a guinea reward bid by the consent of a vestry, to any one that should finde him ; he was found below Stonebridge." On the 23rd March, 1734-5, Philip Thomas was executed for horsestealing ; he confessed. "He rode to the place of execution on horseback, dress'd in his shroud." In March, 1735-6, "Thomas Marsh and Richard Marshall were sent from Aylesbury Gaol to be executed on Rye Common, High Wycombe, for the murder and robbery committed on the body of Mr. Edward Pontyfex, a farmer. Marsh confessed; they were tried before Baron Thompson."

In July, 1736, this entry was made—"John Jordan, Yeoman, in Walton, was found Barbariously Murdered in ye Back brook yt parteth Ailesbury Ffrom Walton after midnight ; no discovery is as yett made off ye persons concerned in this cruel ffact, notwithstanding ye daily Inquiry off most off ye Inhabitants off this Parrish ; as soon as any discovery is made itt shall be entered in yt Book." In this volume the names met with are—Sherriff, Funge, Chilton, Carey, Adkins, Shelton, Batt, Gooding, Hickman, Vickers, Humphrey, Search, Kirby, Morgan, Stevens, Toms, Asbury, Berry, Sheen, Webb, Syrett, Hanwell, March, Geary, Woodard, Provis, Hester, Miller, Lee, Terry,

Cox, Allen, Brigenshaw, Stone, Porter, Hawkins, Topping, Sims, Lake, King, Fenner, Anthony, Pitkin, Stocker, Fryer, Pryor, Collins, Green, Shouler, Turner, Stratfold, Osborne, Oviatts, Capel, Jackson, Aldridge, Wilson, Purcell, Brown, Gough, Parish, Delafield, Foster, Allward, Holland, Radwell, Fell, Hinton, Perrin, Ingram.

The sixth volume, from March, 1737, to December, 1753, makes a thick book; like its predecessor, is in excellent condition; it appears to have been under the care of Isaac Wheeler. At the commencement of the volume is a letter from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of this province, giving minute and positive instructions that no person may hereafter be admitted into the sacred services of the church, nor any allowed to serve as curates, but such as appear duly qualified for that employ. The directions are with all convenient speed to be communicated to all the clergy in the diocese, and the Bishop commands that the instructions are to be duly entered in the parish register, which they duly were under the date of July 30th.

The first entry in this volume is dated March 29th, 1737, and records the marriage of John Holloway and Susan Childe, "being his ffiffth wiffe." In May Mr. William Church was buried; "he was drownded in a ffishpond in ye White Hart orchard." In June, "Richard Hitchcock, coroner ffor this part of ye county, was buried. N.B.—Both ye coroners for this county are now dead; ye present candidates are Mr. Tripp, off Beaconsfield, Mr. Patten Burnham and Mr. Thomas Burnham, both off Aylesbury." An entry of the 5th of May records the burials of three felons in the churchyard, "but two were taken away again." In December, 1739, William Ells, the hayward, died, who succeeded William Ells, the late hayward." In March, 1739-40, soldiers from Col. Wynyard's marines were buried. In April, 1740, the bodies of three felons were handed over to the sexton; on the 11th of that month Stephen Dagnall, the stationer, was buried. The Midsummer assize of the same year left the usual issue. In March, 1739-40, "Edward Bozwell, called the King of the Gypsies, was executed for horse stealing, as was also Edward Smyth, another gypsy, together with Richard Tavener." In November, 1741, Henry Parker, a drover, was buried; "he lost his life by making his escape from three men who pursued him, in order to rob him of 80 odd pounds he had then about him. He was forced through a brook, which threw him into a high fever of which he died." The assizes in March, 1742-3, end with the usual addition to the roll of burials; this year several entries refer to the families of the Welsh Fusiliers, who must have been quartered in the town about that time.

In December, 1742, Thomas Egleton, the sexton, died; he had held the office of sexton for 40 years, and was also a cobbler. This epitaph was composed for him:—

He's dead at *last*, and in the earth is laid,
So justly now in his own coin is paid;
O'er many a breathless corpse his spade he dealt;
Tho' others mourn'd, yet no remorse he felt.
The King of Terrors, who does so affright

All other mortals, was his chief delight.
The doleful trade, he'd used so long a space,
As if designed to bury all the race.
So well he thought was *wax'd* his *thread* of life
That he defy'd e'en 'Atropos'* knife.
This the stern destiny took in so great a huff,
That straightway she despatched a writ for poor old Bluff,
Which when 'twas served upon the sturdy *blade*,
He *bristled* up and threat'ned with his *spade*,
But 'twas in vain; he could not keep together,
With all his art, the *sole* and *upper leather*.
Death quickly caught him in his *pincers* fast,
So made an *end* of Egleton at *last*.

In 1745 was baptised the child of a soldier belonging to one in Captain Eeles' regiment, "on their march to the North to oppose the Rebellion now began there; she was born at the King's Head." On the 22nd of November, after a baptism, it is related —"This parish was sadly surprised through fear of an immediate visitt by the Hyland Rebells from whom Good Lord deliver us." In July, 1749, Dependence Ellis was buried; she was found dead, and the coroner's inquest committed her husband for murder. In March, 1752, Thomas Capon and Thomas Smallbones were buried, having been executed for a robbery of 26s. 6d. on the highway at Moulsoe; another man shared a like fate at the same time. At the end of the year 1752 is this note—"N.B.—Here endeth the year 1752, according to an Act of Parliament. O.S. (old style). Isaac Wheeler, Parish Clerk." (Hitherto the legal year commenced with April, and ended with the month of March.)

In the half century from 1700 to 1750 the most popular names are—Ashby, White, Talboys, Bell, Heydon, Patey, Oviatt, Basse, Horne, Mead, Phillips, Neale, James, Harding, North, West, Dagnall, Hodgkins, Williams, Syms, Dorsett, Welch, Alexander, Minshull, Barker Bell; and in the period intervening to 1800 the names met with are —Wilkes, Smart, Dell, Terry, Hickman, Smith, Grimes, Kirby, Perkins, Brett, Lathwell, Turney, Howse, Russell, Preston, Burnham, Stevens, Pugh, Bates, Plower, Hobbs, Hill, Brook, Price, Woodcock, Stone, Paten, Jemmett, Neale, Sherriff, Dudley, Fowler (baker), Perrin, Stockings, Rogers, Hilliard, Bernard, Topping, Durham, Jackson, Wheeler, Pearson, Berry, Alstone, Quartermaine, Horwood, Titt, Stodforth, Hicks, Ball, Cook, Rickford, Kennedy, Eagles, Perkins, Wilgos, Brassbridge, Stephens, Parker, Mercer, Todd, Petty, Lee, Carey, Deverell, Croke, Hawkins, Provost, Guess, Wall, Gough, Chaplin, Purssell, Tuckwell, Ivatts, Kinch, Budd, Osborne, Boughton, Dawney, Wynne, Freeman, Defraine, Pitches, Clement, Radwell, Hatten, Tattam, Bell, and Carter.

The seventh volume of the Register is entitled, "A Register of baptisms and burials, in the parish of Aylesbury, in the county of Buckingham." It commences with the entry of a marriage on the 1st of January, 1754, and ends with a burial on the 12th March, 1771. The marriages are carried no further in this book than 14th March, 1754. On the first page nine marriages are entered; seven by license and two by banns, after

* A deity—One of the three Parcæ. It was her business to cut the thread of life.

which none appear, and the book is a record of christenings and burials only, with but very few notes or comments. From 1754 to 1760 there are, amongst many others, entries of the baptism of children from the families of Foster Ray, Carey a glover, Howse a chyrurgeon, Capell a hemp dresser, Woodcock gaoler, Provis butcher, Babham shopkeeper, Croke attorney, Burnham victualler, Gibbs tallowchandler, Jackson a turner, Ironmonger the hayward, Goff, Fenner, Durham, Hannowell, Clements, Sheriff at the George, Paton, Fell, Hugh Barker Bell, gent, Cheese an innkeeper, Wheeler shopkeeper, Delafield, Rickford grocer, Fisher, Brett, Terry, Varney, Irons, Perrin, and Farmor Bull. In the same period, amongst the burials are the names of Jacob Dell maltster, Smart, Babham, Bell, William Walton, commonly called "Lord Walton," he was the post-master's servant, Brooks a maltster, William Dawney the post-master, M. James, gent, Turney, Fowler the baker, Thomas Poole gent., Clements, Wilson apothecary, Terry, Pitches, Hatton, Parker, Ann Althed, "a foundling from the hospital in this parish, she being the first that died there," Elizabeth Gurney, of the small pox, aged 82, Sarah Towers another foundling, John Patten Burnham, gent., one of the Coroners for this county, Jemmett, William Wheeler the sexton. From 1761 to 1765 the following names are extracted, being the christenings of the families of Jacob Baldwin, Minshull, gent., Mahershalalhashbaz Hussey, Pitches a pewterer and citizen of London, Norris, Sanford, Hoar, Ravenell, Hester, Viccars, Ailward, Miles, Jenkins, B. Bates, M.D. In the burials in the same dates appear "John Masson, of the 97th foot, who was drowned in Friarage Brook;" "William Spleen, a sailor who was at the taking of the 'Hernione,' a Spanish ship of great value;" John Delafield, gent., of Cripplegate, "buried on the north side of the chancel;" Mary, widow of Jasper Davis, "who formerly drove the Edinboro' coach, in the 100th year of her age;" and Mary Printer, "from the Foundling."

From 1765 to 1770, amongst the entries of christenings are found the names of the children of the families of Scott, Loosley, Turvey (Bulls Head), West, Peck, Nunn, Holland, Edden, Keates, Gilks, Ash, Stone watchmaker, Winfield, Beasley, George, Search, Hitchcock, Speed, Fitkin, Kirby, Mayne, Hester, Fellows, Wilshire, Firman, Durham, Adnam, Berry, Gurney, Hurst, Palmer, Allen, Eames, Horn, Goldney, Collins, Minshull, Read, Thorp, Vickers. Among the burials of the same date are entered the wife of Dr. Bates, James Neale the schoolmaster, Anthony Bell, Williams the apothecary, Elizabeth Dancer "the mistress of the Foundling Hospital here," Hugh Barker Bell, Esq., James Brooks, farmer, "one of the four constables for the Borough of Aylesbury;" William Dorrell, late of Iver, was buried, "He died in Aylesbury gaol, having been confined there above 20 years for a breach of the peace;" Joseph Bennett, gent., was buried "between the two tomb-stones near Mr. Wilkes' brick wall;" Mrs. Chapple, the wife of the coachman of John Wilkes, Esq., was buried; also Emma Downs, "a foundling from the hospital." In October Thomas Clarke, who drove the Aylesbury stage coach; Robert Paten, landlord of the King's Head; several children of George Nash, a jeweller in

Brownlow Street, London ; the Rev. John Stephens, D.D. ; William Collins, gent., "he died in Dr. Hobby's shop, where he went to be blooded." The burial of one felon only from the gallows is recorded in this volume, although some were brought from the gaol ; there are also several notes that persons were buried in the church.

Volume eight of the register opens without any introduction, excepting a label showing that William Dudley and William Collins were churchwardens for the year 1771. As more modern times are reached the quaint and funny notes of the registrars are missing, and there is now, with but few exceptions, only a mass of names to labour through. The numbering of the entries, commenced in the last leaf of the last volume, is not continued, either in the births or burials. From 1771 to 1775 entries of baptisms are made, amongst others, from the families of Rickford, Read, Grimes, Wheeler, Bull, Joysey, Jenkins, Dawney, Firman, Pearson, Smith, Eagles, Hobley, Hill watchmaker, Burnham, Ludgate the surgeon, Edden, Duncombe, Stone clockmaker, Hinton, Collins, Bigg. In 1772, Henry, the son of Jacob Vanderhelm, was buried ; in March, 1773, F. Mortimer and Samuel Lamb were executed for housebreaking and highway robbery ; Gerrard Neale "was ye last the old great bell went for." On July 12th, this year, "a new peal of eight bells, cast by Pack and Chapman, hung by Robert Turner, were opened by the College ringers." On the 23rd July, "Edward Corbell, from Aylesbury Gaol, was hung in chains at Bierton for ye murder of farmer Holt." In April, 1774, Edward Millson, for robbing Mr. Lucas on the highway was executed. In March, 1775, William Silk, a Dissenting minister, was buried. Amongst the baptisms from 1776 to 1780 appear the names of Woodstock, Payne the cutler, Toms, Turvey, Rawbone, Radwell, Steel, Hodgkins, Howard, Parrott, Berry, Guess, Chaplin, Wall, Nichols. Mary Willgoss is recorded as having been baptised by Mr. Harris, the Presbyterian minister ; the names of Higgins, Wootton, Crosier, Hilliard, Defraine, Gilbert also appear. In 1775, Deverell Dagnall, the attorney, was buried ; in 1778 Dame Amelia, wife of Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., also Thomas Hill, Esq. On the 31st of January, 1779, six persons were buried in one evening, "being the greatest number ever buried at one time in this parish, and not one of the small-pox." In June, 1779, Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., was buried, and also Robert Jemmett, after whom a very popular snuff is named. About 1781 several more entries appear relating to the families of soldiers, militia men, and troopers, but mostly of the 2nd regiment of foot, probably then quartered in the town.

Births were again taxed in 1783 ; burials were also taxed at the same date. The register now has a new start, and the head of the page commences with "Births since the Act of Parliament took place, imposing a duty of threepence on every birth commencing on the 1st of October, 1783." Each birth is consecutively numbered, Sarah, daughter of John and Ann Fenner, being the first parishioner chargeable with the new tax. A distinct column is set aside for paupers, and they are not numbered ; they

were not subject to the tax. The same rule exactly was carried out in the register of burials. The tax on every marriage was also 3d.

The stamp act of 1783, imposing a duty of 3d. on every entry in the parish register, was felt to be most objectionable in its nature. It fell lightly on the rich but heavily on the poor, and placed the clergyman in the invidious position of tax-gatherer; the poor were often unable or unwilling to pay the tax, and the clergy had a direct inducement to retain their goodwill by keeping the register defective. The obnoxious statute was repealed in 1794, with another Act of such flagrant injustice that it cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. At this period the registers of Dissenters were mere private documents, inadmissible in any courts of justice. Dissenters were encouraged to hope that if their registers were impressed with the Government stamp they would receive public recognition and be placed on an equality with the parish registers. Upon this understanding they consented to share the tax, and accordingly, in 1785, the Stamp Act was, at their own petition, extended "to all Protestant Dissenters." By a gross breach of faith the privilege was withheld, although the price of it was received, and for nine years Dissenters suffered without redress, if not without complaint.

In 1784 the following freeholders of Bucks were resident in Aylesbury, and voted at the contested election in that year :—Adams, Allen, Asbury, Babham, Baldwin, Barnaby, Basse, Bell, Berry, Bigg, Brooks, Burnham, Capel, Carey, Cheese, Cardwell, Chaplin, Clark, Clements, Collins, Daniel, Dell, Dudley, Duncombe, Eagles, Edmonds, Eggleton, Fell, Fenner, Fletcher, Fowler (baker), Gaddesden, Gawdrey, Gills, Grace, Green, Grimes, Groves, Hanwell, Hester, Hickman, Hill, Hinton, Horwood, Jeffs, Jeffrey, Jenkins, Jones, Irons, Ivatts, Kingham, Kirby, Lee, Laurance, Longbridge, Lucas, Marlow, Miles, Mortimer, Norman, Odcraft, Osborne, Oviatts, Paten, Pitches, Pearson, Perkins, Perrin, Pym, Pollicutt, Purssell, Radwell, Ray, Read, Rickford, Russell, Sherriff, Stockins, Smith, Stone, Terry, Thorp, Todd, Tredal, Turney, Tuckwell, Wakelin, Wall, Watford, Wheeler, White, Wilgoss, Wiltshire, Wootton, Woodman.

Volume nine of the register commences January, 1791. In 1793 a woman was buried "having been executed for the murder of her child." In 1794 a Welshman was buried "in the Welsh language by the Rev. Mr. W. Lloyd." In 1795 two burials of felons are recorded. In August, 1796, the induction of the Rev. William Lloyd to the living of Aylesbury by the Rev. Mr. Oddie is recorded.

From this period to the end of the century little worth noting is to be found; the names of inhabitants appear as Homeyer, Salmons, Locke, Acome, Osborne, Boheme (surgeon), Godfrey, Quartermaine, Holland, Stodsworth, Saxby, Cook, Skilman, Hinton, Durham, Fellows, Ganney, Atkins, Titt, Batt, Bonnick, Prickett, Sparks, Marlow, How, Woodbridge, Jolly, Eldridge, Hester, Naylor, Bett, Turner, Gilbert, Hunt, Loggin, Sharp, Durley, Grace, Goodson. The frequent repetition of names goes to show that some families continued to reside in the town century after century.

In 1800 the burial of one felon was recorded, and in the following year three were executed for sheep stealing, horse stealing, and highway robbery. In 1802 election matters indirectly found their way into the register; there is the entry of the baptism of Mary Bent, daughter of James Gibbons, the glazier; Robert Bent Holloway, son of John Holloway, the wheelwright; and on the next page William Bernard, son of William Castle.* There was also a Bernard Woodbridge, whose name does not appear in the register.

Among those buried in 1803 were William Rickford, gent., and Edward Horler, a physician. In 1806 William Nichols, a printer, died—the first time mention of one of that profession is made; in 1807, Elizabeth Rickford, widow, was buried, also John Rawbone, schoolmaster, and Thomas Hatten, attorney; in 1808, James James, attorney; and in 1809, James Rust, a Dissenting minister. In 1810, Needler Chamberlain was buried, having been executed for forgery; that year was recorded the baptism of a child of Vincent Benjamin Edouard Gaillard, "according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church," to which a note is added, "The above child was baptised by a Roman Catholic Priest, and inserted in this register by the permission of the vicar of this parish." In 1811 Thomas Rawbone, schoolmaster, died; in 1812 John Parker, Esq., also William Homeyer. In 1812 another child of Edouard Gaillard was baptised by the Abbé Brean and "inserted under certificate." These persons were connected with the establishment of Louis XVIII. when he resided at Hartwell; the Abbé Brean was a great favourite with the French Queen.

After the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1812, entitled "An Act for the better regulating and preserving parish and other registers," the old system of keeping these documents was entirely abandoned. The new Act came into operation on the 1st of January, 1813, and register books were forwarded by the King's printer to each parish, of an uniform and duly legalized character; every entry had to be verified by the officiating minister and the register kept in his custody, an annual copy having to be sent to the registrar in each Diocese. Merely formal entries being now made, further extracts would be of no interest whatever to the general reader.

However useful these parish registers, it must be recollected they were incomplete; there was no law to compel parents to have their children baptised at church, nor to bury in the church-yard, so that the records of the births and deaths of Nonconformists did not find their way into the columns of the parish register. Since the year 1837 all this has been altered, and the business of registration of births, deaths, and marriages has, by Act of Parliament, been placed in the hands of officials, who are controlled by the Registrar General.

It is the duty of the local registrar of births, deaths, and marriages to make entries

* Bent and Bernard were competing candidates at the Aylesbury election of 1802.

as they occur, and the registrars of marriages are required to be present and record every marriage taking place amongst Dissenters elsewhere than at church; Jews and Quakers alone excepted, for whom provision is made by a special enactment. Eventually the volumes containing the entries of the registrars pass into the hands of the statistical department, who eliminate from them all those manifold results which appear in the Registrar General's quarterly and annual reports. It is a mistake to suppose that no practical results have been obtained from these returns. Many inquiries in times of cholera and other epidemics have had light thrown upon them by these tables. They prove that mortality increases in inverse proportion to the purity of the water supply, and that strict attention to sanitary matters lengthens human life. After passing through various manipulations these registers are finally entombed in vaults, but are easily accessible to the public at large. In these volumes the real history of the English people for the last half-century lies.

Chapter XXXIV.—THE OVERSEERS' ACCOUNTS.

Earliest overseers' accounts—Pauper list—weekly cost of paupers—Strange payments—The small pox—The pest-house—Commission for charitable uses—Vestry meetings—Mode of collecting rates—Detailed disbursements—Touching for the Evil—Bone-setters—The chimney tax—Fines received for not making affidavits of legal burial—Robbery in the Hundred paid for—Fines for drunkenness received—Removing vagrants—passes—John Goldworthy's daybook—Prices in 1683—Duties paid on births—Whipping vagrants—No out-relief given—Pauper marriages—More detailed disbursements—Expense of small-pox patients—Roundsmen—Increase in expenditure—New Workhouse—Surplus labour—Enormous cost of pauperism—new Poor Law.

THE earliest account book extant relating to the relief of the poor of the parish of Aylesbury is dated 1656. The pauper pay list was then made out fortnightly, and it averaged about £4; that is, £2 weekly, inclusive of the hamlet of Walton, which has always been treated in common with the parish in poor's matters. At the pay-table in March, 1656, there were 35 recipients of parish relief, and the fortnightly pay doled out to them amounted to £3 18s. 5d. In addition to the pay list there were other payments under the head of necessaries, such as clothing, repairs of almshouses, &c., which in the year reached £21. The total receipts were £134 13s. 2d., inclusive of 13s. 4d. fines for swearing; £6 9s. 0d. from disorderly alehouses; and £2 3s. 4d., fines for various misdemeanours, which sums were paid to the overseers by order of the justices of the peace. The disbursements were £118 1s. 5d., to which an item is added, "Paide more to Walton poore, for 5 payments at 6s. the payment comes to £1 10s." As these were fortnightly payments the poor of Walton cost at that period 3s. per week. The employment of paupers consisted of spinning hemp, and there is an account which is not very plain to understand, but which shows a loss on the labour. At the end of the year the amount of the "towne stock," or surplus in hand, amounted to £32 18s. 8d., and the accounts were duly passed in vestry by Henry Phillips, John Kilby, William Dawney, Henry Freer, John Very, Thomas Monk, and Thomas Miles. There is this note added to the annual statement:—"The towne stock was not delivered into Thos. Horwood, Thos. Humphrey, W. Tod, or Thomas Baldwin, overseers of the poore of Aylesbury for the year 1657, but was lent to certain poor tradesmen by order of the trustees of Heydon Hill, and the bonds for the money are in the hands of Rowland Brassbridge. Signed, Stephen Dagnall."

In 1658 the loss on setting the poor to work was £9 17s. 2d.; 1,493lbs. of hemp,

costing £77 17s. 4d., after being manufactured realized but £68 0s. 2d. In 1659 the overseers added to their account 12s. 4d., levied on John Crawley, for swearing and being drunk; on John Veary, for working on Sunday, 10s.; Thomas Smith, for swearing, 3s. 4d.; John Veary, for again working on the Lord's Day, 10s.; and on John Welch, the same day, for the like offence, 5s. The total receipts that year were £206 19s. 9d., and the debit side again shows £14 17s. loss by setting the poor to work. For the year 1661 Rowland Brassbridge, Richard Mears, Matthew Hitchenden, and Richard Whitchurch were appointed overseers; their disbursements were £143 15s. 3½d. In 1662 John Gurney, Robert Letherland, Henry Bell, and Thomas Miles, sen., were in office; they were assiduous in placing out the pauper children as apprentices. They expended altogether £149 6s. 11d., and handed over a balance of £11 5s. 3d.; they also handed over "the towne bonds, together with a box bought by John Gurney, to put the bonds and indentures in;" Henry Bass duly acknowledged the receipt of them. In 1664 was an item "payd to Biggs for keeping ye poore boy whose mother was hanged at ye last assizes, and the poore boy was also given a shute of cloathes and a shirt." In 1666 a payment of £2 3s. 9d. was made for Robert Meadon "to keepe him outt off prison," and there was also paid to Thomas Freer "for to gett John Higgins outt off prison 10s." In 1665 is a statement relating to "The accounts off the charges off the pest-house and off other charges thereunto belonging, as in particulars doth now appear as followeth," from which these extracts are taken:—

			£	s.	d.
August	25th—	Item payd to Goody Dossett for a pecke loafe	00	01	04
		„ Ffor one cheese and a pound of butter	00	01	01
		„ Ffor a pitcher and candles	00	00	05
		„ Ffor small beare	00	00	03
		„ Payd Goody Ells for a necke of mutton, a fry pan, and a spoone	00	01	06
		„ Payd for beare for the watchman	00	00	06
	31st—	„ Payd to Henery Parker for meate and beare, and solt and dressing of meat, and tobacco	00	07	00
		„ Payd Stephen Holloway 8 days and nights watching	00	08	00
		„ Payd Robert Meadon, the like	00	08	00
Sept.	5th—	„ Ffor a breast of mutton	00	00	10
		„ Payd Mr. Plumer for strong water for Stockings	00	00	08
		„ Payd more to him for tobacco and candles, and cordial and oyntment	00	04	02
		„ To Goody Dossett for bread and cheese, and butter, and ottmill	00	05	01
	14th—	„ For harslett and a line of mutton	00	02	04
		„ For a quarter off mutton	00	02	00
		„ Ffor a piece off beefe and ½ a peck of barley	00	01	05
		„ Peter Goldsworth, for keeping John Forrest's hoggs	00	07	06
		„ Ed. Norwood, as much meat as cost	00	02	03
		„ Payd Goody Floyd, carrying things to the pest-house.	00	00	03
		„ Ffor a shoule and spade to make a grave for Norwood's daughter	00	01	00
		„ Henry Horwood, for a shoulder of veale	00	02	00

These items are given merely to show the prices of labour and provisions at the period. There are several entries in the account which it is now impossible to understand. Why a payment should be made for keeping Forrest's hogs is strange, unless care was taken of them whilst the owner was a patient in the pest-house. Again, the item for Norwood's daughter's grave is singular ; probably she died from the disease and was buried contrary to the usual mode, for fear of contagion. The account is not altogether very clear, but it seems the expenditure on behalf of the pest-house that year was £24 14s., the greater part being paid for watchers.

The pest-house was not a permanent establishment ; when the direful disease had spent itself and the attack subsided it was closed for the time being. The house was situate in some isolated and unfrequented spot, all communication with the inmates being strictly forbidden. There is one item in the expenditure which will show to what extent the wretched inmates of the pest-house were abandoned ; their supply of fuel ran short, and thus this entry :—" Paid to Mr. Richard Cockman for his sheep-racks and gates, which the people in the pest-house burned, £01 04s. 00d."

Few persons of the present day have any idea of the ravages caused by the small-pox before the general introduction of vaccination ; whole families were carried off by it. Sometimes a generation would grow up without a visitation ; then by some chance it would be introduced into a town or village by a casual visitor, or a servant would return home to her parents, sickening with it, or in some way the peculiar poison would be introduced. Then would ensue a calamity so great that, though on a small scale, it must have been as terrible as any plague. A large part of the population would soon be down with it ; all but the most necessary occupations be suspended, care of the sick hardly be attempted. The suffering would be immense, and the means of relief inadequate. At length, when the disease disappeared, the survivors, more or less scarred and some blinded, would begin to take courage ; but it might be years before health would be perfectly re-established ; the infected places in the meantime being carefully shunned by everyone, and all matters of business being neglected.

It was thought to be a wonderful gain when inoculation of small-pox was proposed. If the body could be well prepared by suitable regimen, if a good time of the year could be chosen, and only a small portion of small-pox poison be put into the system, it was found that very frequently it would run a mild course, and yet protect against future attacks. This, then, seemed a great step in advance ; but a difficulty was soon discovered. Small-pox was largely inoculated, and the majority had the disease slightly ; but then they gave it in the natural way to others, who were not inoculated, and thus the disease acquired a still wider spread, and became even more fatal.

When William Jesty, of Mal Tavers, Dorset, at the commencement of this century, found that while the human population was sorely troubled with a severe form of small-pox his cows were infected simultaneously with what was called " cow-pox," he had

forced on his notice that his milkers, male and female, while complaining of little sore places on the arms or hands, were free from the terrible epidemic of small-pox. What were the deductions drawn by him we well know, as he actually "infected his wife and son with the limpid fluid from the udder of a young heifer." This raised against him a storm of indignation. That people should die of small-pox was according to God's providence, but that they should escape by "worshipping the horned beast" was a wicked outrage, which would be punished by visible horns of the cow growing out of each corner of the head. The small-pox is a disease over which general sanitary measures have little or no control. Any unprctected person is liable to be attacked by it. An Icelandic sailor went to Denmark, there took the small-pox, and died. His clothes were sent back to his family in Iceland; and that importation of the poison, notwithstanding the sparseness of the population, was fatal to 18,000 persons in the course of six months, many, it is expressly stated, then taking the disease who had previously had it.

At a vestry held in 1667, it was resolved "that the sum of eleven pounds, eleven shillings and 8d., now in the hands of John Gurney, Step. Dagnall, and Thomas Horwood, shall be taken and paid over as part of the Towne Stock;" this was by order of the justices, and Matthew Freer gave a discharge for the money. The expenditure for that year was £142 4s. 10d., and £6 9s. 6d. was paid over to the new officers. At a vestry in 1668 Thomas Stockings and another were released of a bond held against them for money lent by the parish, "as they now pay collection" (that is rates). The Walton paupers at that time were "Ould Widow Rash, Widow Ann Rash, and Sarah Bourne," and the fortnightly pay for the three amounted to 4s., being 8d. each per week, which does not seem to have been paid them very regularly. At that date a fee was paid for counsel's opinion about the commission of charitable uses, 20s.; "for returning the jury, 12s.; and for warning (summoning) the jury, 4s." Samuel Saxton was also paid for 13 ordinaries at 2s. 6d. each, and other charges for the commissioners amounting to 22s.; £2 was paid to Mr. Goswell to recover the money which was behind in Chancery, "which wee think is £75 for the six towns; every towne is to allow as much as wee." What this charity money "behind in Chancery" was, is not explained. Twelve shillings was expended for the hire of two horses to go to Beaconsfield about Mr. Goswell's money, which was £15, but it is not clear whence it came; it was obtained and distributed amongst the poor. Henry Pratt was paid £2 4s., for setting and curing John Berry's thigh bone. In 1669 there was more law; John Dow went to Canterbury for some purpose and was paid £1; John Gurney paid two counsellors £2, and Mr. Wells was paid £3 3s. respecting the "charitable uses." "This is for money payd out of his purse; 30s. more is due to him for which he is content to waite until the money comes from Canterbury." A Mr. Whitchcombe was also paid £4 3s. respecting the commission for charitable uses, "for money paid out of his purse, wee allowing him nothing for his paynes but just the money layd oute."

The Commission for charitable uses was established by a statute of Elizabeth (1601) passed "to redress the misemployment of lands, goodes, and stocks of money heretofore given to charitable uses." The Commissioners were empowered to enquire into and redress the abuse and misapplication of property given by well-disposed persons "for the relief of the aged, impotent, and poor people, for the maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities, for the education and preferment of orphans, for or towards the relief, stock, or maintenance of houses of correction, and for the aid or ease of any poor inhabitant, &c." The term "charitable use" was applicable only to gifts of what were called public charities, the objects of which were not particular individuals, but a class, or the public generally. The proceedings under the Act of Elizabeth were so very unsatisfactory that they generally fell into disuse, and recourse was had to the method of procedure by information in the Court of Chancery.

In the year 1669, £181 15s. 7d. was disbursed, and some parish excitement existed, as at the vestry for passing the accounts the attendance was larger than usual, over 30 parishioners signing the minute book; their names will show who were the active townsmen at that period :—Thomas King, Francis Wethered, William Phillips, George Plomer, John Trender, William Ray, John Gascoine, Henry Edmonds, Thomas Ray, Henry Edmonds, Samuel Bampton, Francis Russell, John Ells, John Welch, Thomas Ray, John Hayward, John Werge, Robert Hickman, William Dawney, Henry Wells, William Goffe, Edward Hadgood, Thomas Norris, William Smith, George Hill, John Dawney, John Billing, William Pratt, Henry Fennell, Nathaniel Birch, Joseph Rawson, Thomas Monk, Edward Gourney. A few of these signatures are so badly written that it is doubtful if they are correctly copied. The accounts vary but little, year after year; the same pauper names are on the list; once on, they did not disappear very quickly, and apparently the same families were paupers from one generation to another.

In the year 1670, the accounts of Luke Foster, Thomas Hickman, William Welch, and John Doggett were well kept; the writing is good, although of course antique, and the mode of figuring clumsy compared with accounts of the present day. The names given to the paupers were not very complimentary; there were "Allen's Wench," "Doll Layton," "Goody Rickford," "Ould Dew," "Goody Rainsford," "Old Goody Layton," "Ould Howse," "Dolly Jordan," "The Dunny Wench," "Gamar Woodbridge," and "Biddy Narroway."

On the 24th of April, 1671, the overseers' accounts were allowed by Thos. Farrar and Thos. Saunders (the justices), previous to which they had been examined and found just, at a vestry at which Thomas Boughton, Daniel Gurney, Richard Cockman, Stephen Dagnall, William Bates, Henry Horwood, R. Hitchcock, Matthew Ffreer, Fras. Wethered,

George Plomer, Thomas Ray, and Thos. King were present. The abstract of the account shows, amongst others, the following items :—

Receipts—	£	s.	d.
Our first rate amounts to £5 13s. 4d., which being gathered at 14 times is	079	06	08
Our second rate amounts to £5 17s. 3d., which being gathered at 20 times is	111	05	00
Arrears and of late Overseers	006	17	08
	£197	09	04
Total disbursements and arrears and left is	193	15	03
Remaining in the overseers' hands	003	14	01

The detailed disbursements consisted of fortnightly payments to paupers, the list mainly including aged and infirm men and women, and young children; able-bodied, either male or female, do not appear to have been relieved without special cause, such as being "sicke," "broken arme," "children sicke," &c. The system of boarding out pauper children, indeed boarding out generally, then existed to some extent. In that year the following miscellaneous payments were made :—

	£	s.	d.
Goody Haynes, her husband being in prison	00	03	00
Pd. for Ould Howse, his rent in Walton	00	05	00
To Walton poor and more added to Goody Arthur, Lying In	00	11	04
Goody Rickford, looking after Widow Humphrey	00	02	06

The rents of cottages and the lodgings of paupers were paid by the overseers; but the sums were exceedingly low; medical attendance was also an item. These items follow :—

Harris's daughter being sicke, when she was at Berkhampstead to be treated by Dr. Woodhouse	00	10	00
Goody Lacy, for Barnfield's children	00	02	06
John Saunders, his daughter being sicke	00	04	00
Robert Burton, for thrashing straw for Goody Sanders's house	00	00	03
Goody Rash, when her child died of the small pocks	00	03	00
Mr. Dalton, Clerk and Sexton for ye buryall of Rash's child that died of the small pocks	00	05	00
Mr. Gurney, for a lock to Goody Sanders's door	00	01	04
Mr. Lues, for a warrant to bring Thomas Arthur and John Dossett before Mr. Farrer, the justice	00	01	00

During that year there was a visitation of the small-pox, and much sickness; and, amongst other items, were payments to :—

Widdow Harris, for carrying Old Howse to his grave	00	02	00
Robt. Goodspede, being sicke of an ague	00	01	00
John Verey, for setting one half of the poor to work	02	17	06
John Harding, for setting one half of the poor to work	02	17	06
John Bass, his arme being broke	00	02	10

	£	s.	d.
Henry Edmonds, for fetching 30 dozen of bread, which was given to the poore of this Towne at Mr. Ligo's ffunerall	00	01	06
John Bell, a suite of cloathes and a pair of shoes for Chrismas's boy	00	10	09
To Henry Miles, for taking Joseph Rash to be 'prentice to him for seaven yeares the sum of ffour pounds, that is to say, two pounds now in hand and two pounds left in Mr. Daniel Gurney's hands, to be paid to the said Henry Miles when the said Joseph Rash shall not be chargeable to the parish of Alesbury by the space of one whole yeare following	04	00	00

In the 39th and 43rd years of Elizabeth, Acts were passed, empowering the churchwardens and overseers of a parish to bind apprentice the children of such needy persons as belonged to it—the males until 24, and the females until 21 years of age.

Payd to Henry Horwood, for carrying of Barnfield's child to London (Horwood was the carrier)	00	03	06
Henry Horwood, for carrying Goody Haynes and her 3 children to London.	01	04	06
Matthew Wildgoose, repairing three almshouses	02	05	06

In the miscellaneous payments of 1671 were—

Henry Pratt, for setting old Kempster's shoulder	00	05	00
More to him for setting Brandom's boy's thigh	00	05	00
Mr. Rawson, for curing Widd. Layton's child	00	10	00

That year the total amount received was	£141	16	04
Disbursed	£139	08	07
In hand	£002	07	09

In the year 1671 there were many items for clothing for children apprenticed, and of payments made to widows for taking care of paupers, who may be presumed to have been sick and helpless. The sums paid over to the Walton poor amounted to about ten shillings per fortnight. With little variations similar items extended over a long period.

In 1672 these payments were made :—

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Jackson, of London, taking Barnfield's boy as apprentice	03	00	00
Henry Howood, for carrying him up to London and expenses by the way..	00	04	00
For shoes for Brown's wench	00	02	02
For a shift for Allen's wench	00	02	07
For mending ye lockes and a new kay to ye poor's box	00	00	10
For mending Allen's wench's shoes	00	00	07
Mrs. Plomer, for Phisick for Allen's wench	00	01	00
Stockings for her	00	01	02
Given to Robert Maydon's wife to carry her child to be touched for ye evill	00	04	00
To Joseph Myles, upon ye like occasion	00	05	00

To be touched by the King for the cure of the Evil, each person had to go with a recommendation from the minister or churchwardens of the parish ; these officials were

enjoined to examine carefully into the cases before granting certificates, and in particular to make sure that the applicant had not been touched before.

The practice of touching for the Evil had its crigin in England in the reign of Edward the Confessor. There is no mention of the English kings of the Norman race having ever attempted to cure the Evil by touching ; but that Henry II. performed cures is attested by Peter of Blois, who was his chaplain. Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice in the time of Henry IV., represents the practice as having belonged to the Kings of England from time immemorial ; Henry VII. was the first English Monarch who established a particular ceremony to be used on the occasion of touching, and introduced the practice of presenting a small piece of gold. There is but little trace of the custom under Henry VIII. In the State paper office there are preserved no less than eleven proclamations issued in the reign of Charles I., respecting the touching for the evil. They relate mostly to the times when the people might repair to the Court to have the ceremony performed. The number of cases increased greatly after the Restoration, as many as 600 at a time having been touched on the days appointed for it, being sometimes thrice a week. The ceremony was continued by James II. Queen Anne seems to have been the last of the English sovereigns who actually performed the ceremony of touching. In Lent, 1712, Dr. Johnson was amongst the persons touched by the Queen. In 1716, Christopher Lovel was touched abroad by the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings, who had, indeed, for a long succession of years, cured the distemper of King's Evil, by the royal touch ; but this descendant and next heir of their blood had not, at least at that time, been either crowned or anointed. The usual effect, however, followed. From the moment that the man was touched and invested with the narrow riband, to which a small piece of silver was pendent, and had gone through the ceremony according to the rites appointed by the Church for that solemnity, the humour dispersed insensibly—so, however, it is recorded. A form of prayer to be used on these occasions was introduced into the Common Prayer-book as early as 1684.

These further items appear as disbursements in 1672 :—

	£	s.	d.
To Michael Pratt, for cureing Ffarmborow's boy	00	05	00
To Mary Sutton, for teaching Clarke's daughter to make lace	00	05	00
For 2 pillow cloths for the children to make lace	00	01	10
To Robert Paton's child and Goody Leighton's to carry them up to ye King, to bee touched	01	06	00
For a shroud for Thomas Warner	00	02	06
1675.—			
Paid for carying a strange woman, being ill, to Woodward's (a lodging house), and for her being there entertained	00	07	08
To the strange woman, when she went away	00	02	10
For a book and ink horn to enter the accounts	00	01	04
Payd for 2 shifts for ye Dunny wench	00	05	10
To Rolph, for having his daughter to Stratnarly (Stratton Audley)	00	08	00
For mending Dunny's shoes	00	00	06

	£	s.	d.
To the Clerk and Sexton for burying Dunny	00	01	06
To Widd. Hawkins, to bury the Dunny wench	00	02	00
A shroud for Dunny*	00	02	06

1676.—

Paid for making of the first rate and taking off the chimney money	00	01	06

Chimney or hearth money was first imposed under Parliamentary authority by 14 Charles II., c. 10, and was charged on every hearth in each house paying to church and poor. By a subsequent statute, certain persons were empowered, once every year, to view the inside of every house. By the statute of 1 William and Mary, c. 10, hearth-money was admitted to be "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but also a badge of slavery upon the whole people." This tax was also known as the chimney-tax; it was most unpopular, and called forth the loudest murmurs. Even amongst direct imposts it was most odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. The poorer householders were frequently unable to pay their hearth-money to the day. When this happened their furniture was distrained without mercy; for the tax was farmed, that is, contracted for by a speculator, and a farmer of taxes was of all creditors proverbially the most rapacious. The collectors were loudly accused of performing their unpopular duty with harshness and insolence. It was said that, as soon as they appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women to hide their earthenware; nay, the single bed of a family had sometimes to be carried away and sold. Some ballads of the age show the unpopularity of the tax:—

> "The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,
> Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots and pipkins hide.
> There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,
> But if you talk of chimney men will spare a curse or two."

The hearth-tax seems to have united all the worst evils which can be imputed to any tax. It was unequal, and unequal in a most pernicious way; for it pressed hardly on the poor and lightly on the rich. A peasant whose property was not worth £20 had to pay several shillings, whilst the mansion of the opulent nobleman was seldom assessed at more than two guineas. William III. was so importuned by the common people to relieve them from the intolerable burden of the tax, and so much moved by what he heard of the grievances of it, that at one of the earliest sittings of the Privy Council he introduced the subject, and by his personal interference the tax was abolished.

1676. Further payments—

	£	s.	d.
To Henry Pratt for setting of bones and curing Thomas Seely's daughter	01	00	00
To Thos. Todd for healinge the boy's legge	00	01	00
To the miller for having his child to the bonesetter	00	03	00

* Poor Dunny may be presumed to have been deaf and dumb.

The old bone-setters were quacks who undertook to cure cases of chronic lameness, dislocations, and other deformities which appeared beyond the skill of the qualified surgeon—cures apparently effected more by boldness of treatment and personal strength than skill. The great bone-setter of the last century was an uneducated woman of the name of Mapp. She lived at Epsom, and used to drive a coach and four to London twice a week on professional journeys, returning with the abandoned crutches of her patients as trophies of honour. She is reputed to have straightened a man's back which had been humped for nine years. Another patient had a shortening of one leg of six inches ; she cured him after he had been lame for twenty years.

In 1677, Anthony Todd, of Walton, died intestate. and William Elliot, the Walton overseer, took possession of his effects for the benefit of the children of the deceased. The following items from the valuation will show the prices of the period :—

	£	s.	d.
3 cows and 2 heifers	11	0	0
4 mares	14	0	0
73 sheep and lambs	12	3	4
A weaning calf	0	10	0

The following abstracts are made from the accounts for the year 1678 :—

	£	s.	d.
Received of Jacob Sanders by way of distress, for not making affidavit within the period for his son Jacob, buried, as our warrant directed us	05	01	00
Received more of Widow Trender, for not making affidavit of her husband's burial	05	01	00
Disburst of this money to Luke Ffisher and John Dawney, churchwardens, and the informer, and for paying for the warrant	05	02	00
Distributed otherwise	05	00	00

Then follows a list of persons buried in the parish, the Act for burying in woollen having been complied with.

1679.—

Payd to John Todd, for curing his boy off ye Itch	00	01	00
Payd for a robbery done in this Hundred as appears by acquittance	06	03	06

In certain cases when a robbery had been committed, and the perpetrators were not apprehended, the Hundred or Division in which the robbery took place was held liable for the loss sustained. Immediately upon the discovery of a robbery the Hundred was bound to raise a hue and cry, and take steps to pursue the robbers, and in order that such hue and cry and pursuit might be the more effectually performed, both horsemen and footmen had to be engaged in it. Any constable, or other like officer, refusing or neglecting to make such hue and cry forthwith was liable to a fine of £5. The Hundred was also liable to amercement in the event of the escape of a felon from the place of detention or from the custody of any officer of the Hundred.

The following items are also found in the accounts for the year 1679 :—

	£	s.	d.
Received of Michael Nash and John Shirly, fines for drinking in Divine service	00	06	08
Received by order of the Court of Quarter Session from a person being drunk	00	05	00

These sums were disbursed to the poor as extras. In the same year there was paid—

To William Brooks, for charges about a travelling woman.....	00	02	00
To Robert Newns, for charges of another travelling woman	00	02	00

Travelling women likely to spend their "month" in the parish were a great horror to the overseers. Common lodging-houses were watched with great care, and if a female was discovered near her confinement she was hurried off out of the parish lest the attendant expenses should fall on the parish stock or fund, and the offspring become a pauper. If their treatment was as rude and uncouth as the entries respecting them appear in the overseers' ledgers they must have been a most persecuted class. Their cruel treatment explains several items already copied from the registers of births—"Shee was born in the streets without the helpe of any;" another, "Shee was born in Dr. Pitches's orchard." Notwithstanding the vigilance of the overseers there were frequent entries of payment to a Mrs. Stodforth for lying-in women.

In 1682 the overseers charged in the parish accounts these items :—

	£	s.	d.
To Widow Whitborne, to pay carriage of her daughter to London to be touched by the King	00	05	00
Paid to Mr. Birtch, the clerk of assize, for fees due to him from Haynes, a prisoner, whom we lett free in hopes to be ridd of him for ever ...	00	16	09

The overseers' account book for 1683, after having done parish service, evidently fell into the hands of one John Goldsworth, a general shopkeeper, who utilised its unused pages as a day book. From his odd scraps we gather that the principal carrier between Aylesbury and London was the Widow Horwood ; that wages were 8d. a-day, and that best "backoh" (tobacco) was 1s. 6d. per lb., others 12d. and 9d. per lb. In January, 1695, "Thomas Oliffe paid Goldsworth for 3 qrs. of wheat at 6s. a bushel, and he sold 4 bush. beans at 3s. 4d. ; to John White's wife 4 bush at 3. 6d. ; also to Goodman Price 2 bush. at 3s. 6d., and to Goodman Norkote, of Wesontourval (Weston Turville), 3 qrs. of barley for £3 2s." William Wildgoose had of him "600 and ½ plaine tiles, 12 guter tiles, 6 ridge tiles, and 7 bushell of lime for 18s." On October 24th, 1696, he sent "his Cousen Harding ½ lb. tobakow, 1s. ; ½ lb. 8d. ; 2 rabbats, 1s. ; and 2 ropes of inons, 6d." This John Goldsworth must have been a well-to-do man, as he received of Joseph Montague £6 for three years "introus" (interest) on £40. In April, 1697, "his Cosen Harding had a bed ticken at £1, 2lb. buter (butter) 9d., a penniworth of coliquitioan* 2d. ! 12 lb. beefe 3s. 1½d. ; 2 rabbits 1s. ;" he also is charged with "the carriage of a

* Probably colchicum, a specific for rheumatism. But why should 2d. be charged for a pennyworth ?

box to London, 6d." On "June ye 11th, 1698, lent to Thos. Kempster 6lb. 10s., upon a tanket and a coupe (tankard and cup), and he is to pay mee 6lb. 17s. at ye 11th June next yeare, and have ye plate." Here is another entry—May 6th, "I bought 15 shepe, they have cost 12s. 8d. a pees ; 12 shepe more, they have cost 9s. and 3d. a pees." October 29th, 1698—"Bought of Robt. Groom, 14 pound of beefe at 3 pence a pound." October 23rd, 1699—"I sold to Thos. Whitchorth 76 sheep at 11s. 6d." October 25th, 1700—"I had a lode of wheat straw, 7s. 6d." 1701—"Bought 51 shipe at Thame market, 20 at 10s. 6d., 13 at 10s., 18 at 8s. 2d." John Goldsworth was, it seems, inconvenienced for want of a banker, so he gave over his money to his father to take care of, as on the 28th January, 1701, he enters—"I put up these pistoles and gineys (guineas) in to tow bages, and my father carried them out of the house this day :—

	£	s.	d.
12 pistoles and three ½ pistoles	11	9	6
75 gineys and 14 half-gineys	88	3	0
3 half-crowns in silver	0	7	6
	£100	0	0
* 1 giney put in more	1	1	6
	£101	1	6"

In the year 1697 the parish officers were troubled with surgical operations, amongst which Weafer's bad leg formed a prominent case. There is this entry—"Pay'd with the surgeon's about Weafer's leg, 6d. ;" shortly after, "A strait stocking for Weafer's legg, 2s." In the following year "Weafer's legg" again walked to the front, and at a vestry it was agreed that "Mr. Rowland should have 5 pound to cutt of Wm. Weafer's legg and twenti shillings for a surjon to ASist him." The expenditure that year reached £306. In 1698 the parish officers were involved in disputes with the parishes of East Claydon, Wycombe, Wingrave, and other places, as to the settlement of paupers, and a good deal of expense was incurred in travelling and legal matters.

In 1701-2, the year's parish expenses were £263 2s. In 1702-3, the Alms Houses were re-built. The usual list of persons buried that year in sheep's wool was verified by Isaac Lodington, the vicar, and 12s. were paid for the duty on births. The amount expended in the year was £318.

The overseers are entitled to the credit of spending the public money carefully. Having occasion to attend the Sessions at Wycombe, they secured at a cheap rate the services of a horse that carried "dubble." These animals carrying double, in addition to being economical, were exceedingly useful at the period, when most of the public roads were in so bad a state as to be impassable otherwise than on horseback. The equestrians

* Gold was then at a premium, as the guineas were reckoned at 21s. 6d. each. The Pistole was a French or Spanish coin of the value of 17s.

using these "dubbles," were generally male and female, the gentleman riding in front on a saddle, the lady on a pillion or soft seat behind, she sitting of course sideways—

> The horse and pillion both were gone;
> Phyllis, it seems, was fled with John.—SWIFT.

The lady traveller must have had a most uncomfortable seat. There is a remnant of this old fashion still in existence—grooms attending ladies generally wear a broad leather belt round the waist; these appendages are now useless, but in the days of the pillion they were necessary. A servant rode before his mistress on the same horse, and the belt was used as a safeguard to the occupier of the pillion to hold to in case the horse made an untoward movement. The old horse blocks were also then in request, in order to assist not only gentlemen, but also ladies, to mount and dismount.

Weafer's leg was, it seems, taken off, for there is this item, "Paid the sexton for burying Weafer's legg, 6d.;" but the "legg" is not yet done with, as the nursing of the patient before and during the operation cost the parish £5 17s. 5d. The overseers in course of time had some little return for the expenditure, as Weafer only required one shoe, and there is this item, "One shoe for Weafer, 2s." In the return for the year 1699 of persons buried in sheep's wool are the names of four "crimenall men," who may be taken as having been executed. In 1699 there was a fire in Walton, and money to the amount of six pounds was given to the sufferers; £299 was spent that year. In the year 1700-1 a disbursement was made of 32s, being the duty on the births of eight children, "according to the Act of Parliament." In 1707 the expenses of the parish for the year were £231, and in 1708, £257.

Passing over half a century, in which the receipts and disbursements were of a like character to those already given, the year 1756 is reached, when Francis Neale and John Gibbs were overseers. In their account they charge, "Warrant to take Allen and paying the man that whip'd him, 2s." Allen was probably a sturdy vagrant. In many parishes the flagellation of vagrants was carried to a cruel extent. Still, vagrancy increased so that the magistrates issued special orders for the apprehension and punishment of them in their respective districts. Vagrancy has ever been a source of trouble to parish officers; it was no new difficulty to contend with, as it had existed for centuries. "Let them be whipped through every market town 'till they come to Berwick, whence they came;" so says the Duke of Gloster in Shakspere's play "Henry VI." after the beadle of St. Alban's had made the knave Saunder Simcox, the pretended cripple, leap over the stool.

A statute of 1530 directs "how aged, poor, and decayed persons, compelled to live by alms, shall be ordered, and how vagabonds and beggars shall be punished." "The justices of peace in every county, dividing themselves into several limits, shall give licenses under their seals to such poor, aged, and decayed persons, to beg within a certain precinct, as they shall think to have most need; and if any do beg without such

license, or without his precinct, he shall be whipped, or else be set in the stocks three days and three nights, with bread and water only; and a vagabond taken begging shall be whipped, and then sworn to return to the place where he was born, or last dwelt by the space of three years, and there to put himself to labour."

Parliament was once more busy, in 1535, with this same question. The aged, poor, and helpless were to have alms. Children under 14 and above 5, living in idleness and beggary, to be put to service. "A valiant beggar, or sturdy vagabond," to be whipped, and sent to his place of settlement. "If he continue his rogueish life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off; and if after that he be taken wandering in idleness, or doth not apply to his labour, or is not in service with any master, he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon. No person shall make any open or common dole, nor shall give any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every parish, upon pain to forfeit ten times so much as shall be given,"

In most cases the punishment of the preceding reign, in awarding to vagabonds, idle and suspected persons, "the stocks three days and three nights, and none other sustenance than bread and water," was continued. Statutes relative to this matter passed in 1494 and 1503; and generations earlier, the Parliaments of England were making laws for the repression of that vagrancy which, in one form or other, was a persistent trouble in the land. The roving spirit, indeed, has run in the blood of the human race from the remotest of times.

The unfortunate were seldom distinguished from the criminal, and severe punishment, without any attempt at reformation, was inflicted on men and women alike, if found wandering away from their parishes. Women, with their husbands and children, were tied to the cart's tail as vagabonds, and whipped through the nearest town or village, before they were sent back to their proper birthplaces. In Edward VI.'s reign a still harder measure was meted out; any beggar might be seized upon by a private person, and forced to labour for the latter's advantage. If he absconded, he was hunted down, branded, chained, and enslaved, and on a repetition of his former offence might be put to death as a felon. Women who were beggars, too, were treated just the same; whilst their children were taken from them, and put to work or service; and, if they attempted to free themselves, were brought back in chains, and made to serve as slaves until the females reached the age of twenty, the males twenty-five.

In Dr. Lee's work, "The Church in the reign of Elizabeth," it is stated that in the spring of 1571 there was a severe, sharp, and carefully organized raid upon vagrants or beggars—"The monasteries had all been destroyed, and with them had been lost any adequate realization of the duty of practising the corporal works of mercy. * * * Many of the lay-brothers had no doubt become mendicants, reasonably dissatisfied with having lost their only homes, and having no apparent chance of obtaining work in the present, and less hope of being able to keep body and soul together in the future. Such

dangerous wanderers, therefore, as the Privy Council determined, must now be everywhere persecuted ; hunted from pillar to post, examined by Justices of the Peace, flogged on their naked backs, without regard either to age or sex, for being poor and having no home ; put into the stocks on a starvation allowance for several days ; whipped afresh when they were taken out, until the purple weal marks on their shoulders became bloody wounds, from which the gore trickled downwards to the earth ; while sometimes the poor creatures, being so weak with want of food, and feeble and shrunken because of their poverty, suddenly sank senseless towards the ground, straining the cords round their wrists, and so were literally flogged to death." At Aylesford, the justices of Kent reported the apprehension of "thirteen men and women, stout and valiant vagabonds, all of whom have been stocked and whipped severely. At Thame, some "proper stoute abbey-men" were convicted and punished as vagabonds. Of these it is stated that on September 8th, 1571, "they took their stocking and whipping verie ill. So they were sore blooded, and one thereafter died, no long while thereupon."

At a Quarter Session held at Wycombe in 1698, an order was passed directing all constables and other parish officers to search for vagrants and "cause them to be whipped naked from the middle upwards till their bodies shall be bloody." This order was obeyed throughout the county, and lists of persons were kept in the several parishes where it was enforced. At Lavendon, near Newport Pagnell, Eliza Roberts was whipped and sent back to her parish, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. At Burnham there is in the parish register a long list of persons whipped, and they are also accurately described ; thus, "Benjamin Smat and his wife and three children, vagrants, he of middle age, but one eye, was this 28th day of September, 1699, with his wife and children, openly whipped at Boveney, in the parish of Burnham, in the county of Bucks, according to law. And they are assigned to pass forthwith from parish to parish by the officers thereof the next direct way to the parish of St. Pulcher's (Sepulchres'), London, where they say they last inhabited three years. And they are limited to be at St. Pulcher's within ten days next ensuing. Given under our hands and seals, Will. Glover, Vicar of Burnham, and John Hunt, constable, of Boveney." The majority in the Burnham list were females and children. Mary Web, a girl of thirteen, Isabella Harris, a widow, Eliza Harris, her daughter, and Eliza Collins are amongst those who were thus punished. This degradation was publicly inflicted on females, without regard to tender years or advanced age. One of the most cruel cases of injustice to vagrants was enacted in Aylesbury in the year 1786, when four travelling women were dragged out of the lodging-houses, and taken before the magistrates, who ordered them to have their heads shaved, and then to be led out of the town by halters put round their necks. This disgusting sentence was carried out, the poor wretches being exposed in the public streets bare-headed and haltered. The exhibition brought a great mob together, who cheered the women, gave them money, and denounced the constables ; the women were such as sold matches, garters, &c., except one who had travelled with a lame negro.

Not only were these poor wretches thus treated, but a raid was made on the lodging houses where they had been staying. James George and William Guess, two lodging house keepers in Aylesbury, were taken into custody and sent to gaol upon no specific charge whatever, except that of having received travellers as lodgers. Guess, by favour of the constable, was allowed to go at large for the night, but next day he was, with George, indicted for keeping a disorderly house and found guilty. George was ordered to Bridewell, to be kept to hard labour for twelve months and Guess for six months; each afterwards to give security for his good behaviour for three years. On the petition of the inhabitants of Aylesbury, Guess and George were liberated, after having been confined in gaol for about three months.

Here are extracts showing miscellaneous payments made by the Overseers—

1756.	£	s.	d.
May 18th.—Passing a strange woman to Wendover	0	3	0
Expenses with a woman and 2 children, they having the small-pox	0	3	8
June 9th.—Taking up Tauton, and going into Essex with him; warrant and examination before Fielding, &c.	1	6	6
10th.—Warrant to search for Mike Allen, and expenses	0	4	0
Warrant for taking up several paupers to be examined as to their settlement	0	1	0
July 6th.—Spent in settling with the overseers of Eggington about Jacob Cox's leg	0	3	0
30th.—Paid Mr. Rogers for carrying Bailey, and Money to and from London, and expenses	0	13	0
Nov. 2nd.—Registering a child, its birth	0	1	0

The overseers were sadly plagued about legs; they were again called upon to pay £6 6s. for setting Joe Slade's leg. This leg question agitated the vestry, an account of which will be found in the Churchwarden's papers. The parish expenditure for 1756 was £680 16s. 5d., and the accounts were duly passed by John Wilkes and J. Rivett, two justices of the peace.

In 1757, these payments were made:—

	£	s.	d.
Jan. 17th.—Carrying Mary Strabury to Whitchurch	0	3	10
Carrying Willifer to Stone	0	0	6
25th.—Gave a woman to leave the town	0	1	0
Gave John Peacock a shovel, which cost	0	2	0
June 10th.—Paid James Capell, by order of John Wilkes, Esq., the justice	0	7	0
14th.—Gave a strange woman to leave the town	0	1	0
Sept. 15th.—Gave Coaker	0	4	6
16th.—Gave Coaker more	0	1	6
19th.—Gave Coaker more	0	4	0
21st.—Gave Coaker more	0	5	0
Payd Coaker's funeral dues	0	3	0
Payd for laying of him out	0	1	6
Payd for coffin for Coaker	0	9	0

1758.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 7th.—Expenses attending the wedding of John and Eliza Chapman...	1	18	0
14th.—Paid for the redemption of a gowne to Dr. Argles	0	5	4
Mar. 17th.—Postage of a letter from London.....	0	0	3½
June 1st.—Paid Wheeler his fees for burying old Search (a note added, "this is 6d. too much").....	0	1	6
Sept. 24th.—Paid Harding's wife at the "Crissing" (christening) of her child	0	2	3

That year a vestry resolved "That under no pretence whatever should the overseers pay, or cause to be paid, any sum or sums of money for the relief of persons who refuse to come into the workhouse, and that after Michaelmas no rents will be payd or allowed." The same year there was expended £827 5s. 4d. In 1759 again we obtain an insight into the prices of provisions. Small beer was 2d. per gallon ; 14½lb. leg of mutton cost 4s. 2d. ; wool was 9d. per lb. ; 14lb. of veal cost 4s. 0d. ; a porker 3¾lb. per lb. ; 23lbs. of beef and 11lbs. of veal, 8s. 6d. ; beef 4½d. per lb., also some at 2½d. These items appear—"Paid a woman with a pass ;" these payments were mostly a shilling or sixpence. Work at the stone pits became a heavy payment, and savours of surplus labour. Mary Mercer's marriage cost the parish £5 6s. 1d., and the total in the year was £834. In 1760 William Rickford and William Todd were in office as overseers ; they disbursed £637 15s., the pest house costing £34. John Russell and John Fowler in the next year expended £696.

1759.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 15th.—Paid 2 men for carrying William Gibbs to the pest house	0	2	0
Paid horse hire to Sir William Stanhope's, with Alice Jordan, to swear her	0	1	0
21st.—Gave old Doctor Morgan.....	0	1	0
Mar. 4th.—Paid at the Red Cow, charges concerning Kirby, the man being killed	0	6	0
June 10th.—Face cloth and wool for Kirby's coffin	0	1	0
25th.—Payd for Mrs. Cross, her churching	0	1	0
Dec. 6th.—To a lame sailor going through the towne to Banbury	0	3	0
22nd.—Payd for ale at Dame Leno's burying	0	2	0
25th.—Gave a poor boy to pay his expenses at John Dick's lodging-house	0	0	3
1760.			
June 27th.—Gave William Carter to marry Elizabeth George.....	4	10	0
1761.			
June 3rd.—Spent at the Red Angel, at an adjournment of vestry	0	5	0
July 14th.—At the King's Head, adjournment of vestry.....	0	5	0
Sept. 1st.—At the George, adjournment of a vestry	0	5	0
13th.—At the Bull's Head, on reducing the out-pensioners' pay list.....	0	5	0
Nov. 3rd.—At the Crowne, at an adjourned vestry.....	0	5	0
Dec. 8th.—At the King's Head, when we were making rates	0	5	0
1762.			
Jan. 6th.—Spent at the White Horse, adjourned vestry	0	5	0
Mar. 3rd.—Spent at the Falcon, adjourned vestry	0	5	0
April 4th.—Lent to Thomas Leano	0	6	0
Paid marriage fees for him.....	0	8	0
April 5th.—Spent at choosing new Overseers	0	5	0
In Walton, at choosing new overseers	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
April 28th.—At ye Red Lion, making a rate and letting the Workhouse	0	7	6
July 10th.—Payd for beer to the coroner's jury on the body of Henry Woodward	0	6	0
18th.—Takeing Harding's family to ye Pest House.....	0	3	2
Oct. 10th.—Gave to 14 people by order of Mr. Bell, the justice.....	0	4	0
Nov. 2nd.—Spent at the Falcon, at adjournment of vestry	0	5	0
18th.—Gave old Reading to buy some linen and go away	0	6	0

Several matrimonial affairs had to be arranged by the overseers at this period. The old Goodys and Gamers of the parish had scandalized one Mary Burnham, and this report reaching the ears of the overseers, Mary was called upon for an explanation, and the result was that she was taken before the justices, and she having made her "davy" as to certain circumstances, the justices issued a warrant to take one Mr. Bick "in hold," and keep him in prison, unless he were prepared with sureties for his appearance when required. Mr. Bick was found, and reminded that for the good of the parishioners of Aylesbury, and the fair name of Mary Burnham, it was requisite he should take the said Mary to wife. Mr. Bick did not absolutely refuse to do so, but he required some consideration in the shape of dowry, and probably there was much chaffering over the bargain. Eventually it was agreed that the fortune Mary was to receive as her wedding portion was forty good shillings, which sum was duly handed to her, the parish officers further paying for the publication of the banns 1s. 6d.; marriage fees 8s.; swearing Bick to the parish 1s.; and copy of certificate of the marriage 1s.; thus by the aid of matrimony the parish was quit of Mary Burnham "for ever." A Mr. Clarke was also called upon to make good his sweet promises and vows to Rebecca Langstone; he had left the town and was traced to Thame. He was not inclined to return to Aylesbury; the overseers consequently proceeded to Thame, and took him "in hold, and so keeping him at the Windmill and the Bell, where 8s. was spent over him." He seems to have been somewhat obstreperous, as further assistance was obtained. He was eventually brought to the King's Head at Aylesbury, and there kept "in hold," and 8s. more spent. What became of him does not appear, but, as no banns of marriage or marriage portion were charged, the probability is that he avoided the scrutiny of his watchers, and was no more heard of.*

In 1763 the payment to out-pensioners was about £4 per week; amongst other charges were these :—

	£	s.	d.
May 19th.—Gave a Sealer Boy to Go away from the towne	0	0	6
For veal for a woman that was tapt.....	0	0	11
20th.—Dame Ells, for curing John Butler of a scald head.....	1	1	0

* Persons in the position of Mr. Clarke, if not provided with substantial sureties, were committed to prison until they had made satisfactory arrangements with the parish officers. One method of escape from prison was matrimony. Bridegrooms were frequently to be seen to emerge from the Aylesbury prison, accompanied to church by two turnkeys as best men; the bride was in waiting at church, and as soon as the marriage service was completed the bridegroom was freed from the prison authorities, but was involved in the clutches of matrimony. Whether his position was improved, under the peculiar circumstances of his marriage, was a matter of doubt.

	£	s.	d.
June 19th.—Pd. Thomas Wilgoos for Britches for Durley's boy	0	1	10
July 14th.—Gave Wm. Horwood to have his eyes cured	0	2	8
24th.—Takeing the Inquisition on Biddy Naraway	0	8	6

Several vestries and adjourned vestries were held at public-houses, at each of which there was spending to the amount of 5s. A Sedan chair was purchased, probably for the use of the small-pox patients.

In 1764, George Ginger and Henry Sherriff were in office ; £567 was spent ; the expenses for small-pox patients were heavy. Mr. Ginger lost £2 by a sub-collector he employed to do the work for him, which sum he charged to the parish ; the vestry insisted on the amount being made good by Mr. Ginger, and he re-paid it.

	£	s.	d.
May 1st.—To George Jackson, for Praising (valuing) the Workhouse goods.	0	2	6
Nov. 4th.—Hannah Mitchell, four weeks nursing young Oviatts, of the parish of Winslow, in the small-pox	2	2	0
John Durham's bill on Oviatt's account whilst in the pest-house.	5	2	4
Hannah Mitchell, for nursing the small-pox people	3	10	0
Eliza Durley, the like	3	0	0
John Durham, the like	1	16	5
To Mr. Williams, on account of Oviatts, belonging to the parish of Winslow*	2	8	2

In 1765 the small-pox was again virulent, several payments being made respecting it ; amongst others—

	£	s.	d.
May 1st.—Spent at a vestry for letting the Workhouse	0	10	0
Paid a man for stopping the players coming from Leighton (in consequence of the severe attack of small pox then raging in the town)	0	2	0
Oct. 16th.—To John Sewell, for going to the Salt-water to be cured	1	11	6

In the month of March, 1766, the expenses connected with the small-pox were £40 17s. 3d. Abstracts from the accounts year after year would only be a repetition ; they are all of similar character, so a considerable period is passed over, and the year 1781 is reached. In 1781-2 Benjamin Dudley and Acton Chaplin were overseers ; the disbursements were £954 18s. 5d., the small-pox establishment costing £60. William Freeman, having been a loser by his contract to keep the poor, was in public vestry awarded £20 more than his contract ; the parish expenses were £937 13s. 10d. ; the pest-house costing £110 3s. 2d. In 1783 the general expenses were £1020 17s. 11d., but £90 was paid over to the new overseers. In 1784-5 the pest-house expenses were reduced to £14 ; the expenses for the year were nevertheless £1165, with £34 handed over to the incoming overseers. In 1785 the parish took the keeping of the poor in the Workhouse into its own hands, at a cost of £736, the total disbursements for the year being £1108. In 1786 the accounts are complicated ; the amount of expenditure was £1068. This state of matters continued to the end of the century, with an inclination to diminish the outlay, the usual collections being five sixpenny rates on the then assessment. The Militia accounts were now intermixed with those of the parish

* All these amounts expended on Oviatts were repaid by Winslow parish.

accounts ; the overseers had the Militia payments to deal with, and to recover them from the villages in the Hundreds, but a considerable loss fell on the parish from arrears. "Roundsmen" were at this time first heard of ; that is, able-bodied men who could not get employment, and were sent "round" to the farmers and occupiers of land to obtain work; the wages they earned were not sufficient to maintain their families, and they were subsidised by the overseers. There were only two or three "roundsmen" in 1784, but in the next year this number had increased to 30, and their pay for a time forms a weekly item of expenditure of about £7. The system led to evil consequences.

In 1787 women were churched and children baptised at the expense of the parish ; in that year these items appear in the expenditure :—

Paid Palmer for standing godfather to two children ..... 2d.
Repairing the Sedan chair ..... 2d.

The Sedan chair had probably seen better days. Sedans were so called from the city of Sedan, where they were very popular, and whence they were introduced into this country. They were much in vogue in the last century ; were very nice little inclosed conveyances ; would hold one person only, and were borne by two men, who carried them between long, stout staves, something after the style of a hand barrow. Those used by the upper classes were very elegantly ornamented and fitted, and the chairmen were dressed in smart liveries. These chairs were exceedingly useful, being mostly required by ladies and gentlemen when attending full dress evening parties, concerts, &c. ; they were so diminutive that they would pass through any common doorway. A lady might enter her "chair" from her drawing-room, and leave it at the ball or concert room, without being in the least exposed to the open air. There was a Sedan in use in Aylesbury as late as the year 1825 ; it was, with its two chairmen, let out for hire by old Mr. Jasper Jackson. It was a vehicle much in request, particularly in wet and cold winter evenings.

In 1787, the lacemakers in the Workhouse were given 3s. to keep "Catern" (St. Catherine's day), she being the patroness of lacemakers. The fact of a gift for anything in the shape of a luxury was a novelty, such an outlay not having before been met with in the whole of the preceding accounts. At a vestry held June 25th, 1802, it was resolved that "As the almshouses are now built with lodging chambers, it is agreed that no rents be paid after Michaelmas next, in which any poor may live, but that the poor be removed into the almshouses belonging to the parish." In 1803 the expenditure on the poor was £2,437 ; in 1804, £2,501 ; 1805, £3,137. In 1806 there was a reduction, the amount being returned at £2,554. In 1808 there was a further reduction to £2,142 ; but in 1810 the sum reached £3,702 ; 1811, £2,887 ; 1812, £3,708 ; 1814, £3,526 ; 1816, £4,241 ; 1817, £6,560, there being in that year 15 one shilling rates. It must be a source of wonder how such large amounts could have been screwed out of the pockets of the ratepayers, as they were at the same period paying a heavy war-tax in the shape of high-priced provisions. The following is a return of the prices of the common necessaries of

life in the year 1813, and, high as they appear to be, they had been considerably higher in some preceding years :—

	s.	d.
Butchers' meat, lowest, per lb.	0	10
Bread, 4lb. loaf	1	5½
Sugar, per lb.	0	10½
Loaf ditto	1	3
Candles, per lb.	1	0½
Soap, per lb.	0	11½
Salt butter, per lb.	1	3½
Bacon, per lb.	1	3
Potatoes (per bushel)	6	0

In 1818 the amount collected for poor rates was £4,972 ; in 1821, £4,723 ; 1822, £4,236. The main portions of these large sums were expended on unemployed paupers and their families, most of whom were as well able to obtain their own livelihood as those who had to assist in keeping them in idleness. In 1823 the amount was reduced to £3,480, owing, it is presumed, to the efforts of a select vestry and the employment of an assistant overseer. The overseers were £11 minus in their accounts, and rather than be troubled more in their vexatious office they at once paid the money out of their own pockets. At the vestry in the following year a further reduction of £200 was reported, and the thanks of the parish were awarded to Silvanus Seymour and John Gurney as overseers, for their attention to their duties. In the year 1826 the expenditure of the parish was £4,640, and on passing the accounts a vote of thanks was again awarded to the overseers. As a proof of the state which pauperism had reached, there is the case of Mr. Richard Gurney, a large landholder in the parish, who refused to pay his rates, and was summoned before the bench of magistrates as a defaulter ; he said that in consequence of the system under which the labourers were supported in a state of idleness, he could get no man to work for him ; that on going to his farm he found 300 people waiting to lease his corn, and though he could not get his crops in for want of labour, not one in the crowd would accept employment, as they could do better with the overseers. The magistrates told Mr. Gurney that they did not make the poor law, and he must pay, which he did at once. On the 15th of February, 1828, a rate of 2s. in the pound was granted, notwithstanding a former rate had been allowed only fourteen days previously ; the poor's expenses for the year 1828 were estimated at £5,000. In 1829 an assessment was made, with this result, showing as rated :—

	£	s.	d.
368 houses in Aylesbury	3075	0	0
60 ditto in Walton	370	0	0
Gardens in Aylesbury	60	0	0
Ditto in Walton	13	0	0
Land in Aylesbury	2767	5	0
Ditto in Walton	1613	0	0
Tolls	40	0	0
Canal	55	0	0
	£7993	5	0

Supposed not to be rated—	£	s.	d.
572 cottages of the aggregate rents of.....	2574	0	0
89 buildings various	133	10	0
	£2707	10	0

Owing to the rapid increase in pauperism, the Workhouse in the Church-yard proved altogether inadequate, and great inconvenience had long been felt in accommodating the inmates. Mr. Rickford very generously offered the parish a piece of ground of two acres, near the Mill Close, for the purpose of building an enlarged Workhouse; the offer was accepted, and in April, 1830, the first stone of a new building was laid, and the church bells rang merrily on the occasion! In 1831 ninety able-bodied men and boys were receiving parish money for which they did not earn a single farthing in return. The overseers had that year overpaid the parish fund to the amount of £800. The system of surplus labour is exemplified by the following arrangement made by the overseers:—Farmers were expected to employ a certain number of men according to the size of their farms; any excess of that number would be considered surplus—thus, a farmer employing a surplus man earning 12s. per week would pay him about half the usual wages, and send him to the overseers for the remainder, to make up the pauper's pay, to which he was entitled by law.

If a man was unemployed he had only to apply to a Justice of the Peace, who would give him an order to demand a certain sum from the overseers, according to a settled scale; thus, if he had—

	s.	d.	
A wife and two children, he would receive	7	0	per week.
„ three children, „	8	0	„
„ four children, „	9	0	„
„ five children, „	10	0	„

and 1s. more per week for each other child, so that he had no incentive to work, since he was as well off if he folded his arms and remained idle all the week as though he had been fully employed at the usual rate of wages.

The following statement shows the amount paid weekly by the overseers to unemployed paupers, or for their employment in useless labour:—

	1829. £	1830. £	1831. £
Week ending January 2nd	36	38	16
9th	37	32	14
16th	37	34	11
23rd	40	35	6

The ratepayers were determined to put a stop to a system which was leading the whole parish into pauperism, and thus the reduction. In 1833, £1,020 was paid for surplus labour, which did not return £50 value to the parish. At an annual vestry in 1832

contracts were opened from persons willing to keep the poor for one year ; one contract was for £4,500, another £4,250, upon which the vestry decided to put an end to the letting by contract. At the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, in 1834, several able-bodied men were indicted for a riot ; they were discontented with their pay, and created a general disturbance at the Workhouse.

A revision of the assessment of the parish of Aylesbury, inclusive of Walton, was made March, 1831, and signed by Abram Wing and John Gibbs, surveyors. The values set against the premises must be considered as comparative, but still they strangely contrast with the assessment of the present day. The following are a few of the principal items gleaned from the assessment :—Hearn's waggon yard (Hedges), £13 ; the George Inn, £65 ; Reid (Gurney and Markham), £30 ; the Bell Inn and yard, £20 10s.; the White Hart Hotel, £55 ; the Crown Inn, £33 ; Hatten, New Road, £15 ; Wheeler (Clare), Bourbon Street, £41 10s. ; Dell's brewhouse, £22 10s. ; Rickford's, £37 ; Seymour (Sarsons), £12 10s. ; Old Bank House (Field), £15 ; the King's Head Inn, £33 10s. ; Spital Mill (Terry), £30 ; Walton Grove (Payne), £10 ; the Walton Brewery, £19 ; Ardenham House, £22 10s. ; the Prebendal, £37 10s. The total amount of the assessment of the parish, inclusive of cottages occupied by non-parishioners, was £9,067 11s. 0d.

Chapter XXXV.—THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

Churchwardens—their duties—Notes of vestries—Collection of rates—Charities—Charity lost—Vestry attendants in 1752—Divisions at—Law—Accounts—Disbursements—Processioning—Bumping—Charges for catching vermin, &c.—Briefs—Fees—Rebuilding Church—Charity accounts—Miscellaneous payments—Old bells—New bells—Foreigners—Care of Churchyard—Letting the poor—New gallery—Inaccurate accounts of overseers—Vestry—Mrs. Pitches—Organist—Details discontinued.

CHURCHWARDENS are parish officers, who by law have a limited charge of the fabric of the parish church, of the direction and supervision of its repairs, and of the arrangements of the seats. Certain other duties are imposed upon them on particular occasions. The eighty-ninth canon, A.D. 1603, directs that "churchwardens shall be chosen yearly in Easter week by the joint consent of the minister and parishioners, if it may be; but if they cannot agree, the minister shall choose one and the parishioners another." At Aylesbury, from time out of mind, the custom has been for the minister to choose one and the parishioners one.

The usual duties of churchwardens are to take care that the churches are sufficiently repaired; to distribute seats among the parishioners, under the control of the ordinary; to maintain order and decorum in the church during the time of divine service; and to provide the furniture for the church, and bread and wine for the Sacrament, and the books directed by law to be used by the minister in conducting public worship. Churchwardens are by virtue of their office overseers of the poor, under the statutes for the relief of the poor; they summon vestries; they are also required to present to the Bishop all things presentable by the Ecclesiastical laws, which relate to the church, minister, or parishioners. They act as sequestrators of a living. They are also required to perambulate the bounds of the parish. In large parishes there are sometimes officers called sidesmen (synodsmen) or questmen, whose business it is to assist the churchwardens in inquiring into offences and making presentments. Churchwardens and overseers are empowered to take and hold lands in trust for the parish as a corporate body; and they can also take and hold any other lands and hereditaments belonging to the parish, the profits of which are applied in aid of the church. There does not appear to have been a strict line of division between the duties of churchwardens and those of

overseers, consequently it is difficult to determine where the jurisdiction of the one terminates and the other commences, both sets of officers in some cases taking cognizance of the same parish business. Synodsmen or sy'dsmen were required to be grave and influential laymen of the parish, selected from the most experienced and best educated, summoned by the Bishop or Archdeacon, when the parochial visitation was made, to report as to its moral and religious condition, and to give the spiritual rulers an accurate idea of its needs and necessities. Persons eligible for each of these offices were the chief and most respectable and influential resident householders of the parish ; not absentees, but those who by active, personal co-operation were able to perform the duties of their office, and, for the general good, were ready and willing to do so.

The Aylesbury ratepayers, according to the records, had their disagreements, contentions, and vestry disputes in early days, as now. At a vestry held on the 8th of December, 1701, the following entry is the result of a quarrel :—"Whereas, it appears by a rate made at a vestry holden the 9th of October last, that one John Breanch is therein charged to the relief of the poor. It appears to this vestry that upon examination the putting of the said John Breanch into the said rate was privily and clandestinely done without the knowledge of the greater part of the said vestry, and the present vestry do order that the said John Breanch be put out of the said rate, and no money collected from him, because he is no legal inhabitant." At another vestry, held December 29th, it was resolved —"The vestry-book being contemptuously taken away from the last vestry by Thomas Olliffe, one of the overseers, on purpose that the parishioners should not sign the orders concerning John Breanch, and the book being brought again at the vestry this day holden, the parishioners now present do confirm the said order. Signed, Henry Munday, Wm. Spencer, Jo. Burnham, Jno. Heywood, Tho. Price, Rich. Haydon, Thos. Hobbs, Willm. Goldsmith, Willm. Bell, William White, Saml. Phillips, Ralph Tattam, Arthur Crabb, Robert Barnaby, Fras. Russell, Thos. Lee, James Jorden, John Fisher, Henry Bell. And it was resolved that this book be delivered to Thomas Kempster, another of the overseers, and not to Thomas Oliffe."

There are proofs of a violent disagreement in vestry in 1703. A party matter had been introduced, and one which had previously caused great contention in the town. At a vestry held January 20th, in that year, "It was resolved to obtain a justice's order for the removal of Matthew Ashby to his place of legal settlement. Signed, Tho. Bigg, Matthew Clarke, Willm. Bell, Tho. Hobbs, Thos. Dover, Thos. Woodward, Will. Church, Thos. Price, Robert Anthony, Thos. Ray, Richd. Haydon, Jos. Giles, Wm. Edmonds, Willm. Spencer, Thos. Kempster, Arthur Crabb, Chas. Heywood, Jno. Jessitt." At another vestry, held on March 15th following, "It was resolved that the resolution of the 20th January, to obtain an order for the removal of Matthew Ashby, be discharged, as having noe grounds. Signed, John Chrismas, Jas. Smith, Richd. Cockman, Robert Mead, Matthias Dagnall, Wm. Dawney, Peter Goldsworth, Robert Todd, John Ginger, Ffr. Ligo, Thos. Oviatts, John Wiggon, John Kingham, Richd. Leave, Nich. Simes,

Saml. Partridge, Thos. Sheene, Richd. Tombs, Thos. Edmonds." It will be observed that none who took part in the first vestry appeared at the second. The quarrel was not yet over, and a third vestry was held on the 10th of April, at which it was agreed "That the order made the 15th of March last, discharging an order made the 20th of January, be set aside and discharged, being made without the consent of the overseers, without any precedent and in hindrance of the overseers doing their duty, and discharging the parish from a burden likely to be upon them. This vestry now instructs the overseers to proceed in pursuance of the first order. Signed, Henry Munday, Thos. Bigg, Thos. Woodward, Willm. Bell, Matthew Clarke, Thos. Kempster, John Palmer, Rich. Haydon, Arthur Crabb, Jo. Bell, Wm. Spencer, Thos. Pratt, Saml. Phillips, John Bishop, Richd. Kingham, Robt. Anthony, Thomas Tomson." It should be recollected that this Matthew Ashby was the plaintiff, or the nominal plaintiff, in the action against the returning officers for refusing his vote at the late election ; which case first occupied the Law Courts, afterwards the Houses of Lords and Commons, and eventually the Queen in Council, and was the means of hastening the breaking up of a session of Parliament. What was the end of the vestry squabble does not appear.

The early accounts of the Aylesbury Churchwardens are unfortunately missing, probably lost or destroyed. They doubtless contained a good deal of information which would have been highly interesting to the readers of the present day. The churchwardens' accounts and old church books relative to the parish of Thame are still in existence, although they date as far back as the year A.D. 1442 ; they shew receipts for the "Rode light," "May Ales," "Robyn Hodde gaderyne's," for "hock money," "Peter's pens" (pence), "Resurrection plays," &c., &c., and payments for "wex candles on the Saints' days," "Keeping the clokke," "me'dyng of the bellys," "strawing the church," "ale on Palm Sunday," "holy and Ivey for Christmas," "a chayne and a hasp for the large volume," "ringing of curfewe," "to the minstrels for their wages," "for keeping doggs out of church," "for our hower glass," and other like payments ; a list of the service books, vestments, and sacred ornaments belonging to the church is also preserved.

The earliest churchwardens' account book relative to Aylesbury is dated 1749-50 ; it opens with "A Catalogue of the names of such whom God hath stirred up to be Benefactors to the town of Aylesbury and to the poor thereof, shewing what they have given, and to what use ;" then follows a recital of the charities of "John Bedford, professor of common law ; Robert Brickett, gent. ; William Cockman, of this town ; William Findall ; John Stone, an inhabitant of this town ; Richard Lee, Knight, forty shillings to be given to poor widows of this town, secured on certain lands near Canterbury, but by neglect for several years past, is lost ; this was given in 1611 ; Dorothy Dame Pelham ; William Swaddon, D.D., sometime prebendary of this church ; Jane Piggot, some £50 for teaching poor children of this town, of which £40 was lost in putting forth (lending) ; at the death of William Baker, the remainder was paid into the hands of Mr. Bedford's trustees as a safe repository ; William Jordan ;

Symon Miles; Thomas Elliott, of this town, two tenements in Green End. Besides, there were several alms houses, as now, called brick and tiled, built upon vacant ground, two whereof are in Church, alias Pebble, Lane, and seven or eight in the churchyard; in Green End, after the Civil Wars, the two next the house of Robert Edmonds, built by the town; and three others built by Robert Payton, Hoskin, and Bradley; also a school house at the church gate, to be possessed by the schoolmaster for the time being; Mary Babham's charity. Hickman's charity, being an estate of £40 per annum, has in part been applied in the years 1758, 1759, and 1760, in the payment of Dawney's and Merrick's rent; therefore if that charity is again lost to the parish, it must be egregious neglect in the parish or its officers." This last entry is in a different hand-writing, and appears to have been added subsequently. These minutes are signed by Mr. Bell and Mr. Saunders, churchwardens.

In 1752, at a very full vestry, the question of making an alteration in the mode of collecting the poor rate was mooted. What the old plan was, or the new one to supersede it, does not appear, but it is conjectured that formerly the rates were collected by instalments, whereas the new system proposed was to collect the assessment at one payment. A strong feeling was evinced on the subject, and a poll took place; the voting seems to have been all on one side, and in favour of the old system. It may have happened that the weaker side left the vestry in a body. The following ratepayers were in favour of the old system:—Thos. Kempster, Sarah Smith, Joshua Powell, Richd. Tuckwell, Harry Saunders, M. Kendall, Mills, Jas. Napper, Jno. Hawkins, John Gibbs, Will. Shelton, Robt. Jemmett, Hugh Barker Bell, — Babham, Rd. Terry, — Finch, — Brooks, T. Hickman, — Wilgoss, — Collins, — Paine, — King, — Adams, Deverell Dagnall, Jas. Austin, Thos. Hack, Matt. Stevens, George Jackson, W. Perin, W. Adnum, Neil Campbell, Jas. Russell, Geo. Purssell, Wm. Hoare, Chas. Brandley, Wm. Jeffs, John Perrin, Thos. Smith, Robt. Terry, Richd. Brandom, Thos. Hill, Matthias Dagnall, Thos. Collins, John Longbridge, Wm. Collins, John Brandom, John Perkins. It was also agreed to support the governor of the Workhouse in relieving the poor "without badgering."* This last entry is a kind of side note, and may have been a subsequent interpolation. From the perusal of this list of parishioners it may be inferred that the question of the alteration in the mode of collecting the rate was one between the large and the small ratepayers. As far as can be traced the absentees were the larger ratepayers. The book containing this minute is so decayed that some of the names are scarcely legible; errors may have been made in transcribing them, and there may be a few omissions.

Robert Jemmett, as vicar's warden, William Shelton, for the town or parish, and John Todd, for Walton, continued in office until 1753, when they were succeeded by John Patten Burnham and Deverell Dagnall; there were 10 ringing days, for which £4 was paid; "for collecting breefes," &c., £2 8s. 2d., and water for the engines,

* This is a provincial term not to be found in the dictionaries. A badger was one who dealt in corn and provisions, but so applied the word is now obsolete. "Badgering" probably meant browbeating, depressing by stern looks, or acting unkindly.

9s. 8d. In 1756 some proceedings were instituted in the Court of Chancery respecting a property adjoining the Workhouse (in the Church-yard). That year also a new gallery was ordered by vestry to be erected in the church, under the supervision of the vicar and parish officers, and John Wilkes, Esq., Hugh Barker Bell, Esq., Mr. Robert Jemmett, and Mr. Thomas Pain, as a committee ; it was also agreed, "that the middle Isle of the church be cield, under the direction of the aforesaid gentlemen;" this entry is signed—John Patten Burnham and Deverell Dagnall, churchwardens ; John Gibbs and Francis Neale, overseers, and 25 other parishioners. In July in the same year, at a vestry, it was agreed that "a bill of indictment be preferred against Maximilian Smith, of Bierton, for having fraudently brought into this parish one Joseph Slade, who broke his leg on the highway, either in the parish of Stoke Mandeville or Weston Turville, whereby the parish of Aylesbury was put to large expenses." This was also signed by the same churchwardens and overseers. The disbursements included—

	£	s.	d.
Ale for the men with the engines	0	2	8
For carrying out Mr. Hodskins' charity money*	0	2	6
Charles Capell and 11 others, 2 days each "processioning"	0	12	0
More processioning	0	3	0
Half-pence thrown to the boys in processioning	0	14	0
Two horses two days for the churchwardens, in procsssioning	0	4	10
Form of prayer for the fast	0	1	6
Setting the yew-tree in the church-yard	0	3	0
Mr. John Bigg, Walton churchwarden, for ringing days, sparrow catching, polecats, and hedgehogs for 1754 and 1755	3	5	0
Joseph Woodcock, for shooting sparrows in the church	0	5	0
Half-a-year's rent for the churchyard	0	15	0
John Bigg, sparrow catching	1	14	6
Collecting briefs, letters of request, and other parish business	4	0	6

This account extends over four years. In 1758 Mr. Hugh Barker Bell and Mr. Harry Saunders were in office ; the table of fees for services in the church was duly entered, thus—A marriage by license, 8s. 6d. ; by banns, 6s. 6d. ; if buried in a vault in the church, £1 17s. 0d. ; no vault, £1 2s. 6d. ; in the chancel, £1 11s. 8d. ; in the churchyard, 3s. 0d. In 1761 Robert Wheeler was duly elected sexton. In 1762, John Dele (Dell) and Wm. Shelton were wardens. In 1765 a report of a Mr. Keene was submitted to the vestry touching the re-building of the church, when it was ordered,

* The name of Hodskin is met with in the parish registers in the latter part of the last century. The Mr. Hodskin here referred to was Arthur Hodskin, who was a wine merchant, indeed an importer of wines, and resided at Green End (now Rickford's Hill), where he transacted a large business on the premises subsequently purchased by Mr. Rickford the elder. The date of the first "carrying out" is not recorded ; but on turning to "Local Occurrences" under date Dec. 22nd, 1780, this entry is found, "The ministers and churchwardens of Aylesbury met *as usual* to receive and distribute Mr. Arthur Hodskins's donations to the poor of that town, but it was refused them by order of Mr. Meathirk, the executor." It will be seen that the distribution continued from the year 1756 to the year 1780. No reference is made to it in the Charity Commissioners' report of 1832, so it may be presumed that the distribution was a gift and not a charity secured by any investment of capital. No records are now in existence relative to the Charity ; by the term "donation" in the above extract it may be presumed to have been a gift only, and was discontinued at Mr. Hodskins's death.

"that such report be printed, and copies sent to the owners of estates in the parish, with a request that they pay after the rate of 6d. in the pound on their rents, towards the re-building of the said Church, for the space of ten years." Here the matter rested, as nothing more was done in it. From the list of payments from 1762 to 1765, the following items are extracted:—

	£	s.	d.
Ringers at the inauguration of the King	0	10	0
When the Princess Amelia went through the towne	0	10	0
To the labourers assisting at ye great fire at Robinson's stable and the Crown Inn	10	0	0
Expenses at the George, at the peculiar	5	0	0
Mr. Steele, the Walton churchwarden, for sparrows and polecats killed in Walton	1	0	5
Paid John Burnham, 2 days processioning	0	3	0
Paid Mr. Keen, the surveyor, as per account, for surveying the church	10	10	0

In 1766 John Burnham, John Dell, and John Steele were churchwardens; their accounts show payments for—

Processioning, and giving half-pence to the boys, on Holy Thursday	0	7	0
Five men going round to make ye crosses at ye end of the wayes, carrying beer in ye fields, and also to Walton	0	15	0

It was a general custom, formerly, indeed it is not altogether abolished, but still retained in some places, to traverse the bounds and limits of the parish on one of the three days before Holy Thursday, the Feast of our Lord's Ascension. On these occasions the minister, accompanied by the churchwardens and any parishioners who chose to attend, would meet to "beat the bounds" of the parish. In the injunctions made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was ordered that in these perambulations, the curate, at certain convenient places, should admonish the people to give thanks to God in beholding His benefits, for the increase and abundance of His fruits, saying the ciii. Psalm, &c., "at which time the minister shall inculcate these or such sentences, 'Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbours,' or such orders of prayers as shall be hereafter ordered." Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," says, "I would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany me in my perambulation; and most did so; in which perambulation I usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations, to be remembered against next year, especially by the boys and young people." In the Articles of Enquiry made by Archdeacons, A.D. 1662, amongst other questions it was usual to ask, "Doth your minister, or curate, in Rogation Days, go in perambulation about your parish, saying and using the psalms by law appointed? Doth he admonish the people to give thanks to God if they see any likely hopes of plenty, and to call upon Him for His mercy, if there be any fear of scarcity; and do you, the Churchwardens, assist him in it?" Bumping persons to make them remember the parish boundaries was an old custom, and has been kept up until late years, but it has now

proved to be a somewhat hazardous experiment ; there are some who do not believe in this ancient rite. About fifty years ago an innocent wayfarer was met with at Walthamstow on the occasion of a processioning, and he was bumped ; he brought an action, and obtained £50 damages. In 1874 a similar action was brought for a case of bumping at a processioning at Maidenhead, when complainant recovered damages for a common assault.

These perambulations were not confined to secular matters ; some were of a purely ecclesiastical character. The attendants at the dependent churches of a district made annual processions to the parochial or mother church, with flags and streamers and other ensigns of joy and triumph, to do honour to the parent establishment. Bishop Kennett attributes the custom to the Normans, "for," he says, "among the Ecclesiastical constitutions made in Normandy, Anno Dom., 1080 it is decreed, 'that once in the year, about Pentecost, the priests and capellanes should come with their people in a full procession to the Mother Church, and for every house should offer on the altar a wax taper to enlighten the church, or something of like value.'" In these tumultuous processions the patron of the church, if present, had a right to carry the chief flag or the first colours. "Sir John Molins, patron of the church of Stoke Poges, had precedence in the church of Stoke in all processions, as the patron was entitled to have. In the patron's absence, the disputes for precedence often created such quarrels that Bishop Grosthead gave special instructions to prevent this mischief, commanding that rectors of churches and parish priests should not suffer their people, in the annual visitations to their mother church, to contend for precedence of place, because fighting and killing did often thence ensue."

Corporate bodies and Lords of Manors also held their perambulations, with their banners and retinue, accompanied by parish priests in surplices, bearing crosses, others with hand-bells and staves, followed by many of the parishioners ; they walked in procession round the manor or parish, stopping at crosses, forming crosses on the ground, saying or singing gospels, and allowing drinking and good cheer. From the different practices observed on these occasions the custom received the various names of processioning, perambulating, and ganging the boundaries. Those engaged in the processions usually had refreshments provided for them at certain parts of the parish ; such could not legally be charged to the parish fund, so that small annuities were often bequeathed to provide such refreshments. At Edgcot, about an acre of land called Gang-Monday Land, was left to the parish officers to provide cakes and ale for those who took part in the annual perambulation. At Clifton Reynes a bequest was left to provide a small loaf, a piece of cheese, and a pint of ale to every married man, and half a pint to every single man resident in Clifton parish, when they "beat the bounds." At Husborne Crawley £4 was left to make perambulation on Rogation day every seven years.

A perambulation of the outward boundaries of the parish of Chipping Wycombe, made on the 25th and 26th days of October, 1820, is duly recorded ; another was made and taken on the 13th of August, 1846, and a perambulation of the newly-extended

Borough took place in the year 1880; in the Churchwardens' account for 1767 there is an entry of £4 18s. 8d., "expenses going a processioning." In 1843, Manorial perambulations were held at Waddesdon, at the instance of the Duke of Marlborough, the then Lord of the paramount Manor. Several persons met with in the course of the perambulation were bumped, not exactly according to law, but according to custom. The last perambulation at Aylesbury, on record, was a manorial one, when the bounds of the Manor of the Rectory were beaten by the homage of the Court Baron; this was in the year 1846, at which time his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was Lord of that Manor. At the period of these early perambulations the fields were all unenclosed, and in some parishes the boundaries but ill defined. The general inclosure of common fields has led to the discontinuance of many old-fashioned parish customs, including that of processioning.

In the year 1766, the charity accounts of Joseph Burnham, John Dell, and John Steele, churchwardens of Aylesbury, were entered in the churchwardens' book :—

1766—May 12. RECD.	£	s.	d.
Of Dr. Swaddon's gift from an estate at Singleborough, March, 1765	3	12	0
Of Mr. Meathirk, 3 years' annuity due from Therfields, except 5s. he paid the churchwardens of Therfield for collecting it, and 3 years of 5s. 10d. per year, refused to be paid by Jno. Clarke for an estate he bought of John Gilbey, making 17s. 6d., so that I received only	4	17	6
A letter was sent by Mr. Meathirk to John Clark, to insist on the immediate payment of arrears of the said 5s. 10d. per year.			
By balance on account of charity received of Mr. Dell	6	0	8
By a year's charity received of Exors of late Findall's, due Mid-Lent Sunday, 1766	6	13	4
Recd. of Mr. Dell a year's charity, ye gift of Jane Pigot, due St. Thomas, 1766	2	0	0
Recd. of Thos. Bradbury, of Singleborough, a year's charity, the gift of Dr. Swaddon, due St. Michael, 1766	3	12	0
1767—Oct. 1.			
Of Mr. Toovey, a year's charity, Findall's gift, due Mid-Lent Sunday, 1767	6	13	4
	£33	8	10

1766. PAID.	£	s.	d.
Allowed land-tax for Findall's annual gift, due Mid-Lent Sunday, 1766	1	6	0
Pd. Chas. Capell, a year's sweeping due out of Findall's gift, at St. Thomas	0	13	4
Pd. ye prisoners at Aylesbury gaol out of Findall's gift	0	13	4
A year's gift due to the poor of Weston out of Findall's gift, retained for J. B.	0	6	8
Paid Mr. Judge for a year's schooling due of Mr. Pigot's gift	2	0	0
Paid the poor 14th Jany., 1766	18	4	2
Paid expenses with Mr. Bradbury on receipt of Dr. Swaddon's gift	0	0	4
Paid land-tax for Findall's charity, due Mid-Lent, 1767	1	6	0
1768—Jan. 7.			
Paid Mr. Paten the balance of this account, to be distributed to the poor	8	19	0
	£33	8	10

In the accounts for the year 1767 are these entries:—

	£	s.	d.
Jany. 5—For a form of thanksgiving for the Queen's delivery of a daughter...	0	1	6
To Mr. Steele, his expenses on the processioning	0	11	0
For collecting the arrears of the foreigners, and for beer...	0	3	0

The term "foreigner" did not at that period imply an alien or native of a foreign country, but merely a non-resident—a person not legally settled—a non-burgess. The bye-laws of the Corporation of High Wycombe, dated 1627, ordered that "no fforraine butcher shall showe any meate," &c., in the market, except under certain regulations; "foren shomakers" could only supply the town on the two fair days in the year; in 1620 foreign hat makers and sellers at Wycombe had a tax imposed on them; in 1609 it was ordered "that no fforreyn Taylor excepte he were eyther borne, or hadd seaven years served as an apprentice to a taylor within the boroughe (Wycombe) should come to dwell or to keep any shope within this boroughe, upon payne to have his shoppe windowes shutte uppe by the sargeante for the tyme beinge." If the foreign tailor disobeyed he was imprisoned; for this piece of local protection the legitimate tailors in the Borough agreed to pay an annual tax of 10s. for ever. In 1624 no resident butcher could have more than one stall in the market unless by payment of a foreigner's stallage. At Wendover the two manors of Wendover Borough and Wendover Foreign were distinct and had separate customs, although in one parish. All they had in common was the joint use of the stocks, the cage, and the Mother Church. Residents outside boundaries of municipal boroughs were termed "foreigners." The charge of 3s. in the Aylesbury churchwardens' account was probably for collecting some arrears from non-residents occupying small properties in the parish; not being resident in it, they were thus termed "foreigners."

In the year 1768 a church rate of 12d. in the pound was laid, and it realized £217 6s. 3d.; in the year 1769 a church rate of 6d. in the pound realised £107 12s. 11d. These following payments were made in 1769-70-71-72 :—

1769.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 27th.—To Ann Spurr, for making the surplices for the minister	1	1	0
May 30th.—To Mr. Perrin, for hedgehogs and polecats, as pr bill herewith...	0	12	1
For the ringers at Joe Marlow's, Walton	1	0	0
„ „ Wm. Todd's, Walton	1	0	0
For the like.....	0	10	0
1770.			
May 18th.—Paid for cleaning the altar piece	0	3	10
Payd 4 men for door keeping when the Bishop came	0	10	6
Payd the ringers on the King's birthday.....	0	10	0
Dec. 21st.—Payd the ringers at the Bishop's visitation	0	10	0
To Mr. Perrin, Walton, for hedgehogs and sparrows	0	14	11
1771.			
June 14th.—To Mr. Perrin, Walton, for sparrows and hedgehogs again.....	0	12	9

1772.

	£	s.	d.
Lost by light gold from Mr. Perrin	0	16	0
Expenses with the fire engines watering the town	0	14	0
To Mr. Perrin, for polecats, hedgehogs, and sparrows, Walton, again	0	11	0

The harmless hedgehog was destroyed under an ignorant superstition that it was an enemy to the farmer. A silly prejudice existed against it on the unfounded idea that at night-time it visited the lairs of milking cows and whilst the cows slept sucked their milk, and by so doing wounded their udders with their spines, causing ulceration. The little animal is incapable of such an offence, the smallness of its mouth being a sufficient exculpation from the charge. It was also said to be destructive to gardens and orchards by rolling itself amongst the fruit, and thus carrying off a quantity on its spines. Far from being injurious and mischievous, the hedgehog is found to be of real use, and is often kept for the purpose of ridding houses of cockroaches and other pests, by which some are infested, and it is well known to devour many destructive insects which are injurious to the farmer and gardener. The old prejudice against the animal is not yet altogether exploded.

Rooks were at one time under the ban of the law; they have suffered much persecution and have paid dearly for learning their cautious habits. Tusser advises farmers to

> Kill crowe, pie and cadow, rooke, buzzard, and raven,
> Or else go desire them to seeke a new haven.

And further urges them

> With sling go throwe,
> To scare away crowe.

In the reign of Henry VIII. (1532) an Act was passed which directed that owners of land, and tenants, should use all means "to kill and utterly destroy all manner of choughs, crows, and rooks." Owners having land in their own "manurance or occupation" of the yearly value of £2 were ordered to pay to every person who "by his diligence, labour, and industry, at his own proper costs, doth take any old crows, rooks, &c.," upon his land, "3d. for every three old crows, rooks, &c." If the owner or farmer refused to pay the price stipulated in the Act, the magistrates had power to distrain on his goods for the amount. And in the said Act "it is enacted that vettes and shrapes* shal bee made in every village and towne for ten yeares for the destruction of crowes, rooks, &c."

In 1772, B. Dudley, John Fowler, baker, and Wm. Perrin were wardens; they spent £110. In that year also a vestry was held, when it was agreed that as three of the church bells were cracked, and the others very much out of repair, they should be exchanged, and "Pack and Chapman, of Whitechapel," be requested to contract with the church-wardens. Thirty-five parishioners signed the vestry-book.

* Vettes and Shrapes were traps and decoys. A shrap was a place prepared and baited with corn or chaff for the purpose of catching birds. "He busies himself in setting silver lime twigs to entangle young gentlemen, and casting foorth silken shraps to catch woodcocks."—*Nash's Pierce Pennilesse*, 1592.

On the 8th of September, 1773, it was agreed in vestry, by the parishioners of Aylesbury, that "no allowance should be made for killing sparrows or vermin in the churchwardens' account for the future;" the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of High Wycombe show that the prices paid there during the last century were 4d. each for hedgehogs and polecats, and 2d. per dozen for sparrows. Richard Gurney and William Rickford followed as churchwardens, and John Burnham was appointed vestry clerk. The new peal of bells was soon opened, and the list of those subscribing is duly entered in the vestry minute book, and has been already given.

It is much to be regretted that the earlier accounts of the Aylesbury churchwardens are missing; they probably would have contained some very interesting items of expenditure; items which would have given much information and an insight into the social customs of our predecessors. Church attendants of the present day have but little idea of the secular purposes to which churches were in ancient times put. During the plague of 1543-44 the Courts of Law were held in St. Albans Abbey church, the fear of infection having caused their adjournment from London; the old municipal accounts of St. Albans contain an item of "four shillings and eightpence paid to John Saunders for nayles for the work in the church for the assizes." For many years it was customary in some corporate towns to elect the mayor in the church. Almost every church of note formerly had its dog-whipper, a person appointed to whip the dogs out of church; there was also an officer to keep people awake during the service, and what with sleepy people and sleepless dogs the office could have been no sinecure. The order of the Aylesbury churchwardens as to pigs was by no means a peculiar one. At Banbury it was also ordered that "no man shall lett their hogges go abroade unrefuged, nor no swyne nor geese to go within the churchyarde."

The churchwardens of Preston Bisset appointed a man to look after the stray bones in the churchyard. In the year 1538, every parish priest was ordered to procure an English Bible of the largest print, at the joint expense of the parish and himself. Many are the references in the old registers to this innovation. At Reading, the amount seems to have been too great to admit of immediate payment, for the entry stands, "1540—Payd towards the new byble, ixs." The Bible was set up in the most convenient part of the church, chained to a reading-desk for the general use of the parishioners, and was available at all times. There was some years ago an English Bible of the largest print belonging to the church of Wingrave; it was furnished with rings and other appliances for the purpose of chaining it to the reading-desk. This explains the item in the Thame Church accounts for the "chayne and haspe for the large volume."

At a vestry held in the year 1779 it was ordered "that no hog, sow, or pig be suffered to go about the churchyard; if so they shall be pounded, and one shilling for each hog, sow, or pig shall be paid when so pounded, and this order shall be defended and supported by the whole parish." That year it was agreed to let the poor to William

Freeman ; the said William Freeman to be paid £660 by instalments, "but he is not to be liable for small-pox patients, vagrant money, removals to parish, repairs, water works, or militia men." In 1781 a faculty was obtained for the erection of a gallery at the west end of the church, and a plan was settled in vestry as to those families apportioned sittings in it. There was also a searching inquiry into the accounts of the overseers during the years 1777-8-9 ; a balance was found to be due to the parish, amounting to £23 3s. 7d., but unaccounted for ; it was resolved to take legal steps to recover that amount. In 1783 the churchwardens' expenses were £205 9s. The poor were that year let to Mr. John Horwood at £780, under the usual conditions. The church expenses the year following were £53 16s. 4d.

With the commencement of the present century the churchwardens' accounts are entered in less detail ; there are no charges for processionings, and peace appears to have been made with polecats, hedgehogs, and sparrows. The item of constables' expenses in sums total are somewhat more prominent than formerly ; in detail, probably they would have contained some strange items, but the vouchers are not in existence. The accounts, being bereft of details, are no longer entertaining.

Chapter XXXVI.—ANCIENT HOUSES AND BUILDINGS.

Architectural antiquities—Ancient domestic architecture; conspicuous features in—The ancient Domus Civica at Aylesbury—Old inns at Aylesbury—The King's Head Inn—ancient window at the King's Head; description of it—The Crown Inn; ancient room; panels with armorial bearings—Frater houses—Guilds—Tradesmen's tokens—The George Hotel; old paintings there—The late Black Swan Inn—The Old Green Man—Pat. Alexander—The Craftsman—R. Mortimer—The Bull's Head Inn—The Saracen's Head—The Red Lion—The late White Hart Hotel.

ARCHITECTURAL antiquities have justly been designated as objects of the highest interest; they are existing memorials of past ages; they form a valuable record of mankind at a period when history is at fault; and, while thus throwing a gleam of light on what would otherwise be a hopeless obscurity, the mouldering wall and the aged ruin carry with them a lesson of the perishableness and instability of man and his works, of which we too often stand in need. Antiquity and decay are the sources of mysterious and indefinable feeling; "man is himself a ruin, and his sympathy is with desolation," for each day reminds him more forcibly of its connection with himself.

The study of the ancient domestic architecture of our own country is a pleasing one, but here only a cursory view can be taken of it, and that pertaining to the few examples to be met with in our own streets. As the manners and institutions of the country progressed, the stern character of ancient English residences became softened down. The first advance towards combining security with comfort seems to have been made about the latter part of the reign of Edward III.; and, subsequently, by degrees, the castle gave place to the castellated mansion, which was in its turn rendered better adapted to the wants and conveniences of more peaceful times.

In the reign of Henry VII. a most important amendment was made in the laws of entail; the nobility and gentry acquired the right of breaking the ancient entails and alienating their estates. By the means of this concession the great estates were gradually dismembered, the property of the common people increased, and a vast impetus was given to building. The race of villeins was also now nearly extinct, and wages quadrupled the amount they had been in the preceding century. Civilization and the useful arts made

wonderful progress. In the "Statute of Labourers" (1496), bricklayers and glaziers are for the first time mentioned among artificers; glass, however, although used in churches, had not found its way into general use, and was a rarity not usually met with, even in the castle of the nobility.

In ancient domestic architecture a vast amount of timber was introduced. This style owes its origin to the abundant supply of wood. In a wooded country such as England then was, timber expressed the natural and readiest method of construction. "The goodlie frames of timber" were anciently, as respects England, proverbial. The conspicuous features in the houses of the Tudor period were the interlaced frame work, the herring-bone brick or stone work, the ornamental gables, the handsome clustered chimney-shafts, the spacious hall, the wooden mullioned windows, the noble staircase, the moulded and billeted barge boards, and the projecting upper storeys. In some of the earlier examples of these buildings the whole structure is of timber-frame, filled in with a compost of plaster, laid upon lath or reed; in others the interstices are filled with stone rubble; in others, and later as to period, brick is frequently used for the lower storey, and the spaces between the timbers in the upper are filled with it; the timber in each case is usually left exposed. In still later examples the main timber, such as angle-posts, heads and cills, are alone left, the rest being covered with plaster, formed into panels and enriched with ornaments in low relief. The latter practice has continued in some parts of the country to the present day, and, in many recently erected houses in the district of Aylesbury, this style has been resumed. "Some men wyll have their wallys plastered, some pergetted and whytlymed, some rough-caste, some pricked, some wrought with playster of Paris," is a quaint contemporaneous record.

The hall was a distinctive feature in all ancient dwellings; it consisted of a lofty and undivided room, in form a parallelogram, and it is to be noted that in the alterations made from time to time in the style and character of old mansions, the hall generally retained its original design. A feature in ancient houses was retained by the Inns long after it had been inclosed and modernised in private mansions — the open gallery. These galleries were introduced with the Elizabethan style, and are still met with in some few ancient hostelries. It was also in the age of Elizabeth that the massive staircase, with its broad hand-rail, balustrades, and enriched ornaments, was introduced. The intermixture of wood, brick, and stone, or wood and plaster, in the exterior of houses, was, for a considerable period, retained as the common style of building, and might be said to flourish during the latter end of the 15th and the greater part of the 16th centuries; many of these structures are yet standing, and possess great durability. Massive chimneys formed a distinctive feature in the edifice, and were often very elaborately constructed and ornamented. Over sailing roofs, lofty gables, with carved barge boards, bay windows, porches of timber, and storeys projecting one over the other, are so many characteristics of a mixed style, in which the rude designs of the ancient timber houses became progressively intermingled with the massive architecture of a sub-

sequent period ; and the external use of timber in walls continued to prevail for a long time. One of the earliest examples of domestic architecture in this county is the old Rectory House at Beaconsfield.

THE ANCIENT MARKET HOUSE.

Specimens of antique buildings once lost are lost for ever ; there can be no resuscitation. Where possible, records of them should be preserved. There was one ancient building connected with Aylesbury which, although it disappeared some eighty years ago, still lives in representation and description—the ancient *Domus civica*, Guildhall, or Market House. It was an interesting building. Sir John Baldwin, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord of the Manor, had the credit of its erection, the King finding the timber. Sir John purchased the Manor of Aylesbury about the year 1530, which would give the supposed date of the erection of the old building ; on a closer reading, however, it will be found that Sir John "late re-edified it ;" this implies, and what is very probable, that the building was of an earlier date than that of the purchase of the Manor by Sir John. It is to the late Mr. Jasper Jackson, of Aylesbury, we are indebted for the engraving of this relic of ancient Aylesbury ; a small model of it was preserved by him for many years, and from such model a drawing was taken and engraved. The late Mr. John Gibbs, in his "Notes on Aylesbury," leaves the only description extant of this old building. He says—

"Up to the beginning of the present century a considerable portion of the Market Place was occupied by a large, rambling, uncouth-looking building, known as the Market House. It was very ancient, and in a dilapidated state. It was built partly of brick, but had a large proportion of timber in its construction. There was an upper floor, reached by a flight of stairs, inclosed in a projecting lobby on the north-east side of the building. This upper room was lighted by three windows on one side and four on the other; the lobby was boarded, and had four pinnacles on the top, intended for ornaments. It was in this lobby the Town Clock was erected ; it was a very old-fashioned time-keeper ; it jutted out away from the building by a kind of bracket, and was what was called an arm-clock, from its being thus held out ; it could be seen for a long distance. The upper part of the building was supported by a number of massive oaken pillars of a very rude formation ; the under part was entirely open, and had at some time been enlarged by the erection of a lean-to round it. This lower part was, on market days, occupied principally by butchers and dealers in food, vegetables, and other necessaries ; at other times it was the rendezvous for idlers and gossipers, and was generally in a most untidy, if not a filthy condition. The building had a common pitched roof, with gables at each end, and the whole was covered with plain tiles. On the south-west side there was a large stone, covering a recess which was known as the badger hole and was used for the purpose of public badger-baiting. The upper room extended throughout the length of the building, a portion of it being used as a corn store. On fair days, and on other such occasions, this room was the usual accommodation for conjurors, fortune-tellers, and showmen. On the evenings of the Aylesbury race-days it was the place where the public cock-fighting took place, on which occasion it was much crowded, and a charge was made for the admission of those who were not connected with the races. The old building was pulled down about the year 1808."

Its successor does not come within the range of ancient buildings, but its existence must be acknowledged. It was erected shortly after the demolition of the ancient

building, and very soon after the Marquis of Buckingham had become Lord of the Manor. It was octangular in shape, very substantially built of stone, and slated. The lower part was entered by three gateways; the windows were fitted with iron work, but unglazed; the corn market was held there, and, as may be imagined from the description of the building, it was an excessively bleak and cold place in the winter season. The room overhead was used as a corn store, and was well lighted by glazed windows. On the summit was a clock turret, in the cupola of which was the market bell. Although the turret was a part of the original building, the clock was not added until the Manor was purchased by the late Mr. Acton Tindal. On the formation of the Aylesbury Market Company this modern market-house was demolished. The building was used as a polling place at contested elections; it stood a short distance to the N.W. of the present Clock Tower.

There are some few examples of ancient domestic architecture still to be met with in Aylesbury. As it is to the inns we are mainly indebted for the retention of the style of the abodes of our predecessors, it is to them attention will be principally given. The King's Head Inn, the Crown, the Angel, the Red Lion, and the Bull's Head retain remnants of antiquity in their construction, although, owing to the many alterations they have undergone, their outward appearances have been greatly changed.

THE KING'S HEAD INN.

The King's Head is a good specimen of the domestic architecture of the Tudor period. The portion on the eastern side of the gateway has been altogether re-built; the remains of the original structure commence with the gateway, the posts and framework of which are bracketed, and have the appearances of great age, the timber being massive and the work filleted; the lower parts of the gateposts have been considerably shattered by contacts with passing vehicles, but the injuries have been repaired, probably with a desire to preserve the character of the old work, rather than introduce new. The gates have been renewed. The gable over the gateway and the bay window it contains are new; the old ones were taken down in 1880. The small sash light in the front, adjoining the gateway, but ill accords with the general elevation of the building. The principal gable, containing the hall window, is an interesting structure. On an underpinning rising about two feet from the ground are very strong oaken cills, in which perpendicular studs are morticed; these are interlaced with brickwork. Another cill intervenes to carry the window, and over the latter there is more brick-interlacing up to the next storey. This brickwork is exposed as originally left. The storey is a projecting one of about 3 feet, supported by three brackets; the overhanging joists are left open, but the cill they carry is hidden by a piece of modern moulding; the brickwork of the upper part of the storey is covered by a coating of rough-cast. This gable has a considerable projection, and a barge board with a pendant quite modern, there being no billeting or ornamental work about them. In the upper part of the gable is a very plain square window, which is not in unison with the general style of the building.

The exterior of the hall window bears every sign of originality; the oaken mullions are massive and well guarded by saddle bars and stanchions. Like the primitive barge boards and ornamental woodwork of the earliest types of this style of architecture, the mullions are not painted. The open and spacious staircase, although worn by age and many years' use, probably still represents the work of its original joiner. The quadrangle has undergone great transformations; without doubt the dormitories were once ranged round it, and access to them obtained by the then popular open gallery. This gallery has altogether disappeared; remnants of dormitories connected by it were visible a few years ago, although they had been transformed into corn stores; they were much dilapidated, and have now made way for more substantial erections, used for commercial purposes. The chimneys are comparatively modern, small, square, and without ornamentation; probably they are not originals; the solid, clustered, and ornamental chimney stack has disappeared. The fine old chimneys, so prominent in this style of architecture, were affected by the obnoxious hearth-tax of Charles II., which was in many cases the cause of their being demolished. The unpopularity of this tax is referred to by Mr. Hamilton in his work on Quarter Sessions, in which he states that noblemen and others demolished their chimneys to avoid the hearth-tax, or reduced them to as small a number as possible; the tax thus led to the mutilation of a very interesting feature in ancient houses.*

The ceiling of the hall of the King's Head (now used as a tap-room) has been but little altered; it is lofty, and is borne by four massive oaken corner posts springing from a buttress three feet from the floor; they are filleted and stand boldly out from the walls of the room. There are moulded ribs in the ceiling, crossing at right angles, dividing the area into four large panels, which in their time have probably been embellished with heraldic devices or other illuminations. A massive oak cornice runs round the ceiling, and at the central intersection of the ribs is a large carved boss. The old hearth, with its andirons and spacious chimney corners, has been superseded by a modern fire-place. Still, this part of the house has to some extent escaped the handling of modernizers. The window of this hall retains much of its originality. "Of old," says the historian, "our countrie houses, instead of glasse, did use much lattise, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke, in checkerwise. I reade that some of the better sorts, in and before the Saxons, did make panels of horne instead of glasse, and fix them in wooden calmes. But as horne is now laide down in everie place, so our lattises are growne also into lesse use, because glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so cheape and good, if not better, than the other." These admirable old windows were resolved into an almost endless variety of form; from simple square bays, with chamfered mullions of wood supported by rude brackets, to highly enriched stone-arched

* So early as the Conquest mention is made in Domesday Book of Fumage (vulgarly called smoke-farthings), which was paid by custom to the King for every chimney in the house. Charles II. imposed it on every fire-place and hearth in England in 1662, when it produced about £200,000 a-year. It was abolished by William and Mary at the Revolution in 1689; was imposed again and again abolished.

apertures, with moulded mullions projecting on elaborately carved corbels, adorned with heraldic badges and other gorgeous emblems. It was usual in the glazing to introduce coloured glass, mostly of Flemish manufacture, on which arms, ciphers, figures of animals, personifications, &c., were depicted. Heraldry was very early connected with architecture, and with sculpture and painting, and was adopted as a tasteful decoration in churches and mansions, on walls, ceilings, pavements, monuments, windows, and hangings. The armorial bearings or escutcheons of the owners, or the quarterings claimed by alliances with other families, were represented in the stained glass of these windows. In a variety of instances the most decided information respecting the date of the foundation of a building can be obtained from armorial distinctions placed upon some part of the edifice. Before the wealth of commerce had asserted its pretensions against the claim of our old nobility and gentry to exclusive homage, every advantage was taken of the opportunity afforded by the glazing of windows to display in stained and painted glass the heraldic designs of the family of the founders, and of their connections.

The hall window at the King's Head, extending across the entire end of the principal room or hall, is of considerable interest, and it is a matter of surprise that no detailed account of it has been given by Lipscomb or any other historian. It is both of architectural value, as affording an interesting specimen of a fifteenth century wooden window in good preservation, and it is an heraldic curiosity as exhibiting a singular mistake in blazon. A heavy wooden mullion and transom divide it into four main lights, and each of these is again divided into five compartments by narrower mullions, with neat mouldings and Tudor heads. Of the twenty lights thus formed, five contain the original glass in a more or less perfect condition, and three others show evident signs of having been similarly filled. All the compartments below the transom have been re-leaded; they probably contained, originally, either plain glass or diaper quarries, similar to those used in the field of the upper designs. The divisions above the transom in which the glass is still perfect contain each a device, consisting of an angel, half-length, supporting a shield; the remaining space being filled with the diaper quarries alluded to. The following are the coats blazoned, beginning at the left hand compartment:—

I. Quarterly; 1 and 4 France Modern; 2 and 3 England.
II. The same, with a label of three points.
III. Quarterly of six—
  i. Blank (but originally *Ar.* a cross potent between 4 crosses *Or.*)
  ii. France Ancient, with a label of three points *Gu.*
  iii. Barry of 8 *Ar.* and *Gu.*
  iv. *Or.* on a bend *Gu.*, 3 eaglets displayed *Ar.*
  v. *Az.*, two barbels haurient addorsed, and crusily *Or.* within a bordure *Gu.*
  vi. France, within a bordure *Gu.*

This, the coat of Anjou, was borne by Margaret, wife of Henry VI., but it has been reversed, as if taken from the matrix of a seal, so that the Jerusalem quartering, which

should be 3, is 1, while the Hungary coat, which should be 1, is 3. In the same manner Lorraine (4) and Anjou (6) have been transposed.

IV. Quarterly; 1 and 4 blank; 2 and 3 England.
V. In a circle, within a shield, the Lion of S. Mark holding a scroll inscribed MARCVS.
VI., VII., VIII., contain leaded circles, blank.
IX. and X. Blank.

The diaper quarries contain the following devices respectively :—

I. Blank.
II. Bohun Swan, *Ar.* chained, ringed and collared *Or.*
III. Heraldic Flowers.
IV. Ducal Crowns, whence issue panaches of 6 plumes.
V. Covered Cups, *Or.* (the Butler badge).

There is also a somewhat singular chequered pattern filling up the spandrills below the shields, but perhaps this is purely ornamental. The blanks in the window are much to be regretted; they are accounted for by a statement that a former owner placed so little value on this window as to allow the embellishments to be removed and the lights to be filled with plain glass. This is extremely improbable; indeed, the present appearance of the window does not bear out such a statement, as although the ancient glass has disappeared, the original pattern of the lead work is retained. The blanks may be accounted for by the vicissitudes consequent on great age. Bolingbroke, in Shakspere's Richard II., reproaches Richard's minions for the destruction of his ancient windows—

> You have * * *
> *From my own windows torn my household coat,*
> Raz'd out my impress, leaving me no sign,—
> Save men's opinions, and my living blood,
> To show the world I am a gentleman.—*King Richard II., Act* 3, *Scene* 1.

The following inferences may be deduced from the charges and devices upon the King's Head window :—

I. That the building was erected shortly after the marriage of Henry VI. (1444-1450).
II. That it may have had a religious or semi-religious origin, from the Evangelistic symbols.
III. That it was built for some public or social purpose, from the presence of the Royal Arms and the county badges.

It may have been either an inn, built during the reign of Henry VI. by one of the religious corporations then existing in Aylesbury, or a Frater-house or Guild-hall designed for the special use of such a body. The presence of Evangelic figures in this window does not militate against the opinion that the house was originally built for an inn. In pre-Reformation times, inns were often under the management of religious communities; hence these ecclesiastical signs. Many such establishments were under a like management; in fact most of the houses we call hospitals were similar in design and object to

our modern tavern. The derivation of "hospital" shows that such buildings were for the accommodation of strangers; not altogether for relief of the sick.†

Frater-houses were instituted for persons working in the world, but united by the observance of a common rule; they were institutions founded by fraternities in the middle ages, and consisted of pious laymen, who formed societies for the purpose of relieving the sick and destitute, and performing other Christian duties. The provision for wayfarers and strangers was one of the principal objects of Frater-houses.

Guilds were of two kinds, religious and secular; the former were established for the performance of works of charity and for the regular observance of certain religious services. In order to establish a guild, religious or secular, it was necessary that it should receive the sanction of the Sovereign. In the reign of Henry II. several guilds were subjected to heavy fines for having been established without that authority. These guilds, through the munificence of individuals, amassed great wealth. By Henry VIII. the properties and revenues of the religious guilds were seized and perpetually vested in the Crown. The Guild of S. Mary of Aylesbury, established in A.D. 1425 by the efforts of John Singleton and John Baldwin, leading townsmen at that period, appears to have acquired considerable property, and there is reason to suppose that the King's Head was one of its possessions.

The sign, the King's Head (King Henry VIII.), points to a time when large buildings which had been preserved by the disendowed religious communities were a drug in the market, and when there was an increased demand for places of public entertainment. The tradition that this house had a monastic origin no doubt has had some foundation in fact, though the rumour that it was connected by a subterranean passage with the church appears to have been merely based upon the existence of a fine old brick arched cellar, which extends for some distance in that direction.

The King's Head must always have held an important position amongst the mercantile establishments of the town, as in the seventeenth century it was one of the houses to issue its own coinage or tokens. In demolishing old houses, local tokens are frequently found. In late alterations in Silver Street, several were discovered, not with any appearance of having been hoarded, but probably accidentally dropped, and at the time lost. Other establishments in the town issued their tokens, indeed, they were largely circulated by tradesmen generally throughout the country.

This usurped privilege of coinage was universal in the middle of the seventeenth century. The want of an authorised money as small change had been long felt and complained of. Farthings, pence, and half-pence were all struck by the Government in

† Hotel (hostel).—A corruption of hospital, a house for the reception of strangers, from *Hospitium*, an inn. Some relics of the old Frater-houses are retained in the Inns of Court or Societies of the Law, which are governed by Masters, Benchers, Stewards, and other officers; they have their chapels and halls. These societies or colleges are not corporations, nor have any judicial power over their members, but have certain rules and orders amongst themselves, which by mutual consent have the power of law.

silver, the farthings necessarily so small and thin as to prove a loss rather than a gain to the trader; hence an authorised currency was established, and larger copper coins, known as Abbey pieces and Nuremburgh counters, were issued by the great monastic establishments and by tradesmen, who exchanged each other's tokens, they being, in fact, small accommodation bills payable at sight. The Abbey pieces were large, about the size of a florin, and generally had a religious inscription in Latin around them; the Nuremburgh counters had sometimes a counting-table on one side, and an emblematic device on the other. They originated at Nuremburgh, and were imported in large quantities into this country.

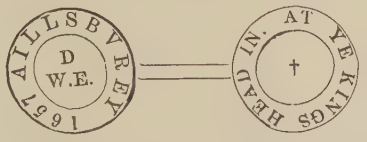
The want of half-pence and farthings, in the reign of Elizabeth, compelled the almost general use amongst alehouse keepers, chandlers, grocers, &c., of private tokens; these were of lead, tin, lattin, and it is said of leather. An attempt was made during that reign to supersede this *pseudo moneta* by a legitimate copper currency, but her Majesty had a magnificent contempt for any other than the precious metal to bear her authorised effigy, and never favoured the scheme. James I. granted a monopoly to Lord Harrington for the exclusive manufacture of copper tokens, but the whole affair was so discreditable to both parties, and so dishonourable towards the public, that those issued by private tradesmen were preferred, and rapidly increased in circulation.

On the accession of King James I. the prevalence of leaden tokens amongst traders and shopkeepers must have been very general. In 1613 royal farthing tokens were issued, of which the Richmond family held the monopoly, no other farthings being legal; counterfeits of every description were abundant, notwithstanding that persons convicted of issuing them were fined and pilloried. These farthings were nicknamed "Harringtons," from the patentee; they were very unpopular, and people would not use them.

During the reign of Charles I., and throughout the Commonwealth, nearly every innkeeper and tradesman struck his own tokens for "necessarie chainge," as they sometimes had inscribed upon them. Soon after the Restoration, the Government took the matter of small coinage into their serious consideration; and in 1665 pattern farthings were struck in copper, having, for the first time, the figure of Britannia on the reverse; but it was not until 1671 that half-pence and farthings were generally issued, and not until 1764 that the traders' tokens were effectually prohibited by proclamation. In the time of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate no copper money was issued by the Government, and it was in these years that the enormous issue of private traders' tokens took place, now so well know to numismatists as seventeenth century tokens.

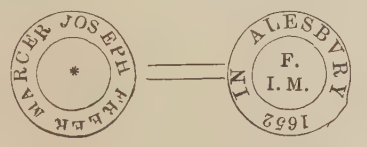
A few copies of specimens will give an idea of the character of these tokens. The general size of them was that of the threepenny piece of the present day, and they are extremely thin. On the obverse the name generally runs round the margin, and a device fills the centre. On the reverse the name of the town and the trade of the issuant, with his initials and the date of issue.

AYLESBURY TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.—(17th Century.)



Obv. Aillsbvrey 1657.=D. W. E.
Rev. At ye King's Head In=† A King's Head, with a sceptre.

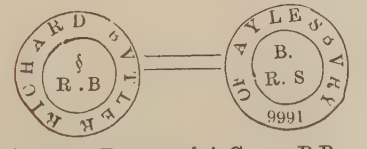
This coin has been roughly used in rubbing; the figure probably represents Henry VIII., although the date is 1675.



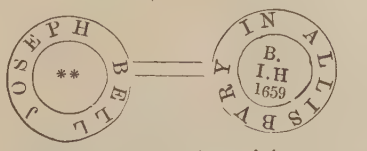
Obv. Joseph Freer Marcer=*Mercers' Arms.
Rev. In Alesbvry 1652=F. I. M.

The Arms of the Mercers' Company—Gules a demi-virgin, couped below the shoulder, with hair dishevelled, vested, *Or*. crowned with an Eastern crown, within an orle of clouds, all proper.

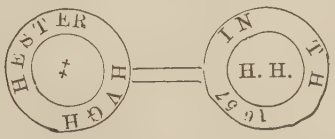
Obv. Francis Wethered=¶ Mercers' Arms.
Rev. Draper in Alsbvry=F. W. 1666.



Obv. Richard Butler=§ A Crown R.B.
Rev. 1666 Of Alesbury=B. R. S.



Obv. Joseph Bell=** Mercers' Arms.
Rev. In Alesbvry=B. I. H. 1659.

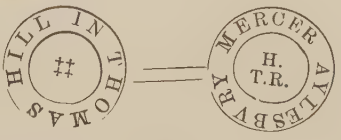


Obv. Hugh Hester=‡ Grocers' Arms.
Rev. 1657 In th=H. H.

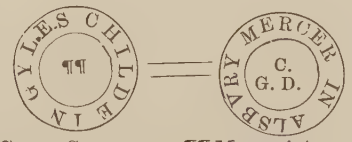
Some parts of the inscription are not legible; it is probable that this is a Thame token.

Obv. John Dv—— 1670=†† A Pestle.
Rev. ——vry—— in=D. I. I.

This coin is in brass, a bad specimen, being so carelessly stamped that part of the impression is lost.

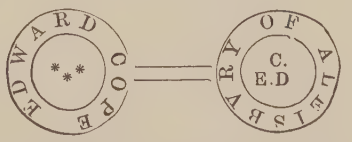


Obv. Thomas Hill in=‡‡ Mercers' Arms.
Rev. Mercer Aylesbvry=H. T. R. (no date).



Obv. Gyles Childe in=¶¶ Mercers' Arms.
Rev. Mercer in Alsbvry=C. G. D.

There is no date to this token; it is in brass, and is frequently met with.



Obv. Edward Cope=*** Three Heraldic Crowns on a Shield.
Rev. Of Aylesbvry=C. E. D. (no date).

There was a great scarcity of small change in 1671, which was not in any way attempted to be relieved by the Government. Such great complaints were made of this inconvenience that in 1672 there was a partial issue of copper farthings, and an order published to prevent the use of tradesmen's tokens, and all persons who should, after the 1st of September in that year, utter any kind of pence, half-pence, or farthings counterfeit of those of his Majesty were to be chastised with exemplary severity. Leniency had been observed in prosecuting offenders, and very little towards stopping the circulation of traders' tokens was effected by these missives. In 1674 a more stringent proclamation was published, which wrought a change; a greater demand for the King's half-pence and farthings was created, and the circulation of trademen's tokens visibly declined. One of the most prominent uses of these tokens was to illustrate the signs of the issuers; indeed, it was a primitive method of advertising. Before houses were numbered, hotels and shops had their symbols, signs, or armorial bearings—the arms of the grocers, mercers, or merchant tailors. The various tenements and mansion houses, streets and lanes had their customary designations.

These tokens are mostly in brass, others of copper; some struck from the same pattern are in silver, the copper or brass representing farthings; the silver, sixpences. They are generally diminutive, and very thin. Village innholders and retail traders issued their tokens. "Robert Honn——, of Feni Stratford," issued his (the date and last letter in surname defaced); they bear the Grocers' Arms—Argent; a Chevron gules between six cloves in chief and three in base, sable. Joseph Seayrill, of Leighton, draper, coined tokens in 1663. One was issued from the Sun or Star at Brill; it is coarse and badly finished. The tokens of Thomas Phips, of Wallingford, still exist, dated 1664. Ralph Hill, of Wendover, issued his as early as 1655. John Morris, of Wickham, "His Half-penny" is dated 1666. Thomas Norris, of Aynho; Richard Ware, of Chesham; Fras. Barnaby, of Hughendon; and John North, of Batchendon, issued tokens. Isaac Weeks, of Thame, illustrated "his halfepenny" with a tree, and the reverse shows that he was a gardener in 1667.

There was an Aylesbury half-penny, bearing on the obverse a figure of Justice, marked round the edge "Aylesbury Halfpenny;" on the reverse was the figure of a Swan, and round the margin "Buckinghamshire, 1786." In 1796 there was another Aylesbury token in circulation, on the obverse of which was a profile of George III., and round the margin a scroll, "To the Friends of the Abolition of Slavery;" on the reverse the Cap of Liberty, with the date "Aylesbury, 1796." There was also the John Wilkes token, which was frequently met with some years ago.

THE GEORGE HOTEL.

The George Hotel was rebuilt in the early part of the present century. It was originally known as "The Paved Hall." The present building retains none of the

features of its predecessor; all that can be gathered respecting the old house is, that it was of a very mean appearance, and considerably less in area than the present one; it narrowly escaped destruction by a furious mob at the county election of 1784. This riot was of an alarming character, and led to serious consequences. The mob destroyed the hustings and polling booths, and, armed with the materials of these places, laid siege to the George. At one period they had nearly obtained possession of it, and would have ransacked it. The house at the time was full of company, and the visitors succeeded in repelling their assailants and saved the building. Eighty of the rioters were eventually apprehended, and committed to prison. The gaol was at that time infected with what was termed the spotted fever; these men contracted the disease, and some died of it; others on their discharge carried home the infection to all parts of the district. The contagion spread amongst their families, and resulted in the deaths of several.

There has been for many years a number of paintings in the principal room of the George; their history is somewhat difficult to trace. Dr. Lipscomb, the county historian, refers to them in 1840, but he was unable to discover whence they came. They have never been considered as belonging to any tenant of the hotel, nor have they been subject to valuation like the other contents of the house; indeed they have, by lapse of time, become attached to the freehold, and pass with it. They are stated, and with great probability, to have been removed from Eythorpe House at the time when that mansion was demolished, in the year 1810. There was a fine gallery of pictures at Eythorpe; many portraits, of which some for their excellence, others for their rarity, and for the sake of those whom they represented, deserved a better fate than dispersion under the hammer of an auctioneer. It is reported that some few were retained and removed to Bretby in Derbyshire. Amongst the family portraits were those of Robert, Earl of Carnarvon, who was killed at the battle of Newbury; Anne Sophia, his countess; Lucy, Countess of Bedford; Sir William Stanhope, K.B., M.P. for Bucks and Aylesbury; Philip, fourth Earl of Chesterfield; and King Charles I., with the Prince of Wales, then a boy.

A key to the paintings at the George has long been preserved; this in itself is a curiosity. It forms a set of four hand fire-screens, on which are shown the positions of the pictures on the north, east, south, and west walls of the room. Although much deteriorated by age, these screens still show great taste in drawing and colouring, and in their day have been both useful and ornamental. The following is the catalogue of the paintings, according to the key:—Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds; group—three philosophers; portrait—a Venetian lady; portrait—a copy from Ruben's picture of the Assumption in the Louvre Gallery; portrait—a nobleman; portrait—Queen Caroline, wife of George II.; portrait—Charles II.; landscape; portrait—Queen Mary II.; portrait—Duke of Marlborough; portraits—King Charles I. and his Queen, Henrietta; portrait—King William III.; portrait—the King (George III.); still life; portrait—a prince; seaport and shipping; portrait—a scholar; battle piece, by Borgogone; sea

view; portrait—King James II.; Garden of Love—a copy from Rubens; portrait—Christina, Queen of Sweden; a sea view; dead game; portrait—Frederick, Prince of Wales; Sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis; portrait—by Mytens; view—Ponte Lugano, Italy; group—a family at prayers; a copy from Raphael's Madonna della Sedia; Antiquities of Rome, by Panini; portrait—a Spanish lady; landscape.

THE LATE BLACK SWAN INN.

The late Black Swan, pulled down this year (1883), was a fair specimen of an ancient inn; it was of the Tudor period, but of a later date than that of the erection of the King's Head. It was a half-timbered house, having a quantity of frame work and wattle about it; it was not the substantial building its outward appearance would indicate. A piece of herring-bone brickwork was about the last part of the original building to succumb to the work of demolition.

In the elevation were five gables, and the upper part of the building retained much of its original character. The ornamented barge board of the principal gable exhibited some ancient wood-work; the far gable towards Kingsbury crowned a double projecting storey; this gable had been comparatively but little altered; it retained its finial and one pendant, the other pendant to all appearances had been mercilessly torn away to make room for some modern innovation. The open joists and the cills bearing them were encased and hidden. The old filleted door-frame was removed some years previously, and the house had long before been denuded of every one of its original windows. The premises of the Black Swan, like many other ancient inns, had been shorn of their proportions; evidently at an early date they included the whole extent of the frontage to the Market Place between Kingsbury and Buckingham Street, and formed one large square block of buildings; this Market Place portion has for many years been occupied as an ironmongery establishment.

THE CROWN INN.

By the formation of the New Road, in the year 1826, the Crown Inn was much reduced in extent, and was subsequently altered in its general character. It has of late years been so modernized as scarcely to be known as "the old Crowne" of former years. It once had its intersecting gateway-entrance and other prominent features incidental to old hostelries, indicating the commercial character for which it was originally erected. Before its alterations, made consequent upon the formation of the New Road, it had much of the character of the King's Head, and was probably a building of about the same date, but of greater extent in its appurtenances; it had gardens, a bowling-green, extensive stabling, and out-premise covering a large area. Its principal frontage was to the Market Place, but was intercepted by encroachments; its position resembled that of the King's Head.

It is somewhat difficult at the present time to understand why the old inns were

built on so large a scale at a period when the population was considerably less than it now is; but it must be remembered that in ancient days a great part of the domestic trade of this country was transacted at fairs. Some of these fairs were of long duration, frequented by prodigious numbers of people, and stored with commodities of all kinds. Grants of fairs were great boons to the holders of them, were sources of much profit, and fairs were generally conducted on terms arbitrary and unjust. By these grants, they were at times continued for a week or two together, during which period, under the charter granted, all other trades were prohibited for miles round the place at which they were held. Many of the laws then regulating commerce might have been useful, but were mostly hurtful interferences with the freedom of industry. Old-fashioned inn yards appear to have been arranged with great regard to safety; probably they were used at these fairs as the depositories of large quantities of valuable merchandise. These yards, when closed by their massive gates both at front and back, would be inaccessible to any intruders at night. Again, at the time these old inns were erected the means of transit were very different. Twenty miles, travelling over excessively bad roads, would be a distance constituting a day's journey; travellers would consequently have to make frequent halts and stoppages for the night.

In the principal room of the Crown was a fine panelled ceiling divided into four compartments, which were embellished with the quarterings of the families of Peckham, Cheney, Pakington, Ryston, &c. A description of these escutcheons is given in Richard Lee's "Gatherings of Oxfordshire, Anno. 1574" (Wood's MSS., Bodleian Library).

[*In the Crowne (Inn) at Aylesbury*].—*Arms.*

(I.) Quarterly of sixteen. 1. Barry of six gu. and az. a label. 2. Arg. a chief indented az. 3. Or. three crescents gules, each charged with a mullet arg. 4. Erm., a fret gu. 5. Gules, three lions rampant, arg. crowned, or. 6. Barry of six arg. and az., in chief three torteaux. 7. Or, a maunche gu. 8. Gu., an orle arg. 9. Gules, three leopards' heads jessant-de-lys or. 10. Semée of cross crosslets, a lion rampant argent. 11. Gu., two bends engrailed or. 12. Barry, an orle of martlets. 13. Or, on three escutcheons vairée, two bars gules. 14. Gu., a bend lozengy or. 15. Arg., on a chief three mullets. 16. Arg., a maunche sable, a mullet gu., for a difference, impaling, quarterly 1st and 4th gu. bezantée a canton erm. 2 and 3 quarterly 1 and 4. Two chevrons, a label of three points. 2 and 3. Semée of cross crosslets, a lion rampant.

(II.) Quarterly of eight, 1. Sable, a wyvern rampant argent. 2. Or. a bend within a bordure gu. bezantée. 3. Gu., crusilée, a lion rampant argt. 4. Gu., a cross fleurée or. 5. Arg. in chief seven lozenges, conjoined 3, 3 and 1. 6. Gules crusilée, or. a fesse dancettée of the last. 7. Barry nebulée of six erm. and gules. 8. Az., a fesse, dancettée between six garbs or. Over it is written GRIFFITH.

(III.) Quarterly of six, 1. Sa., a chevron between three cross crosslets, fitchée arg. 2. Chequey ar. and sa., on a chief (untinctured), three trefoils vert. 3. Chequey or. and sable, on a fesse gules, three cross crosslets argt. 4. Barry nebulée of six, or. and sable. 5. Arg. a lion rampt., sable crowned or., within a bordure sa. bezantée. 6. Or. two lions passant palewise gu., impaling quarterly 1 and 4, cheq. or, and az., a fesse gules fretty erm. 2 and 3. Gu., a lion rampt., sa. Over it is written PECKHAM-CHENEY.

(IV.) 1. Per chevron sa. and arg. in chief, three mullets or. in base, three garbs gu. banded or. 2. . . . . 3. Erm. a fesse chequey or. and az. 4. Ar. on a fesse gules between six martlets of the last three quatrefoils arg., impaling Quarterly, 1 and 4. Sa., three lucies arg., a chief or. 2. Paly of six arg., and az. on a chief gu. three bezants. 3. Arg., a chevron between three mullets gu. Over it written PACKINGTON-RYTSONE.

The Crown and the King's Head were included amongst other properties assigned by Sir John Pakington in the time of the civil war, in order to satisfy the fines imposed on him for his loyalty. In 1765, the parish register shows, the premises of the Crown narrowly escaped destruction by a great fire which broke out in some adjoining stables then known as Robinson's.

THE OLD GREEN MAN.

Amongst the most ancient houses in the Market Place, and one which retained its original character to a more recent period than others, was a small public-house known as the Green Man; it was the second house on the eastern side of the opening from the Market Place to the Bull's Head Inn, and must not be confounded with the present Green Man, near the Corn Exchange. The old Green Man was, at the commencement of the last century, kept by a very remarkable woman of the name of Pat Alexander. She was a noted politician, and this house was the rendezvous of the leading local politicians of her day. She must have been of considerable mark, as her portrait was painted by R. Mortimer, and afterwards engraved; the engraving is now rare, but copies are still to be met with in the households of some of the old Aylesbury families. Pat is represented as being a very ancient dame; she has before her a copy of the *Craftsman*, then a very popular newspaper. It was a paper of extreme Liberal opinions, and was principally edited by Nicholas Amhurst, of St. John's College, Oxford, from which, on account of his libertinism and irregularity of behaviour, he was expelled. The *Craftsman* appeared at the time when the Whig Ministry under George I. split amongst themselves; it circulated immensely, and contributed greatly to reduce the all-engrossing power of an avowedly corrupt Ministry. By a memorandum written at the foot of a copy of the engraving of Pat, she is stated to have died on the 5th of March, in the year 1741, at the age of 85 years. She was one of the ancestors of the Asbury's, an Aylesbury family, now extinct.

R. Mortimer, who painted the portrait of Pat Alexander, must not be mistaken for John Hamilton Mortimer, R.A. ; they are said to have been related. J. H. Mortimer is generally called Mortimer "the younger." R. Mortimer was one of the George Morland class ; he revelled in the execution of portraits of landladies, public-house signboards, and the like ; he was one of the happy-go-lucky class of artists, and fond of a pot other than his paint pot.

One of the last remaining works of R. Mortimer as an artist was the Altar-piece with which the Chancel of the Parish Church was "bedizened." It was very elaborate, and, at one time, considered a work of high art ; it was divided into panels by Doric pilasters, and crowned by a pediment. The Lord's Prayer and the Belief were inscribed on either side, whilst on the centre panels the decalogue was written. Moses and Aaron were portrayed in life size and in full vestments, whilst the Christian symbol was painted on the pediment. A succeeding generation did not equally appreciate this apology for a reredos ; at the general restoration of the church it was, with other incongruities, discarded.*

The signboards ascribed to R. Mortimer were those once exhibited at the King's Head, the Bull's Head, the Green Man, and the Royal Oak Inns. Those who recollected them spoke highly of them as works of art. All have now long disappeared, and their places have been filled by unworthy successors, so far as art is concerned. R. Mortimer was not singular in his mania for sign painting. Many an R.A. has amused himself at this diversion. R. Wilson and George Morland painted several ; Ibbetson, D. Cox, Crome, sen., Harlow, Herring, and others indulged in the freak. Even Sir Charles Ross, the eminent portrait painter, was not exempt from it. When a youngster he exhibited his art in painting the sign of the Magpie for a public-house at Sudbury. Thirty years after, when he had attained his fame amongst the aristocracy, he would travel to Sudbury to admire his "early bird." The signboard of the Royal Oak, painted by D. Cox for an Inn, at Bettws-y-Coed, N.W., has lately (1880), been the subject of an action at law, and been valued at the sum of one thousand guineas.

THE RED LION.

The Red Lion, in Kingsbury, ranks amongst the oldest inns in the town ; it has been re-built ; there are proofs of its existence as an inn for more than three hundred years. On lowering a basement floor on the premises some few years ago, fragments of pottery were found, and amongst others a part of a beer measure, on which was inscribed "Ann Rogers, ye Red Lyon, 1569," with the figure of a lion. The Bell is also an ancient Inn ; before it was rebuilt it had the usual central gateway and its open gallery leading to the dormitories. There are other public-houses in the town of long standing.

* Moses and Aaron passed through the ordeal of being knocked down by an auctioneer ; the pilasters still continue to do duty as exterior embellishments to a shoe shop in Kingsbury ; the pediment very lately reappeared, forming a very inconsiderable portion of a lot of sundries in an auction sale.

THE LATE WHITE HART HOTEL.

An error was made on the formation of the Market Company, by the destruction of the White Hart. It was acknowledged to have been one of the best hostelries out of London; it was replete with every arrangement for commercial purposes, and for the accommodation of private visitors. It had its gardens, bowling-green, and pleasure-grounds (kept in the most precise order), and other extensive premises and appendages requisite to complete a first-rate country inn. The first White Hart is described as a three-gabled house, intersected, as was so usual in old-fashioned inns, by the indispensable carriage gateway. No representation of it remains, and its general appearance has faded from recollection. From the information gathered it may be classed, as to its style of building, with the King's Head and other houses of a like period. At the rear of the house was an erection of a later date, which has been described as having been built by the Earl of Rochester in the Reign of Charles II.; it bore the date of 1663. There is historic fame connected with this 17th century portion of the White Hart. The principal apartment of that building was the dining-room. This room was 39 feet long, 23 feet broad, and 12 feet high; it was panelled from top to bottom, and had recesses formed for the reception of paintings; it had the "Egg and Tongue" ornament carved round the cornice, was richly gilt, the fire-place handsomely carved with scroll work, and gilded in like manner. The upper portion of the panelling was arranged alternately with groups of fruits, flowers, and warlike trophies; the ceiling was divided into nine panels, with gilt bosses at the intersections, the centre compartment being filled with a painting of figures representing Peace and Concord holding palm branches; there were representations of cherubim appearing from behind clouds, two conjointly bearing a crown and the initials C. R., above, the principal figures, and two others below bore a scroll, with the legend

> "Let Peace and Concord sit and singe,
> And subjects yield obedience to their Kinge."

The other panels were filled with Frescoes, the corners representing the Four Seasons; in the others were Cherubim, bearing various devices. The ceilings were in such a bad state of repair, having previously fallen down, that they could not be restored. The embellishments in the walls were probably originally intended to represent statues and a picture gallery—the interior compartments contained figures of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, Diana, Juno, Venus, Industry, Diligence. Pallas, Honor, and Majesty; the principal ones were occupied first by a fine painting of Æneas carrying Anchises from the ruins of Troy, Creusa seated on the ruins, and Ascanius, "Puer Ascanius," looking up at his father—a copy from Raphael's picture in the Vatican at Rome. Over the fire-place was a picture of "Thomyris," Queen of the Scythians, receiving the head of the Great Cyrus, first King of the Persians, after she had defeated him, and uttering the memorable words, "Satiate sanguine quem semper sitisti." The other two pictures are supposed to represent the story of "Mercury and Argus." Over the door was a recumbent Venus on panel. The entrance doors were massive, as were also the window

frames, and of the superior and careful workmanship of the date of the erection. The traditional tale of these premises and their historic associations have been versified. The author describes the building, the landlord Gilvey, his daughter Grace and her two suitors. The scene is laid in the period of the civil war ; the visit of the Earl of Rochester and other eminent Royalists is described, as also their escape and its sequel.

The house and its grounds are first referred to :—

Its gabled roof, its chimneys all awry,
And sign-decked porch no more delight the eye ;
Its open galleries too, so quaint and low,
That overhung the spacious court below ;
Its balustraded staircase, crazy doors,
Dim-lighted passages and sloping floors.
Behind it lay a well-kept bowling-green,
Where gravelled walks, and flower-beds decked the scene.

At this period the house is represented as crowded with soldiers, it being a few days after the battle of Worcester :—

A band of soldiers, with their merry din,
Filled the rude kitchen of the White Hart Inn.
Some round the spacious chimney, smoking, sat,
And whiled the time in battle-talk and chat ;
Some at the snow-white table gamed and swore,
While pikes and matchlocks strewed the sanded floor.
Gilvey, the landlord, 'mid the group was seen,
With full red face, bright eye, and honest mien ;
He smoked in silence in his old arm chair,
Nor joke nor jest disturbed his saddened air.

We next have a glowing description of Grace Gilvey :—

Amid the rude, unmannered soldiers tripped
A sylphlike form, bright-eyed and cherry lipped,
Bedight in bodice blue and farthingale,
With jugs of mead and cups of frothy ale ;
She was the landlord's pretty daughter, Grace,
As fond of heart as she was fair of face.
She seemed, amid the band of bearded men,
A dainty fairy in an ogre's den.

Grace had two suitors, Roland Guy and Percy Gray, neither of whom, according to the old man's views, was eligible for his daughter's hand :—

For he had said, no tuft-hunter should win
His daughter for her patrimonial inn.
No son-in-law he'd have that could not sound
The merry jingle of a hundred pound.

Both these young men are represented as being at the White Hart at the time of the arrival of the illustrious Royalists, and on leaving that night, the circumstance opens to each a thought how to acquire the needful amount to obtain the hand of Grace, namely, by securing one of the rewards at this period offered by either party for the apprehension of the leaders of their opponents. These young men undesignedly act in opposition to each other ; Roland Guy gives information to the Roundheads of the arrival at the White Hart, but Percy Gray obtains the start of him. He gives notice of the approaching danger to the Royalists, and not only guides them safely out of the town, but accompanies them to London and does not return. Roland Guy in his absence presses his suit on Grace with greater zeal than ever :—

He knelt before her and he kissed her hand,
Swore that he loved her best in all the land,
And other things on which we will not dwell—
The stuff and nonsense lovers talk so well.
Thus as he sued he heard a footstep nigh,
And looking up, the landlord met his eye.
The old man frowned—" Hence, villain, hence ! "
he cried
" My daughter ne'er shall be a traitor's bride."
. . . . . .
Imploringly he cast a look at Grace,—
She marked his look, scorn overspread her face.
"Oh, Grace," he cried, "'twas for the needful gold
To win thine hand mine honesty I've sold ;
Confessed I stand a mean and abject thing,
A traitor to my country and my king.
Yet spurn me not ! 'twas love that did the deed ;
Have mercy then, and give to love its meed."
The girl replied, scorn mantling to her brows,
" Disloyal subject ne'er made loyal spouse.
Small count I set upon a traitor's vows."
With quivering lip the young man turned away ;
He left the town at dawn of following day.

She thus lost both her lovers. Seven years passed, and they worked a great change in Grace :—

Her girlish charms had now
Succumbed to those that deck a woman's brow ;
Her dimpled cheeks and rosy, childish face
To statelier beauty now had given place :
The eyes, that used to droop before the gaze,
Now dazzled those that dared to meet their rays.
The bud had promised much, and yet the bloom
Outshone the bud, as morn doth midnight's gloom.

One day there was in the town unex-

pectedly a great clanking of arms and martial sounds, headed by a captain whose

Gallant bearing riveted each eye;
He curbed his charger with such manly grace,
His dancing plumes half hid his handsome face.

This was no less than Percy Gray. His loyalty had led to his advancement in life, and he had returned to claim the hand of the fair maid of the White Hart :—

Close at hand
A file of soldiers waited his command.
Old Gilvey trembled, when they met his sight;
Why came they there? It filled him with affright.
With failing heart their captain he addressed,
"Good Sir, I prithee, wherefore this arrest?"
The soldier smiled, "Forget ye then my face?"
"Forget ye, too?" he said, and turned to Grace;
The maiden rose, one glance, and then straightway
Fell in the outstretched arms of Percy Gray.
. . . . . .
Three weeks tripped by,—right merry was the din
That shook the rafters of the White Hart Inn.
The bells rang merrily from St. Mary's spire,
And Aylesbury town donned holiday attire.
A bridal party passed along the way,
The bride, fair Grace; the bridegroom, Percy Gray.
And noble Rochester was there beside,—
'Twas he, in sooth, that gave away the bride.
. . . . . .

Rochester still considered his debt unpaid to the faithful Gilvey, so—

A suite of rooms he built,—a comely pile,—
Adjacent to the inn, in costly style;
The walls and ceilings with old paintings lined,
With here and there a curious motto twined,—
"Let peace and concord in sweet union sing,
And subjects yield obedience to their King."
Behind the ancient hostelry it stood,
With gabled roof and floors of polished wood.

And thus, according to the tale, the town of Aylesbury was indebted to Rochester for the White Hart Inn. Now comes the weeping and wailing at the destruction of the old building :—

Not long ago, a few short years, for gold,
This monument of loyalty was sold.
The garden, too—its trim kept beds of flowers,
The gravelled walks, its quaint cut trees and flowers—
They all are gone; the drover's foot now treads,
Where roses bloomed and lilies waved their heads.
Oh, Desolation! thus thy wasting blast
Doth sweep away the landmarks of the past.
. . . . . .
All, all are gone! weeds grow where once bloomed flowers,
And market stalls now fill the place of bowers.
Loud bellowing oxen trample, where of old
Fair maidens sighed and tales of love were told;
Where bosoms heaved and cheek was laid to cheek,
And lovers strayed, with hearts too full to speak.
Now oaths and coarse, unmannered jests resound,
And hobnailed shoes, loud clattering, tramp the ground.
. . . . . .
But why lament? what city, tower, or wall
Hath yet escaped the doom of Fate, to fall?
Oh, where is Ilium?—where is Sidon?—Tyre?
Their fallen towers are blended with the mire.
Where Athens too? her ruins are at last
But monuments of her illustrious past.
Tarshish once flourished—Carthage was a town,—
The walls of Rome now live but in renown.
O'er every house, o'er every city gate
Is writ *Fuit Ilium* by the hand of Fate.
. . . . . .
And nations also, they like cities fall:
Lo! look at Persia, Greece, Rome, Spain, yea all.
A few short centuries their glories shone,
Their suns are set—they scarcely now are known.
We mortals, too, but flourish for a day,
We reach our zenith and we then decay;
Decayed, we die,—a few short years slip by,
And in oblivion's tomb unknown we lie.
Across our graves our careless children go,
Nor reck their fathers lie six feet below.
Yea, all must perish, either soon or late,
State, town, or man,—it is the doom of Fate.

Lord Clarendon's account of the Earl of Rochester's visit to Aylesbury has already been given at page 176.

The modern White Hart was built in the year 1814; it shewed a very neat frontage to the street; its elevation was of Bath stone, and it had a good and well-proportioned portico. The materials of the front were portions of Eythorpe House, which was dismantled by Lord Chesterfield. Over the portico was a life-sized white hart, in sculpture, which was a present from Captain Paulett, of Addington House, to Mr. Fowler, the then landlord. The whole premises were pulled down in the year 1864, to make space for the Corn Exchange and market buildings.

THE BULL'S HEAD INN.

The Bull's Head retains at least one of its features of antiquity in a panelled ceiling; this has, however, been so interfered with by the division of a once large apartment into smaller rooms, that its original dimensions can be only traced with difficulty. In an ancient document relating to houses and property south of the Bull's Head Inn, and of later years known as Muddiman's, they are described as adjoining on the north-east the premises of the Saracen's Head. This description would lead to a supposition that the Saracen's Head and the Bull's Head were one and the same, and that the original sign of the Bull's Head was the Saracen's Head. The Saracen's Head cannot now be found, but in a report of Quarter Sessions, held at Aylesbury in 1696, the house is referred to. After the discovery of the assassination plot great activity prevailed amongst officials. The bailiff of Aylesbury had been particularly assiduous in watching the disaffected towards King William. Mr. Hamilton, in his work on Quarter Sessions, thus refers to the then unsettled state of the country :—"We do not find that the peace of the county was broken on this occasion, though some 'cohortes militum" were 'quartiatæ apud Le King and Queen's Head, et apud Le Sarazen's Head apud Aylesbury,' and one or two prisoners were indicted 'quia dixit, utteravit, et loquutus fuit ficta scandalosa malitiosa contemptuosa et mendacia verba, Ad damnum prejudicium scandalum defamacionem et contemptum duorum Justiciorum. Willelmi Busby, Ar., et Francisci Ligo, Ar.' 'Twenty shillings were paid to the bailiff of Aylesbury for his good service to the country in searching for arms suspected to have been lodged or gotten into the custody of disaffected persons for the disturbance of the Government.'"

Amongst the private houses in the town some few specimens of ancient architecture remain, but they are of a very ordinary character; most of them have been so "faced" and altered that they are scarcely to be distinguished from modern erections. It is somewhat singular that the type of antique architecture has been almost exclusively preserved by the inns in the town. For the purposes of general street architecture of the present day the application of any one of our mediæval domestic styles is almost hopeless, not to say impossible, so strongly do modern habits of living, modern ideas of comfort, and modern building regulations militate against the adoption of the forms and qualities that constitute the original characteristics. Street architecture is founded on mere utility; the preservation from fire and other incidents have required certain rules that limit and curb any flights of fancy an architect may be bold enough to project; the limitation to a very small frontage, prohibitions as to the introduction of projections, cornices, eaves, and bays, together with regulations as to windows, and other stipulations, have rendered street architecture little more than a nonentity—lines of brick walls with square holes in them. The neglect of the true principles of art, as practised in former periods, has converted the architect into a mere builder, and no sooner has he finished the shell of the fabric than his office is usurped by the decorator, who, from his inattention

to the principles of composition in any art, relies upon the magic influence of high-sounding names and the never-failing authority of the fashion, and terminates with a heterogeneous mass of gaudy colours, unknown monsters, and figures dotted about in every direction, to the total destruction of anything like architectural meaning or propriety.

In proportion as the public become enlightened, they will become more fastidious, and less capricious,—less tolerant of mediocrity, and more exacting for the display of real artistic quality in all productions which profess to belong to art. As the public comprehend and appreciate the value of the æsthetic in architecture, they will not accept the mere showy tinsel and common-places of design as architectural composition; but in whatever is so called will expect to find character, sentiment, expression, and effect. Then, and not till then, will architecture be fairly reinstated as a fine art,—as such, pursued—as such, encouraged.

Chapter XXXVII.—STREETS,—DERIVATION OF NAMES, &c.

Castle Street—Castle Hill—Common Dunghill—its derivation—Duck End—a ducking place—Wall Bridge—Oxford Road—Green End—Rickford's Hill—Dr. Bates—John Hamilton Mortimer—Broad Street—Rev. John Harris—Parson's Fee—Temple Square—Temple Street—The Cordwainery—The Market Place—improvements in it—Hog Lane—original name—Kingsbury—Ardenham—Ardenham House—Nollekens the sculptor—Back Street—Sir A. Croke—Baker's Lane—Silver Lane—Silver Street—Gallows Road—Stonebridge—Haydon Hill—Holman's Bridge—Upper Hundred—Lower Hundred—Hale Leys—Glassweir Bridge—Bourbon Street—New Road—Places and names now obsolete.

THERE are several streets in the town the names of which require no explanation as to their meaning; thus, Market Street, leading to the Market Place; Walton Street, leading to Walton; Oxford Road, leading to Oxford; and Cambridge Street, to Cambridge, &c. There are other names, which, perhaps, will be better understood after inquiring into their origin or derivation.

CASTLE STREET.

Aylesbury, without doubt, once possessed a Castle, and its situation is pointed out by the name of Castle Street; the precise spot on which the building stood cannot now be traced, nor is there a vestige of it known to exist. Castle Street was formerly divided; the part below the opening to Parson's Fee was called Castle Hill, the upper part, Castle Street. In documents of 100 years ago the name was shorn down to "Cat" Street, but the better taste of later years has restored to it its original title. At one time the whole of the traffic from the Thame district entered the town by way of this street, then one of the most important thoroughfares in it; the steep ascent was to some extent relieved by lowering the crest of the hill, thus the unusual height of the adjoining footways above the level of the road. At this period Oxford Road was utterly impassable for vehicles, and such a slough that no one thought of traversing it; its subsequent improved state affected the traffic of Castle Street, and it being an easier access to the town the heavy traffic was diverted through it.

COMMON DUNGHILL.

The name of Common Dunghill was appended to that part of Oxford Road which is situate at the junction with Whitehill, recently called Whitehall. The name is an ancient one, and was retained up to about the year 1835, at which period it disappears

from the street lists ; it implies a receptacle for all the offal and refuse of the town, and it would appear to have been a very repulsive place. Untidy and dirty it certainly was, but such a state was not occasioned by the existence of a common dunghill there. In dissecting the name, the prefix must first be disposed of. The term "common" has nothing to do with the affix, but is supposed to relate to the neighbourhood. Prior to the inclosure of Aylesbury Field this neighbourhood was to a certain extent open, and termed "Common." Having disposed of the prefix, the term dunghill must now be explained. If to "dung," we add the vowel "e," which has undoubtedly been filched from the name, we then have "dunge-hill"; this is only an instalment, and a more liberal restitution must be made ; to "dunge" must be added "on," and then the original name Dungeon-hill is restored, and is much more applicable than that of "Common Dunghill."

The Castle of Aylesbury has already been adverted to, and without doubt it was situate in the vicinity of the spot described as Common Dunghill. It is well known that every ancient Castle had its dungeon, and Dungeon-hill, or "Donjon-hill," was a kind of private approach to the Castle. It was the road by which prisoners were conducted through the postern or secondary entrance to the donjon, without passing through the principal entrance. Dungeon Lane still exists at Newport Pagnell, near which lane a Castle once stood ; there is also a like place at Odell, in Bedfordshire, which was a private road leading to the Castle of that place. Sir Walter Scott, in "Notes to Marmion," states that the donjon, in its proper signification, means the strongest part of a feudal Castle. The donjon contained the great hall, and the principal rooms of state, and also the prison of the fortress, from which last circumstance we derive the name of dungeon.

DUCK END.

This was in the immediate vicinity of "Common Dunghill," and obtained its name from being the part of the town where the duckers resided ; the numbers of young ducks reared here in former years were enormous. These ducks were to be found in every room of the cottages, and in the season duckers gave up all their time, attention, and house room to the rearing of them, the great secret in the art of duck-rearing being that of obtaining the earliest supply for the London market, the first consignments at some seasons making very high prices. This part of the town was at that period in a very untidy state; stagnant duck pools were sunk in the highways to such an extent as to become a public nuisance. The national affection existing between the Irish peasantry and their pigs was out-done by the parental regard paid by the Aylesbury duckers to their young, or expected young broods of ducks. The Irish pig was only admitted into the parlour, whilst at Aylesbury the duckers gave up their best bedroom to sitting hens* during the period of incubation. It might then be said of Duck End :—

> Dogs, cats, and ducks in mingling groups appear,
> And all that filth can boast of riots here.

* Hens were invariably employed by duckers in the process of incubation of duck eggs.

Another version of the origin of Duck End may be given. It is well known that the Ducking-stool was a vehicle of punishment at Aylesbury, and this part of the town, abounding in water, may have been the place where the operation of ducking was performed. This however is mere supposition.

WALL BRIDGE.

This is the bridge over the stream which crosses the Hartwell Road; it adjoins the Hartwell hedge corner, and marks the division between Aylesbury and Hartwell parishes, and was one of the boundaries of the ancient Corporation of Aylesbury.

GREEN END AND OXFORD ROAD.

Green End is a short street leading from Temple Square to Rickford's Hill and to that part of the town which, before the inclosure of the Common Field, was known as the Green. Oxford Road is a modern title; it includes the length of road which previously had no distinctive name; it is considered to commence at the outlet from Walton Street, go through Rickford's Hill and Duck End, pass Brook Cottage, and proceed towards Thame and Oxford.

RICKFORD'S OR PITCHES' HILL.

This is now called Rickford's Hill, from the long residence of the late Mr. Rickford there. Pitches was the name of an ancient Aylesbury family; a Mr. Pitches at one time resided in Hale Leys, of which property he was the owner. Mrs. Mary Pitches gave the organ to the Parish Church, and accompanied the gift with an annual stipend to support an organist. The name of Pitches still exists, being retained in the Terry family, who are descendants.

The house on this hill, now known as Rickford's, was once occupied by Dr. Bates, who resided there for some years; he died at Little Missenden in 1828, at the advanced age of 98 years. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, became M.D., and about 1758 settled at Aylesbury as a physician. He soon obtained an extensive practice; his polished manners and agreeable vivacity contributed, with his scientific attainments, to render him a general favourite amongst all classes. He married, first, Lydia Catharine, daughter of John Vanhattem, Esq., of Dinton, and sister of Sir John Vanhattem, Knt., by whom he had one son, who died in infancy; his wife also dying in 1766, the Doctor married, secondly, in 1771, Miss Miles, of Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, by whom he had one daughter, who survived him. In 1781 Dr. Bates made an engagement to attend Lord le Despencer as his physician, when that nobleman was about to travel on the Continent for the benefit of his health, and having quitted his professional practice at Aylesbury he was disappointed, not only of any advantages which he might have expected from Lord le Despencer's patronage, but, by his Lordship's death, also of a considerable annuity, which was to have been settled on him for his services. Being in easy circumstances he visited Rome with his daughter, in company with John Flaxman, R.A., the sculptor.

There he enjoyed ample opportunities of correcting and improving his knowledge of the fine arts, to which he had long devoted great attention and had liberally patronised. Dr. Bates was the last survivor of that Society called the Monks of La Trappe, of Medmenham, and, in derision, "The Hell Fire Club." The Doctor repeatedly declared that, excepting the excesses to which the convivialities of the table may be supposed to have sometimes elevated such men as John Wilkes, Charles Churchill, Whitehead, and Bob Lloyd, together with Lord Melcombe Regis, Sir William Stanhope, K.B., Mr. Lovibond, and Richard Hopkins, Esq., its principal members, that association was unjustly stigmatized by some of the scandalous and sarcastic publications of its contemporaries; this testimony is the more valuable, as delivered by a gentleman of unimpeachable honour and veracity, as the Doctor was. The lofty drawing-room at Rickford's was adapted to the reception of a fine collection of paintings and works of art, which Dr. Bates laboured to accumulate. A similar apartment was subsequently erected at his residence at Little Missenden.

With Dr. Bates must be associated John Hamilton Mortimer, who may be designated a local artist. The name of Mortimer appears in the Court Rolls of the Rectory Manor of Aylesbury, but there is no proof that he was ever a settled inhabitant of the town, though there is no doubt he spent a good deal of his time in it, probably as a guest of Dr. Bates, whose house at Rickford's Hill he made his home. John Hamilton Mortimer was born at Eastbourne about the year 1739. His uncle being an artist, he imbibed at a very early period a great inclination for painting, and very soon gained a sufficient proficiency in drawing to render him capable of sketching anything that interested his fancy. In his youth he was much attached to sublime and romantic scenery, which gave his genius a turn for the terrible; and the hordes of savage robbers which abounded on the Sussex coast opened a fine field for his pencil. He became a scholar of Hudson, under whom he acquired but little addition to his natural talent. The Duke of Richmond's gallery afforded him the greatest improvement, being constantly open for the admission of all artists who wished to study from that collection. Cipriam conduced in the kindest manner towards Mortimer's improvement, and used every endeavour to gain him the patronage of the Duke, who invited Mortimer to become a member of his family. His historical picture of "St. Paul converting the Britons" procured him a premium of one hundred guineas, bestowed by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts. Dr. Bates afterwards possessed that picture, and gave it to the Church of High Wycombe. Mortimer's fame being established, he augmented his reputation by his pictures of "Magna Charta," "The Battle of Agincourt," and "Vortigern and Rowena." He became a member of the Society of Artists, when an exhibition was established at the Lyceum in 1769, and, without any application, was appointed Royal Academician, by order of the King. He died in Norfolk Street, Strand, February 4th, 1779; his death, it is said, was accelerated by a fall from his horse. Some of John Hamilton Mortimer's works were in the Stowe Gallery; they consisted of a set of four, the subjects being the progress of Virtue and Vice; these

pictures were painted for Dr. Bates, and at the Doctor's death were sent by his request to the Marquis of Buckingham. At the Stowe sale in 1848, they were purchased for Lord Nugent, at the inadequate sum of £27 6s. the set. The picture presented to the Church of High Wycombe by Dr. Bates is now in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall of that Borough.

PARSON'S FEE.

This "fee" is on the south side of the Church Yard, and forms the thoroughfare connecting Church Street with Castle Street. The meaning of the name is doubtful. There was at one time a "Castle Fee," but its situation is not now known. "Bawd's Fee" was the name of the court or alley running at the back of the Market Place, between the Crown and the Bull's Head Inns. "Fee" is used to imply a compass or circuit of a Lordship or Manor; the term "Lord of the Fee" refers to a feudal tenure. The combination of Manors is also termed a fee; thus we have Brand's Fee, which includes a large tract of land very different in extent to the fees referred to by the like title in Aylesbury. Parson's Fee may have derived its title from property there situate, belonging to the parson or vicar of the parish.

TEMPLE SQUARE AND TEMPLE STREET.

There was at one time a principal house in Aylesbury known as The Temple; its situation cannot now be traced. The name of Temple Square points to the spot where the Temple stood, but the modern acceptation of the origin of Temple Square is that Temple, as a prefix both to the square and the adjoining street, was given as a compliment to the family of the Temple-Grenvilles of Stowe. In old documents Temple Street is referred to as Cobblers' Row, Cordwainers' Street, and the Cordwainery, probably from a congregation of shoemakers residing there; it may be inferred that it was a favourite abode of the disciples of St. Crispin. The more modern name of Temple Street is accounted for in the title accorded to Temple Square.

THE MARKET PLACE.

There can be no doubt whatever that Aylesbury Market Place has at an early period been greatly encroached upon, and that its present area is much less in extent than the original. The thoroughfare leading from Temple Street, at the rear of Market Street, and in a line with the frontage of the King's Head Inn, was, within the memory of some, continued into Kingsbury, opening out exactly opposite the late Black Swan Inn. A house at the junction of this opening with Kingsbury, and which was pulled down some 50 years ago, was of the half-timber and antiquated style, one of the most ancient in the town. There is every probability that when the King's Head was erected it had a full frontage to the Market Place. Following the course, and starting from the late Black Swan, the building line southward directs to the frontages of the Crown and Bull's Head Inns; both these are very old buildings, and at some time formed the frontage of the Market Place on the east side. On the opposite side the same remarks

will apply. The ancient houses in a line from Market Street, with the Dark Lantern Inn, to the Pig Market, without doubt originally faced the Market Place ; thus proofs are ample that on the three sides at least of the Market Place the present front houses are encroachments. If, however, the Square has been encroached upon in its limits, its centre has been thrown open. Space was obtained and improvement made by the formation of the New Road in the year 1826. Prior to that date the present line of houses on the east side was continued towards the Bucks and Oxon Union Bank, until it formed a right angle with the houses then continuing the line from Cambridge Street ; consequently the connection between Kingsbury and Cambridge Street with the Market Place was by a very narrow and inconvenient opening, scarcely wide enough for two vehicles to pass. A further opening was made not only by the removal of the late Market House, but also by the demolition of a large block of very old shops and houses standing in the rear of it, upon the spot now occupied by the Clock Tower.

Great improvements have been made in places of business and shops in the present century. The original "schoppe" was really but a booth constructed of wood, and probably in size or appearance the counterpart of the booths still seen at fairs, or the covered stalls of the old Market Places. In early times, only dealers in the more durable articles, or more valuable commodities, kept shops, homely as they were ; perishable articles, such as fish, bread, vegetables, &c.. were sold in the open air or in shambles, nor was the attendance of the vendors regular at their places of business, but only on such days as it appeared to them their articles were likely to be mostly in demand. Here is the late Mr. Gibbs's description of the shops in the Market Place, Aylesbury, in his young days :—"Since 1810 every shop in the Market Place has been rebuilt or modernised ; prior to that date several of them were altogether unglazed. One of the principal shops situate in the best business part of the Market Place was open only on the Market day, and then for the purposes of a butcher's stall, or shed it might be more properly called, for it had no windows of any kind."

HOG LANE.

The Hog Lane of the present day does not give a favourable idea of what the original Hog Lane was. Its name as now understood implies a congregation of piggeries, a neighbourhood of the residences of hogs. Hog Lane, like Common Dunghill, has suffered from corruptions of its original title. The substraction of two vowels has altogether altered the meaning of the original name of Hog Lane. The High Street in many Dutch towns is still called Houg Laan, and Hog Lane is the name of thoroughfares met with in several English towns in the present day. It is not improbable that Hog Lane was formerly the Houg Laan of Aylesbury, as it leads directly from the neighbourhood where the Castle stood to Kingsbury, which at one time was a most important part of the town. Hog Lane is by no means an uncommon appellation for a street ; there was a Hog Lane at High Wycombe. Crown Street, St. Giles's, London, was at one

period called Hog Lane; in East Smithfield is another Hog Lane, and there is another in Shoreditch. There is also a Hog Lane in the village of Quainton.

KINGSBURY.

Kingsbury, or the King's Borough. Aylesbury, as is well known, was formerly a Royal Manor; it was held by William the Norman, as paramount lord, and it continued a royal possession until the time of King John, who alienated it. The ancient manor house was situate on the upper or north east part of Kingsbury, and extended almost the whole range of it; it has been divided into several tenements.

BACK STREET AND BUCKINGHAM STREET.

Back Street forms the back of Kingsbury, and thus its old name, which has of late been transformed into Buckingham Street. It runs parallel with the east side of Kingsbury, most of the houses of which have access to it. Like other streets in the town it has improved in its general appearance, also in its sanitary conditions. Years ago the Kingsbury occupants made this street the receptacle of their off scourings, and there kept private dungheaps; these heaps were watched with the closest jealousy by their owners, and allowed to accumulate and spread their pestiferous odours until the best price could be made of them, or it suited the convenience of some neighbouring farmers, who were generally the purchasers, to cart them away. Buckingham Street is a continuation of the old Back Street. At the Bucks Infirmary it becomes Buckingham Road, and holds that name until it reaches the part known as New Zealand.

The house in Back Street formerly known as "Turvey's"* is pointed out as the birthplace of Sir Alexander Croke, Knight. Sir Alexander was born at Aylesbury in 1758, as is shown by this extract from the parish register:—"Alexander, son of Alexander Croke, Esq., by Anne, his wife, was baptised 12th August, 1758." At this date his father, who was born at Dinton, was a rated inhabitant of Aylesbury. Alexander, the younger, was a Gentleman Commoner, of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1776; a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1786; of Oriel College again in 1794; B.C.L. and D.C.L. in 1797; Advocate in the College of Laws in 1798; Treasurer of the Inner Temple, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1801; President *pro temp.*, 1808; resigned office, 1815; was knighted by H.R.H. George, Prince Regent, in 1816; and died in 1842. The residence of the Croke family at Aylesbury was not of long duration; they were of the Studley branch. Alexander (the father), upon succeeding to the Studley Priory estate, granted to one of his ancestors upon the dissolution of the monastic institutions in the reign of Henry VIII., left the town; he died in 1777, and was buried at Chilton.

BROAD STREET.

This is the old-fashioned name of the street; it is now better known by its more modern appellation of Church-street, it being the principal approach to the Parish Church.

* The house now the property of, and in the occupation of, Mr. John Turner.

The Charities of the town are strongly represented in this street, the Trustees of John Bedford, Thomas Hickman, and the Free Grammar School having property situate in it. The last officiating Presbyterian Minister in the town, the Rev. John Harris, resided here.* He was well known as a literary character, a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a frequent contributor to the leading periodicals of his day, and a controversialist. He was the son of a respectable tradesman in London, and descended from persons of good repute. He received from Homerton Academy, instruction, preparatory to entering upon the ministerial office, and on the 22nd of October, 1777, was ordained at Aylesbury as pastor over the congregation of protestant dissenters worshipping at Hale Leys. He was on intimate terms with John Hamilton Mortimer, the artist, who then resided at Aylesbury, and of whose life he wrote a memoir. Mr. Harris died on December 1st, 1829, in Wilmington Square, London, at the age of 76 years, having long retired from the ministry. He maintained throughout his whole life a singularly amiable character for humility, simplicity, suavity of manner, kind and charitable feelings, and unostentatious piety, and was, it may be added with truth, sincerely respected by his neighbours and acquaintances, Churchmen as well as dissenters. A branch of the ancient Croke family of Studley also once resided in this street.† A William Croke, gent., was an inhabitant of Aylesbury, in the year 1750; his nephew, Alexander Croke, Esq., subsequently resided in Back Street. Thomas Hickman, the founder of Hickman's Charity, resided in this street; his residence was the first house on the east side.

ARDENHAM HILL.

Ardenham Hill Field is now built over; it was many years ago known as "Aldnum Field," afterwards "Brook's Field." The name of Ardenham is handed down by the residence on the west side of the Bicester Road being called Ardenham House. Ard, or aird, is a height, a promontory, the crown of an acclivity, and is met with as a prefix in the names of several Scottish towns, situated on elevated spots.

Peter Kennedy, Esq., M.D., who for a long period resided at Aylesbury, died at Ardenham House in the year 1807. He was a native of Ireland, but received his education on the Continent, where he acquired a perfect knowledge of the French and Italian languages, which he spoke with fluency and precision. After residing at Rome for a considerable time, he came to England, and settled at Aylesbury, where he continued to reside until his death. He married, first, the widow of Mr. Samuel Shrimpton, of Chipping Wycombe; his second wife was the sister of Sir David Williams, Bart., of Sarratt, Herts, and on the death of the doctor she re-married with the Rev. Israel Bull. As a companion, Dr. Kennedy's society was entertaining and his temper cheerful. Blessed with a handsome competency, and fond of retirement, he did not seek extensive practice, but was at all times forward in affording professional assistance free to the poor

* In the house now the property of, and occupied by, the author of this work.

† At the house now the property of, and occupied by, Major Horwood.

and afflicted. Previous to the residence of Dr. Kennedy at Ardenham House, it had been occupied by a Mrs. Welsh, to whom it belonged ; she was a maiden lady in good circumstances, and a member of the Roman Catholic Church ; she was sister-in-law to the famous sculptor Nollekens. Mrs. Welsh possessed a highly-cultivated mind, and to her good taste is ascribed some excellent internal decorations of this house. The correct style in its elevation is due to Nollekens, from whose designs it was erected. The original ceilings in the principal rooms in the house, which were richly ornamented, but are now plain, were his productions. Nollekens was born in London, in 1737. He was placed under Scheemakers, the sculptor, on leaving whom he went to Italy, and studied there some time under Ciavetti. While at Rome, he gained a gold medal from the Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and, on his return to England in 1770, became a Royal Academician, executed many works of great beauty, and was so extensively employed, particularly on busts, that he realized a fortune of £200,000. Nollekens was chiefly distinguished by his careful and accurate imitation of nature, and by the absence of a peculiarity of manner. He was a great favourite with George III., and possessed many strange traits of character, of which his inordinate love of money was not the least. He died in 1823.

GALLOWS ROAD AND GALLOWS CORNER.

These names speak for themselves ; the road led to the corner, which was the old place assigned for the execution of criminals. The road is now known as the Bicester Road. Gallows corner is about a quarter of a mile from the town, on the west side of the road ; it was here the gallows was situated prior to the erection of the new drop in front of the County Hall. The gallows, as a permanent structure, stood here before the open field was inclosed ; its position affected the line of hedging, and formed a corner ; thus its name. The deviation of the hedgerow marks the exact spot where so many miserable creatures met with violent deaths under the severe laws of our forefathers.

STONE BRIDGE.

Stannebridge, or Stone Bridge, is the bridge on the Bicester Road ; this was another Corporation boundary ; it is sometimes called Gallows Bridge, a name derived from the same source as the two preceding ones.

HAYDON HILL.

Haydon Hill is supposed to have derived its name from the Scandinavian Ha, high, simply the high hill, either as compared with another of inferior elevation or as being comparatively high in reference to the surrounding district. Haydon Hill is where the Aylesbury races were usually held ; it once formed a portion of the Pakington estate. The inhabitants of Aylesbury formerly claimed a right of pasturage for their cattle on Haydon Hill at a nominal rate, and there was a good deal of contention between them and the Pakington family on the subject. If the inhabitants ever had any such right they have been deprived of it.

HOLMAN'S BRIDGE.

This bridge has had a multiplicity of names,—Holman's Bridge, Homany Bridge, Hollyman's Bridge, Yomany's Bridge, Woman's Bridge; it may be that its original name was Holy-man's Bridge; it is the bridge on the Buckingham Road, and was one of the boundaries of the old Corporation. The present bridge is a modern structure. The ford over which this bridge is now built is probably the one referred to in the legend of Ulfric the Anchorite, who was immovably fixed in the water until Brithic, the Vicar, sprinkling him with holy water, saved him, and brought him on to Aylesbury. It was in the immediate vicinity of this bridge that the Battle of Aylesbury was fought in 1642, between Prince Rupert and Sir William Balfore, wherein Sir William obtained a victory, of which a detailed account has already been given.

BAKER'S LANE.

The only explanation that can be given as to the origin of the name is that the lane was occupied by a number of bakers. It was customary formerly for persons in the same business to congregate in clusters, and thus the origin of the names of streets bearing trade names, and we have Baker's Lane, Cobbler's Row, Butcher's Row, and the like.

UPPER AND LOWER HUNDRED.

The Hundred was a guild of 100 freemen, just as Tithing was a guild of ten. This system left not a single person in the realm who did not, either directly or indirectly, give some kind of security to the State for his good behaviour—except outlaws. The responsibility of the guild is mentioned as early as the 7th century, and can be traced downwards to the time when it had become an elaborate system of police, and the institution went by the name of "Frank-pledge." The Hundred is without doubt one of the most ancient titles in the town, and has existed a great many years. The name Upper Hundred infers a Lower Hundred; there was such a place. The "colony" known as the Lower Hundred was an isolated clump of cottages which were entirely swept away by the introduction of the Aylesbury Branch Railway; the exact spot on which the Lower Hundred stood cannot now be pointed out, but it must be very near the site of the passengers' station of the London and North-Western Railway. The Lower Hundred was approached by an occupation road then running directly through the Upper Hundred from Cambridge Street, and there were also several footways across Hale Leys, which led to it.

HALE LEYS.

These Leys have almost disappeared, but the name is retained by the Hale Leys Congregational Church, also by a new street named Hale Street. Hale Leys in their entirety formed a very pleasant meadow, intersected by several public footpaths leading to Walton, the Lower Hundred, Stock Lake, and in other directions; their contiguity to the centre of the town occasioned them to be the resort, in the summer time, of a great concourse

of young people ; indeed, they were used as a recreation ground, and were so much taken possession of as probably to be of greater service to the general public than profitable to the occupying tenant. The formation of the New Road destroyed Hale Leys. The name Hales frequently occurs in the early history of the town ; the family was probably one of some influence, and it is from them the Hale Leys, or Hales' Leys, obtained their name. Hale Leys may have been formerly connected with some ancient religious establishment, and thus have derived the name from Halig, holy.

GLASSWEIR BRIDGE.

This bridge divides the town from the hamlet of Walton, and was generally called "Glazier's Bridge." It is adjoining the Walton Brewery, and was one of the old Corporation boundaries, the hamlet of Walton not being included in the borough. Of late years this has been known as Walton Bridge, as distinct from the Bear-Brook Bridge.

BOURBON STREET.

The original name of this thoroughfare was Water Street, subsequently Water-house Street, originating from the Waterhouse connected with the brewery being situate here ; it has also been termed Brewer Street. The Waterhouse had a cistern on the summit, into which water was raised from the Friarage brook by horse-power ; it was from this house the original water supply of the town was obtained. The name of Bourbon Street is modern ; the street was so named in remembrance of the residence of the Bourbon family at Hartwell House. The adventures of Louis XVIII. will show his career to have been one in which adversity could teach her best lessons. He escaped with Count d'Araray from the tumultuous convulsions of Paris in 1791 ; succeeded as nominal king on the death of his ill-fated nephew in 1795 ; was expelled the Venetian territories, and wounded by an assassin's shot in 1796 ; sought and obtained refuge in Russia in 1798, but was ordered to quit the Muscovite dominion in 1801, public affairs rendering his personal safety precarious.

Louis landed at Yarmouth in October, 1807, and eventually took up his residence at Hartwell House with his suite. The retinue of the Queen also, which consisted of 70 persons, was afterwards added to the establishment. These, as well as the King's party, together with their very numerous attendants and servants, were all quartered on the Hartwell premises, where they were occasionally visited by the other French princes and exiled nobles. The residents in the house and grounds generally numbered about 140 ; but they sometimes exceeded 200. So numerous a party required such extensive accommodation that the halls, gallery and larger apartments of the House were ingeniously divided and sub-divided into suites of rooms and closets, in some instances to the great disorder and confusion of the mansion. Every outhouse, and each of the ornamental buildings in the park that could be rendered capable of decent shelter, were densely occupied ; and it was curious to see how the second and third class occupants

stowed themselves away in the attics of the house, converting one room into several by an adaptation of light partitions. On the ledges and in the bows of the roof they formed gardens, which were stocked with plants, shrubs, and flowers, in boxes, and they moreover kept fowls and pigeons there, so that the superstructure was loaded with many extra tons of weight. All was well-conducted and cheerful, and in the evenings there was much mirth, music, and dancing kept up by those attendants who resided at the cottages around.

At Hartwell, Louis led so retired a life that little was known of him beyond the limits of the mansion. Whenever he met any persons in the grounds he always returned their salute by taking off his hat, and he would hold a conversation in tolerably good English. The style in which he lived was unostentatious, and very suitable to the rank he assumed, of Count. His Majesty, family, and suite, about 25 in number, generally dined together in the large dining-room; and once in each third week the inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages were allowed to walk round the table during the repast, entering at one door and retiring by another, in conformity with the custom of the French Court. The regular drawing-room being occupied as an apartment for sleeping and sitting in, by the Prince and Princess de Condé on their visits, the library was used as its substitute, with the King's sofa raised on a little daïs, or eminence, and here he used to see company and hold small levées; but his Majesty's own rooms were the study and its adjoining strong closet next the portico of the southern front.

Early in November, 1810, the Countess de Lille died at Hartwell House; she was the consort of Louis XVIII.; there was a grand lying-in-state at Hartwell prior to a funeral procession, which passed through Aylesbury to Westminster Abbey. In 1813 Louis issued an address from Hartwell, calling on the French nation to throw off the yoke of the usurper.

When Louis was in ill-health, Mass was celebrated in the dining-room, the altar being placed at the east end; and here occurred one of the gravest incidents in his eventful life. On Lady-day, 1814, the royal family were at prayers, and Madame Gonet, an English lady, married to one of the royal suite, was seated near the middle window, which commands a view of the road leading from the lodge. On a sudden she perceived two post-chaises, each drawn by four horses, rapidly approaching the house, with white flags displayed, a sight which provoked an exclamation from her, in spite of the general solemnity of the room. These carriages contained certain Deputies from Bordeaux, who brought intelligence that the Duc d'Angouleme had entered that city with Marshal Beresford's division of the English army, which had been received with enthusiasm; that the white cockade was displayed; and that Louis XVIII. was proclaimed. Hardly was the excitement occasioned by these most joyous tidings moderated, ere Captain Slaughter, of the Royal Navy, conducted another party of Deputies to Hartwell, whom he had received off Dunkirk into the Archer sloop-of-war, charged to solicit the exile to return and take possession of his throne and kingdom.

These gentlemen were ushered into the library, and the King there signed the celebrated document said to have been suggested by the supple Talleyrand, stating that he accepted and would observe the Constitution of France.

During the King's residence at Hartwell, it is reported, he received an allowance of £20,000 a year from the British Government; that sum, it is stated, was divided, thus, £14,000 to his Majesty and £6,000 to the Duc d'Angouléme. The inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Aylesbury were greatly benefited by the sale of provisions required to meet the increased consumption at Hartwell House, and the tradespeople were much gratified by the patronage they received from the Royal establishment.

On the King's triumphant departure from Hartwell, April 20th, 1814, in passing the County Hall at Aylesbury, he was greeted with the sight of the white flag waving on its summit; and a large concourse of people from all the adjacent parts made the air resound with hearty cheers. At the entrance to the town from Hartwell the horses were detached from the carriage, and the populace drew his Majesty through the principal streets. The procession halted at the County Hall, and the following address was presented by the people of Aylesbury to the French monarch:—

"*To His Most Christian Majesty Louis XVIII., King of France and Navarre.*

"May it please your Majesty,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of Aylesbury, beg respectfully to offer you our sincere and heartfelt congratulations on the happy restoration to your Majesty of your own personal rights and dominion, which, by lawless usurpation, have been so long withheld from your Majesty. We look forward with confidence that the painful wound which has been for so many years inflicted on suffering Europe will, under your Majesty's parental government, be healed, and returning peace restore, to France and Europe, commerce, wealth, and prosperity. And that your Majesty may long enjoy happiness in the bosom of your people, and unanimity and friendship for ever cement France and Great Britain, is the fervent prayer of your Majesty's devoted, obedient, and most humble servants."

To this the King returned the following gracious answer:—

"Gentlemen,—I thank you for your kind and friendly address. I partake of all your sentiments, especially those that are relative to a union between the two nations, which I hope will, henceforth, be solid and durable. Be assured, gentlemen, that in the recollection of my long wanderings, my stay amongst you will be one of the most soothing."

Some of the King's leave-takings were very affectionate; he must have been a gallant. It reads strange to us of the present day to find that this Royal personage on quitting the neighbourhood and taking a farewell of the towns-folk should have ordered his carriage to halt at Miss Turner's Seminary in Parsons' Fee, where he saluted all the young ladies. The Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., also gave each lady a parting kiss. Many gentlemen of the local yeomanry cavalry escorted Louis along the London Road to Stanmore, where he was met on the steps of the Abercorn Arms Hotel by the

Prince Regent of England. Several of the residents of Aylesbury accompanied the Royal suite all the way to London, and when the King embarked for Calais many of the English nobility took leave of him at Dover. A small but substantial relic of the stay of the French family at Hartwell still exists ; it is the annual interest on an investment of £100, the proceeds of an auction sale of surplus furniture and effects held when the family left. The recipients of this bequest are the poor of Hartwell and Stone.

SILVER LANE AND SILVER STREET.

Silver Lane was originally known as Butcher Row ; the derivation of Silver 'as added to the Lane and Street cannot be traced, but the name has longer been attached to the Lane than to the Street. Silver Street in old deeds is called Back Street.

THE NEW ROAD.

The name implies that it is a modern one. This road was completed in the year 1826, prior to which, Walton Street was the only highway leading out of the town by the south. The road to Tring formerly diverged from the Wendover Road, at the public-house known as the New Inn, passed along by Turn Furlong, and opened out near Broughton Pastures; the New Road, being direct, shortened the distance into the centre of the town.

NAMES OF PLACES NOW OBSOLETE, OR NEARLY SO.

Paginton's Barns, without doubt, once belonged to the Pakington family; no trace of where they were situate is to be found ; they are often referred to in transfers of Aylesbury properties.

Churchway.—In a deed relating to property in the Market Place, it is described as abutting on the Churchway leading from Hale Leys to the Market; this would refer to the thoroughfare now known as " Bull's Head Alley."

The Shambles.—In the Pig Market stood an ugly building constructed of boards and tiled, and called the " Shambles." It was used on some days in the week by pork butchers, and on market days by the pig dealers; it was open to the public in front ; when not used for the purposes of business, it was the lounge of idlers and disorderly people, and was a public nuisance ; its removal added considerably to the improvement of the neighbourhood.

The Cage.—This was a miserable lock-up for the detention of prisoners previous to commitment by the magistrates; notwithstanding it was not a fit place to put a dog in, men were at times confined in it for days together. After the discontinuance of flogging at the cart's tail, this was where the public flogging of criminals took place. The Cage stood somewhere near the present Clock Tower.

Debtors' Fee.—This was the space in front of the County Hall now inclosed by iron posts, and known as the gaol stones. Persons imprisoned for debt were allowed to leave the gaol and take exercise within this limited area.

The Stock House is the covered passage leading in a direct line from the Market Place to Silver Street and Silver Lane. The supposed derivation of the name is that it was where the poor were formerly paid—the poor fund was then termed "town stock;" or it may have retained its Saxon name—Stock, a place.

Water Lane was the name of the narrow part of Oxford Road near the junction with Friarage Path. It was called Water Lane to distinguish it from Water Street, now Bourbon Street.

The name of Old Court is altogether extinct; it was the title to some meadows on the Bicester Road, immediately adjoining the grounds of the Bucks Infirmary; the Old Hall disappeared many years ago, and the meadows are now covered with new houses.

Dell's Mount was the piece of ground on which Dell's Mount Place now stands, together with Buckingham Villas, the new Primitive Methodist Chapel, &c. It belonged to the Dell family, and thus its name.

Fell's Mount is situate in the Oxford Road, an elevated piece of ground on the east side; it was called Fell's from an occupier of that name; it is usually termed The Mount. It forms a portion of the Bedford Trust property.

Bull Close is now mostly built over; it was originally a part of the Manor property, and its name has reference to an old manorial custom. Granville Street, leading from St. Mary's to the Buckingham Road, passes through the centre of what was formerly Bull Close. Bull Pond was at the north corner of this Close.

In the account of the Rectory Manor, reference is made to the Round House built by Mr. Wilkes. No remnant of such building now exists, nor is the spot known where it stood, but it must have been within the boundaries of the Rectory Manor; probably its site was in Green End or Oxford Road. The term "Round House" is often applied to a lock-up or temporary prison. Offenders were confined in these places until it was found convenient to take them before the magistrates for hearing. The Round House may have been the lock-up or prison attached to the Rectory Manor, the Lord of a Manor being bound to supply such prisons within his jurisdiction.

The following names of places are met with in ancient parish rate-books and old documents. Many cannot now be traced; several of the agricultural ones appertained to parts of Aylesbury Field before the Inclosure:—Wilcot's Land, Meadley's Close, Bassett's, Brewers' Plat, Anthony's Leys, St. John's Mead, Bass' Willows, Gibbs' Close, Bevan's Moor, Castle Mead, Foxholes, Aldnam Field, Twivy-dale, The Neat, Common Field, Norman's Hook, Gallow's Field, White Hart Acre, Saines Leys, Chole Meadow, The Porch House, The Flint, Montague's Piece, Mill Mead, Pesthouse Place, Welch's Mount, Town's End, Shirley's Mead, Fryer's Mead, Paradise Pond, The Temple, Cow Mead, Long Will Beds, Marsh Leys, The White Angel, Cut Furlong, Lower Hangings,

Moor Furlong, Neat Field, Durfield Furlong, Hangles, Trotty's Butts, Broughton Mead, Hougan Ford, Haydon Field, Heydon Wey, Middle Field, Medley's Pightle, Powle Hook, Balkey Lane, Holy Thorn, Black Furlong, Marsh Leys, Homermost Furlong, Water Furlong, Lang Furlong, Quarndon Brigge, Wigon's Plat, Nurton's Mead, Bruin's Moor, The Catharine Wheel, The Blue Ball, Castle Street Farm, The Beakers, Well Close, The Soap House, Brassbridges, Digamoor, Orphan Close, Methirks, The Blue Boar, Brill's Coffee House, Castle Fee, Windmill Field, Bawd's Fee, Heydon Mead, The Red Angel.

Chapter XXXVIII.—NONCONFORMIST PLACES OF WORSHIP.

Nonconformity—what it teaches—Religious persecutions—Fifth Monarchy men—Corporation Act—Conventicle Act—Bucks Quarter Sessions Records—Ancient Meeting Houses—Hale Leys Chapel—The Presbyterians—their endowment—The Independents—old chapel—new Congregational Church—Castle Street Chapel—Burial Ground attached—memorial stones there—Baker's Lane Chapel—The Baptists—Persecutions at Aylesbury—Buckinghamshire Baptists—Walton Chapel—Friends' Meeting House—persecutions of Friends—The Modern Friends—The Wesleyan Chapel—John Wesley—First Wesleyans at Aylesbury—The Primitive Methodist Chapel—Primitive Methodists—The Gospel Hall—Plymouth Brethren.

NONCONFORMITY teaches that every national ecclesiastical establishment is a creature of State policy, though some retain more genuine Christianity in their composition than others; that the less in any of them of human invention, the better are they calculated to promote the important designs of religion as to the world, which civil governors should solely regard, namely, peace, order, benevolence, and good morals. Further, that real and not State religion can alone produce what respects another life—humility towards God, purity of heart, and rational, manly, sublime devotion; that institutions merely human are not calculated to advance, but commonly tend to subvert true piety, with all its genuine effects and glorious energies. Our Saviour expressly declared to His disciples, "My kingdom is not of this world," by which it is contended that His religion consisted in a subjection of the heart and soul to the will of His Heavenly Father; thus a proof that it may exist without deriving any support or encouragement from human power and authority. Nonconformity further enjoins that while worldly establishments in an age of reason may fall, and that to the advantage of genuine Christianity, which will still exist and triumph, religious worship in some form or other will constantly find support, and that when the State gives no preference to one above another, truth will be most likely to prevail.

Religious persecution was rampant during the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, nor were the periods of the Commonwealth and Protectorate free from the like stigma. Sectaries were given to persecution. Whether Prelacy or Puritanism prevailed, those who differed from the party in power were subject to oppression. Protestants were persecuted by Queen Mary, Roman Catholics by Elizabeth, Nonconformists by all. It

will be sufficient for present purposes to go back in history no farther than the year 1645, when the mad attempts of the Fifth Monarchy men furnished a pretext to harass Nonconformists. Cromwell dispersed these men in 1653, but there was a more formidable rising of them in 1661, under the leadership of a desperate enthusiast named Thomas Venner. After this rising a proclamation was issued, by which Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth Monarchy men were forbidden to assemble together under pretence of worshipping God, except in parochial churches or places connected therewith; all meetings in any other places being declared unlawful and riotous, Mayors and peace officers were commanded to search for conventicles and cause persons attending them to be bound over to appear at the following Quarter Sessions.

Nonconformists, finding themselves held up as dangerous and seditious subjects, and deprived of their rights as Christians, thought it proper to vindicate their character and publicly to disown all participation in Venner's insurrection, or any cognizance whatever of it. This was done by the Independents, Baptists, and Friends respectively, in addresses to their rulers and fellow subjects. But as pretence was wanted for justifying the intended rigour against all sectaries alike, these vindications, satisfactory as they were to impartial judges, did not produce the desired effect. In the year 1661 the Corporation Act was passed. This law enacted that all persons elected to offices in Corporations should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, &c., and should have received the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England, within one year next before such election. Nonconformists were thus at once excluded from the magistracy and rendered incapable of serving their country, even in the lowest civil offices.

In the year 1664, followed the Conventicle Act, which condemned all persons refusing to attend church, to banishment. If five persons other than the household met under any pretence of exercising any form of religion other than that of the Church of England, they were liable to banishment for seven years, or a fine of £100, and, in case of return, adjudged felons and subject to death. Justices and peace officers were empowered to break up and dissolve all conventicles, and to take into custody those attending them, if they thought fit. Any person preaching in a conventicle incurred a penalty of £20 for the first offence and £40 for the second. If the preacher could not be caught, or was unable to pay the sum due from him, it might be levied on any persons who were present at his preaching. Anyone appealing to the Court of Quarter Sessions, and failing in his appeal, was to be condemned in treble costs. Any officer neglecting to perform his duty in enforcing the Act was liable to a penalty—in the case of a constable or churchwarden, £5; a justice of the peace, £100. Nonconformist ministers could not come within five miles of any city or corporation, or teach in any schools, or receive pupils; this was under the Oxford, or Five Mile Act, which received the Royal assent on the 31st October, 1665. Notwithstanding these severities Nonconformity increased.

The Bucks County records relating to the Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Queen

Anne show an active Protestant, if not Puritan spirit among the authorities as well as the common people, as might be expected in the county of Hampden and Fleetwood. Some "conventiclers" and sectaries were of course indicted, as the law required, but the greatest severity was reserved for *Papales Recusantes*, Popish Recusants, or, more briefly, *Po. Rec.* At Epiphany, 1678, 55 persons were indicted as such offenders, and proclamation made that if they did not "render their bodyes" to the Sheriff before the next sessions they would be convicted as Popish recusants, and special process ordered to go out against them. Persons of good family, such as Sir John and Lady Fortescue, Sir Robert Throckmorton, and others, were indicted in a similar manner. But about 1682 special attention was directed to Protestant "absenters from Church." Many scores of such were indicted. An order was made that no constable was to be appointed without inquiry "who is y^e^ most fittest person for that office, and particularly of his conformity to the Church." Another order directed all churchwardens, overseers, constables, and other officers "to diligently inquire, observe, and take notice of all conventicles," and to present the names of all persons attending them. This order was to be read in every church once a quarter. The Clerk of the Peace was directed to wait upon the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, "to intreat his Lordship's favour from this Court, that he might give positive directions to his subordinate officers, that they for the future take special care there be good churchwardens in every parish in this county, that are good Churchmen and well affected to the Government." At Midsummer, 1683, after the Rye House Plot, the Court ordered that an address be made to his Majesty from the Justices of the Peace, "to show their sincere joy for the preservation of his sacred person from a most wicked and horrid conspiracy against the precious lives of his Majesty and his royal brother James Duke of York, and to show their detestation and abhorrence to all plots, conspiracys and associations whatsoever against his Majesty or his government, either in Church or State." It was also ordered "that noe person or persons whatsoever but what are Loyall and well affected to the Government be lycensed to sell Ale, Beer, &c." Many more persons were indicted and fined for attending conventicles; and the gaoler, Mr. Birtch, the governor of the Aylesbury prison, not only lost his place, but was fined £5 for suffering some Quakers committed by the Court to go at large.

Upon the discovery of the Rye House Plot addresses were sent to the King not only from the Grand Jury of Bucks, but also from the inhabitants of Aylesbury, the principal inhabitants of the ancient Borough and Parish of Wendover, the Corporations of Wycombe and Buckingham, and the inhabitants of Great Marlow. All these addresses were couched in like terms, that from Aylesbury being the most servile in expression:—

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble address of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks.

"DREAD SOVEREIGN,—It was easie to foresee a rebellion hatching under the wings

of the Popish plot by the constant seditious practices of Dissenting parties and other ill men; and, doubtless, ere this time the cockatrice had come to perfection had not your Majesty's vigilent care and wise conduct given frequent interruptions. But so inhumane and hellish a conspiracy lately discovered sure never entered into the hearts of men till these devils in flesh pitched upon it (we tremble and with the utmost detestation recount it) to assassinate your sacred Majesty, your dear and only brother the illustrious Duke of York, to raise a horrible rebellion in a moment to fill your kingdoms with blood and confusion. Oh! the dismal consequences of that day had the enormous villany prevailed! But God, who by many signal instances hath manifested His special care for His anointed, hath, by His never-to-be-forgotten providence, miraculously delivered your Sacred Majesty and Royal brother, and, in your persons, all your good subjects (whose lives were and are bound up in yours) from the hell-plotted machinations of bloodthirsty and deceitful men. Wherefore, with joyful hearts we adore and magnifie God for this His wonderful mercy, and we pray unto Him to continue His wonted protection to your Majesty, your illustrious brother, and your kingdom, and to strengthen your Majesty's hands to destroy the roots and seeds of this infernal plot (which we humbly conceive to have been first planted and sowed in seditious conventions by what higher influence soever since watered and cultivated), that the wickedness of the wicked may come to an end, to the more firm establishment of your Majesty's crown and dignity, and to the unity and peace of the church and kingdom. And here we humbly crave leave to renew our solemn engagement of our lives and all that is dear unto us to defend your Majesty's sacred person, your heirs, and successors, and your excellent government, both in Church and State, as by law established; and with most loyal hearts we do assure your Majesty that no factious insinuations of causeless fears and jealousies, by pretended patriots or others, under what pretence soever, shall move us from these fixed and sincere resolutions of your Majesty's most obedient and loyal subjects."

In the records of the Bucks Midsummer Sessions of 1689 there are long lists of persons who took the oaths and brought in the certificates required by the acts "for removing and preventing all Questions and Disputes concerning the Assembling and Sitting of this Parliament," "for abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other oaths, &c.," for "preventing Papists from sitting in Parliament," and for "exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalty of certain Laws." These lists seem to comprise all the justices, all the clergy, and all the Nonconformist ministers in the county, besides many other individuals. The sheriff at this time was William Fleetwood, a descendant of the Parliamentary general, whose seat was in the parish of Chalfont St. Giles. An immense number of dwelling-houses were at the same time certified to be public meeting-houses for "Religious Worship."

At the next sessions many meeting-houses were certified for religious worship "for the People called Quakers." Entries of this kind are very frequent in the following Sessions, but no toleration was extended to "Popish Recusants," who continued to be presented, though not in very large numbers. Some of them were gentlemen of position in the county, such as Sir Robert Throckmorton, Sir Edward Longueville, John Webbe, and Charles Dormer, Esquires, of Great Missenden. The two latter were formally convicted, but the sentence is not recorded, and in the next year a warrant was received

from the Attorney-General directing the Clerk of the Peace to enter a *cesset processus* upon their conviction.

At Michaelmas, 1691, twelve "Popish Recusants" were fined £40 each, and two others £20 each. And at the following Sessions sixteen persons were fined £20 each for the same offence. It is not found that any person of quality applied to have his dwelling certified for religious worship, except Philip, Lord Wharton, who registered his "Mancon House at Wooburn." Wooburn, the famous seat of the Whartons, is now in the occupation of Mr. Gilbey.

The Court was informed that certain persons, under pretence of being Dissenting Preachers, "had presumed to disturb and inveigh against the Church of England," and had "kept night assemblies, and imposed oaths upon persons that they had received into their Church or Communion to oblige them not to depart from their principles, especially in the parish of Olney." At Midsummer, 1706, the Justices had received orders from the Privy Council to make a strict inquiry respecting all "Papists and reputed Papists, their qualities, estates, and places of abode," and committees were appointed for each Hundred to carry out this business. It is possible that the Ministers thought it well to make a display of Protestant zeal while they were carrying on negotiations for the Union with the Presbyterians of Scotland.

A few of the old-fashioned Nonconformist meeting-houses still exist in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury. There is the building at Waddesdon Hill, erected by a former Mr. Cox, of Cranwell, with its antiquated horse-block, referring us to times when the roads were in so bad a state that travelling by vehicles was an impossibility, and if the wife attended her husband to a far distant place of worship like Waddesdon Hill, it was by mounting behind him on a pillion. There are also the Baptist Chapel at Ford, erected in 1715, and a few others.

These old religious houses must be interesting objects to Nonconformists of the present day. Benjamin Keach's Meeting-house is still standing at Winslow, and it is one of the few remaining ancient Puritan places of worship in an original state. The isolated situation of this building was probably not accidental, but selected for the personal safety of those who worshipped there. We cannot, in the present state of religious freedom, picture in our minds the dangers attendant on worshipping God in a conventicle two centuries ago. The privacy of these more ancient meeting-houses served a good purpose, for harmless Nonconformists were frequently hunted about as though they were pernicious vermin. It was requisite for them to take every measure to conceal their intentions as to their meetings; they assembled in small numbers; often shifted from place to place; met late in the evenings or early in the mornings; when their dwellings joined they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses; they sometimes had private passages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the minister, who was obliged to

dress in disguise, except when discharging his office. In country towns and villages the ministers were admitted through backyards and gardens into the houses, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passers by; for the same reason they never sang praises in their devotions; and the preacher was placed in such an inward part of the house that his voice might not be heard in the public streets; the doors were always kept locked, and a sentinel placed near, to give alarm. Notwithstanding all these precautions, spies and false brethren crept in amongst them, their assemblies were frequently interrupted, and great sums extorted from them by fines or compositions. This state of affairs explains why some of the old Nonconformist meeting-houses are frequently met with in isolated and secluded situations.

HALE LEYS CHAPEL.

The Hale Leys Chapel was erected, or transformed into a place of worship, in the year 1707, by the Presbyterians, in whose hands it remained for 109 years. This denomination, the name of which is derived from the Greek word *presbuteros* (elder), signifies a body governed by the united presbyters, or elders, of the Churches. They stand distinguished, on the one hand from those who plead for the distinct order of diocesan bishops, with authority to rule both presbyters and people, and, on the other, from such as maintain the right of every Christian congregation to regulate its own affairs by the voice of the brethren.

The advocates of Presbyterianism insist on the supposed Scriptural evidences for the parity of ministers, the identity of bishops and presbyters, the authority of the latter to ordain other ministers, the right of elders to rule, without asking the consent of the brethren, and the subordination of each congregation to a higher tribunal or synod. The Presbyterians as a body date from the year 1572. At Aylesbury they dwindled until there were so few worshippers that their connexion could not longer be sustained; still the remainder clung with tenacity to their old place of worship, and it is on record that one of the female members of the Society was so determined to hold possession of the place that she slept in the building, and was only removed from it by force, her bed and herself being carried out together. The last Presbyterian minister officiating at Aylesbury was the Rev. John Harris, to whom reference has been made in a previous chapter. There was a small endowment enjoyed by the Presbyterians, which passed with the building. This endowment was secured under the will of Mary Cockman, of Aylesbury, spinster, who died in January, 1734-5. She devised to Thomas Sheen, the elder, John Wilson, Jacob Dell, and William Williams, all of Aylesbury, "a close called Saines Leys Close, in this parish, containing 13 acres, a piece of arable land called the Gallow's Piece, in the Gallow's field, in this parish, near the road leading to Bicester, for 99 years; that the said trustees, &c., during that term apply all the monies arising from the rents, &c., of the premises in the following manner, viz., £5 per annum, to the Rev. James

Throgmorton, their minister, or any other succeeding minister of the Presbyterian or Independent persuasion exercising the ministerial office in Aylesbury; and a further sum of £5 per annum to such poor people of Aylesbury as the said trustees should think to have most need thereof, and the residue to her nephew William James, his heirs, &c., to whom she devised the premises after the expiration of the aforesaid term." No congregation of Presbyterians remaining in Aylesbury, this income of £5 per annum was paid over to the Rev. William Gunn, he being the officiating minister in the old Presbyterian Meeting-house at Hale Leys, and £5 per annum was also paid to Mr. John Rolls, of Walton Grove, Aylesbury, one of the Hale Leys congregation, which was expended in the purchase of coals, and distributed by him at Christmas in each year to poor persons worshipping at Hale Leys, the objects of the charity being changed every year. This charity expired on the 10th of January, 1834, in accordance with the terms of the will.

On the breaking up of the Presbyterian congregation, the Independents removed from their Castle Street Chapel, and took possession of the larger building in Hale Leys.

The Independents date from the year 1593, and owe their origin to Robert Brown, an English clergyman of that period. The Brownists did not differ from the Church of England in many articles of faith, but were very rigid in points of discipline. Brown was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Neal, in his History of Dissenters, terms him "a fiery, hot-headed, young man; very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things." Eventually he became rector of a church in Northamptonshire. Here he lived an idle and dissolute life; he had a wife, with whom he did not live, and a church in which he never preached. At length, being poor and proud, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding a rate of him, and as he was beloved by no one, the officer summoned him before a justice of the peace, who committed him to Northampton Gaol. The decrepit old man, not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed in a cart, and there he fell sick and died, in the year 1630, in the 81st year of his age.

John Robinson, who founded the first Independent Church in America, adopted Brown's leading opinions as to Church Government, but encouraged more liberal sentiments respecting those who differed. He was pastor to one of the first regular congregations, which asserted that every particular Church or Society of Christians was complete in itself, and not obliged to submit to the control or direction of any synods, convocations, or councils. He advised the Independents to abandon and shake off the name of Brownists, it being a mere nickname, and a brand for making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world. The distinctive principle of the Congregational body has reference to the Scriptural constitution of a Christian Church. They accept neither the Episcopal nor the Presbyterian idea of an association of congregations forming one Church, but hold that a Christian Church is an individual

congregation of believers. The Congregational body, therefore, consists of wholly independent churches, amenable under Christ to no higher court or authority. The body is remarkable for the steadfastness with which it has adhered to the principles upon which it first set out and for the perfect freedom it has enjoyed from schism.

In July, 1816, an Independent Church was formed at Hale Leys, under the pastoral care of the Rev. W. Gunn, whose ministry continued through a period of 27 years. In the year 1818 the chapel was enlarged to nearly double its original size, at a cost of about £500. Towards the close of Mr. Gunn's life, the Rev. W. J. Gates was elected co-pastor, and successor to the sole charge on his death, which took place in the year 1844. The old Hale Leys Chapel had long been in a state of insecurity, and the repairs required would have occasioned a considerable outlay; further, it was an incommodious and inconvenient building. It was therefore deemed better to rebuild entirely, and to retain the old site, although that site was somewhat contracted for the erection of a building of larger proportions than its predecessor. No sooner was the project of the new building decided upon than it was spiritedly taken up by the members of the congregation and their friends, and the requisite funds, which at first sight appeared somewhat formidable, were forthcoming without the least hesitation; the new erection was opened on the 19th of March, 1874, entirely free from debt.

The new church is in the Early English style, with nave, apse, north and south aisles, vestry, and tower. The walls are built with Hartwell bricks, having Bath stone dressings. The arcade is supported by iron columns, handsomely decorated, and from which spring the stone arches, terminating on carved corbels. There are six three-light clerestory windows. The roofs of nave, apse and tower are covered with old and new tiles worked in bands; the aisle roof is slated; all the roofs are of Memel fir. The nave has king and queen posts, moulded and tie beams with arched ribs. The building is entered at the N.E. front by four stone arches, having carved caps, and the whole front is relieved by diaper carving, and a bold carved string course, and so are the capitals and finials to the gables. The building is an ornament to that part of the town, and the contrast between it and its predecessor is very remarkable. The front is inclosed by a wrought-iron fence, supported by brick pillars. The internal fittings are all of selected yellow deal, varnished. The seatings are open benches, commodious, and easy of access. The platform or pulpit is raised about four feet above the floor of the nave; the back of it being formed by a very handsome framed organ front, having three columns and arches in which are three seats. The organ fills the whole of the remaining portion of the apse, and the organ fittings are chaste and handsome. There are three very spacious galleries, and the building altogether will seat 650 persons. The windows are glazed with Cathedral glass, of three tints, in string lead, have a narrow border, and are planned with an admixture of quarries and small squares. The principal window is the one in the front, facing the New Road; it is handsome, is filled with stained glass,

arranged in geometrical style, and is the gift of the architect. The work was carried out from the design of Mr. Rowland Plumbe.

There were a few mural tablets in the old chapel, which have been preserved, and erected in the vestry-room of the new building ; they are to the memory of :—

WILLIAM GUNN,
For Twenty-seven years pastor,
Born 1760, died 1844.

OBEDIENCE,
Wife of William Gunn,
Born 1773, died 1845.

MRS. SELINA LINES,
Died June 5th, 1831,
Aged 34 years.

JOHN ROLLS,
Walton Grove,
Born 1756, died 1837.

The successive pastors of the Hale Leys Congregational Church have been :—

THE REV. WILLIAM GUNN.
THE REV. W. J. GATES.
THE REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS.
THE REV. A. T. SHELLEY.
THE REV. E. H. SIMPSON.
THE REV. W. LE PLA.
THE REV. J. D. DAVIES.

THE CASTLE STREET CHAPEL.

The Independents in the first instance, as before stated, worshipped in the Castle Street Chapel. This place was opened on the 24th of August, in the year 1788, on which occasion it is recorded the Rev. Mr. Wills, a noted preacher from London, officiated, and the modest sum of nearly £12 was collected. After the Independents had vacated this place, it was occupied by the Wesleyans, as tenants, who continued there for many years. The building is now used as a Sunday School-room connected with the Hale Leys congregation, and for other purposes. It is still vested in the Trustees of Hale Leys Chapel, together with the pastor's house adjoining and the burial ground in the rear.

The burial ground is the final resting place of many of the Aylesbury Nonconformists of the last generation. It was used for interments until the Act came into operation enforcing burials in the new Cemetery. In the ground are erected memorials to the following :—

PHILIP PAYNE,*
Born 1766, died 1842.
ANN PAYNE (*w.*),
Born 1760, died 1839.
JOHN ROLLS PAYNE (*s*),
Born 1791, died 1839.
JANE PAYNE (*g. c.*),
Born 1827, died 1842.
ANN PAYNE (*g. c.*),
Born 1825, died 1842.
SUSANNAH DELL (*g. c.*),
Born 1817, died 1843.
MARTHA PAYNE (*s. w.*),
Died 1846,
Aged 51 Years.

MARY GUNN,
Wife of John Gunn,
Born 1808, died 1832.

JOHN ROLLS,
Walton Grove, Aylesbury,
Died 1837,
Aged 82 Years.
SELINA LINES (*n.*),
Died 1831,
Aged 31 Years.
WILLIAM ROLLS (*b.*),
Died 1847,
Aged 85 Years.

* The head of the family is placed first in this copy of the memorials for the purpose of showing the relationship to others, which is explained by the letters—w., wife ; s., son ; d., daughter ; g. c., grand child ; s. w., son's wife ; b. brother ; n., niece ; m., mother ; b. l., brother-in-law. Several of these memorials, although comparatively modern, are in so neglected a state that the inscriptions on them are not legible. They are not given in full.

JOHN ARNOLD,
Died 1841,
Aged 69 Years.
SUSANNA HICKS (*d.*),
Died 1830,
Aged 25 Years.
ELIZABETH ARNOLD (*w.*),
Died 1832,
Aged 72 Years.

WILLIAM SANDERS,
Died 1838,
Aged 73 Years.

JOHN WILSON,
Died 1808,
Aged 49 Years.
ELIZABETH WILSON (*w.*),
Died 1837,
Aged 86 Years.

MARY BARTON,
(Other part of inscription not legible.)

SAMUEL LUKE GUNN,
Born 1811, died 1830.

WILLIAM BETT,
Died 1819,
Aged 78 Years.
JOANNA BETT (*w.*),
Died 1815,
Aged 63 Years.

WILLIAM PURSSELL,
Died 1838,
Aged 82 Years.
ANN PURSSELL (*w.*),
Died 1810,
Aged 70 Years.
RICHARD WILLGOS (*b. l.*),
Died 1819,
Aged 78 Years.

JOHN THORP,
Died 1830,
Aged 27 Years.

ROBERT GIBBS,
Died 1808,
Aged 32 Years.
ANN GIBBS (*w*),
Died 1835,
Aged 70 Years.
ANN THORP (*d*),
Died 1824,
Aged 27 Years.

A mural tablet:—

ELIZABETH WHITE,
Died 1825,
Aged 55 Years.

BARTHOLOMEW ROLLS,
Died 1826,
Aged 57 Years.
ANN CHENEY (*d*),
Died 1825,
Aged 32 Years.

JAMES LOOSLEY,
Died 1826,
Aged 11 Years.

JOSEPH SHAW,
Died 1876,
Aged 90 Years.
SUSAN SHAW (*w*),
Died 1836,
Aged 50 Years.
JOSEPH SHAW (*s*),
Died 1845,
Aged 28 Years.

JOHN GIBBS,
Died 1860,
Aged 67 Years.
MARY GIBBS (*w*),
Died 1853,
Aged 65 Years.
MARY ANN QUELCH (*d*),
Died 1861,
Aged 42 years.
REBECCA HERITAGE (*d*),
Died 1861,
Aged 33 Years.
WILLIAM GIBBS (*s*),
Died 1839,
Aged 22 Years.
JOHN ROLLS GIBBS (*s*),
Died 1845,
Aged 30 Years.
MARY GIBBS (*s. w.*),
Died 1849,
Aged 33 Years.
[Two memorial stones here adjoining are treated as one.]

WILLIAM STONE,
Died 1851,
Aged 63 Years.

WILLIAM DICKINS,
Died 1869,
Aged 66 Years.
MARY ANN DICKINS (*d.*),
Died 1849,
Aged 17 Years.
MARY DICKINS (*m.*),
Died 1859,
Aged 86 Years.
EDWARD DICKINS (*s.*),
Died 1866,
Aged 29 Years.
WILLIAM DICKINS (*s.*),
Died 1868,
Aged 34 Years.

SAMUEL GIBBS,
Died 1852,
Aged 14 Months.

RICHARD LOOSLEY,
Died 1867,
Aged 73 Years.
ELIZABETH LOOSLEY (*w.*),
Died 1854,
Aged 54 Years.

ELIZABETH KEATES,
Died 1854,
Aged 19 Years.

MARIA ADCOCK,
Died 1840,
Aged 27 Years.

EUSEBIA SLATER,
Died 1840,
Aged 25 Years.

A mural tablet :—

ROBERT GOLDNEY,
Died 1815,
Aged 22 Years.

WILLIAM WALIS SHARP,
Born 1806, died 1868.
SAMUEL SHARP (*s.*),
Born 1843, died 1870.
(And other members of the Family.)

Mural tablet, inscription illegible.

There are two mural tablets on the exterior of the Chapel:—

THOMAS BATES,
Died 1791,
Aged 27 Years.

ROBERT WOODMAN,
Died 9th May, 1861.
BITHIA WOODMAN (*w.*),
Died July 29th, 1860.

THE BAKER'S LANE BAPTIST CHAPEL.

It is apparent, from their name, that the Baptists differ from other sectarians on the subject of baptism. They believe that the original word which the New Testament employs to express this religious rite necessarily conveys the idea of immersion, or plunging the whole body under water; hence they conclude that sprinkling, affusion, or pouring of water is not baptism. To this distinguishing sentiment and practice concerning the mode they add another, which relates to the subjects of baptism. While others maintain that not only believers, but their seed also, have a right to baptism, according to the new covenant, Baptists contend that only those who make a personal profession of their faith in Christ are entitled to the initiatory ordinance of His religion. There are two branches of Baptists—General and Particular. The General Baptists maintain the doctrine of universal redemption, without any individual election to eternal life. The great majority of Baptists believe the doctrines which are usually called Calvinistic, the election of particular persons being one; they are called Particular Baptists.

As an organised communion, the Baptists date nominally from 1575, when a little congregation of Anabaptists was discovered in Aldgate, every member of which bore his testimony by imprisonment, exile, or death. But a more successful organisation was effected in 1608, under the ministry of John Smith, previously a clergyman of the Church of England, who held Arminian doctrines and originated the section now known as General Baptists. But the first to practise baptism by immersion were the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, who consisted of secessionists from the Independent Church formed by Henry Jacob, one of John Robinson's congregation at Leyden, who came to London in 1616 for this purpose.

In the reign of King Charles II. a large congregation of Baptists had sprung up in Aylesbury, and they had repeatedly transgressed against the Conventicle Act. In consequence, ten men and two women were capitally indicted at Aylesbury, and convicted. Their names &c., were Stephen Dagnall, a minister; Elliott, a teacher; William Whitchurch, glover; Thomas Hill, draper; William Welch, tallow chandler; Thomas Monk, farmer; Brandon, a shoemaker; three other men, whose names were not given; Mary Jackman, widow, with six children; and Ann Turner, spinster. After conviction the judge called them to the bar, and told them they must choose one of three punishments, otherwise he should condemn them to die. These punishments were, either to pay a fine of £100 each, which, in those days, was to them a very large sum; to recant their faith and return to the Church; or to quit the realm. The judge allowed them until the afternoon to consider their decision. Upon being again placed at the bar their answer was—"We cannot pay the fine; our consciences won't allow us to recant our faith; we cannot voluntarily transport ourselves from our friends and connections, we throw ourselves on the mercy of the court." The judge forthwith assumed his black cap, and passed the sentence of death upon these twelve good people, whose only offence was worshipping God, and intimated they would be shortly executed. To such a state had the persecution of Nonconformists now reached that two of the principal houses in the town were hired by the Sheriff, and filled with Dissenters, because the prison was not large enough to hold them. At this crisis, young Monk, the son of the farmer, procured a horse, and rode to London to consult a Rev. William Kiffen, a rich Dissenting minister, who had great influence at court. Kiffen procured Monk an interview with Lord Chancellor Hyde, who forthwith took both parties to the King, and they were thus able to state the injustice of the trial and condemnation. Kiffen pleaded the cause of the prisoners. The King said they should not die, and he would reprieve them. The Chancellor, knowing the King's word was not to be depended upon, begged for an immediate respite, which he wrote out and which the King signed. Young Monk hurried home, and saved the lives of his father and eleven good neighbours, to the great joy of the town and neighbourhood; but the King did not release the prisoners until the next assizes.

Nonconformists of every denomination in the town were justly alarmed at these violent and sanguinary proceedings, and immediately closed their shops and houses, which, as they were a great majority of the inhabitants, spread terror and dismay throughout the county. One of the condemned persons, subdued by the tears and entreaties of his wife, promised to conform, and was accordingly set at liberty; but he felt such distress of mind for his apostacy that he voluntarily returned to prison, and, with his companions, waited the issue of the solemn event. Aylesbury and the neighbourhood drank deep of the persecution of these times, many of the magistrates and peace officers distinguishing themselves by their zeal against the Nonconformists of the districts in which they resided.

So great was the general rancour of the people against Nonconformists, and the Baptists in particular, that members of that persuasion were frequently denied the benefits of public burial grounds. About the year 1666, one Robert Shalder, a Lincolnshire man of some eminence amongst the Baptists, was imprisoned for a lengthened period for his Nonconformity; he was liberated only in time to die. His friends buried him amongst his ancestors, but on the same day his grave was ransacked, his body taken out and dragged to the gate of his late residence, and there left exposed on the ground, to be afterwards interred in some secret place where it would be less likely to be again disturbed. There were at this period many Baptists in Buckinghamshire and the adjacent counties; in 1678, they published a declaration of their tenets called "An orthodox creed or a Protestant profession of faith," and it is to be lamented that the names of the fifty-four messengers, elders, and brethren who subscribed to this creed have not been preserved.

Ancient Baptist churches existed in connection with Aylesbury, at Chesham and Berkhampstead, the members of which appeared to have suffered greater persecution than some of the neighbouring churches. In order to assist each other in bearing the weight of these oppressions, nine of the principal members in the year 1682 entered into an agreement, to bear each an equal portion of any fine that might be levied on any of the Society on account of religion, a liberal undertaking which proved at once their zeal for religion and love to their brethren. The names of these worthy men were Richard Young, John Russell, John Garrett, F. Lewin, George Catherall, Henry Baldwin, Charles Edge, Robert Catlin, and T. Laird.

The General Baptists' Churches in Buckinghamshire flourished greatly after the Revolution. In 1694 the old meeting-house at Amersham was enlarged. The Church at Aylesbury at this period was under the care of John Baker; Winslow enjoyed the labours of Benjamin Morley; Clement Hunt was settled at Cuddington, William Sturch at Wing, Thomas Tripp at High Wycombe. These Churches, and several others whose names are lost, formed an Association, which usually met at Aylesbury. Mr. Hunt, of Cuddington, sustained the office of messenger amongst them, and he also represented the district at the London General gatherings. The Church at Berkhampstead formed a part of the Buckinghamshire Association. John Russell was an elder of this Church; afterwards Mr. Castleden, and in 1700 John Cook and Thomas Basting. Mr. Cook resided at Chesham, Mr. Russell at Berkhampstead, and Mr. Castleden at St. Albans, and at Hemel Hempstead was Mr. S. Ewer; all these were in friendly intercourse with their coadjutors at Aylesbury.

There was a Mr. Francis Smith connected with the Aylesbury Baptists; he was a most respectable bookseller; we hear of him as the publisher of a work entitled "Jeffery's Whole Faith of Man," in which publication he was joined with S. Dagnall, of Aylesbury, stationer. During the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, Mr. Smith was harrassed by continual persecution. He suffered long and protracted imprisonments,

his goods were recklessly seized and sold, and he was driven from his business, to his great detriment; he was frequently before the infamous Jeffreys, and on several occasions felt the full weight of his fury. On one occasion of a trumpery prosecution the grand jury ignored the bill against him three times before Jeffreys would accept their decision, and the judge even then remanded Smith to prison. The poor man was brought to abject poverty by these cruel persecutions; he died in 1691.

It is not ascertained where the early Aylesbury Baptists met. There is not any record of their having had a place of worship in the town prior to the year 1733, when the newly erected meeting-house in Baker's Lane was licensed. We hear of them in the neighbourhood long before that date; again, history is deficient concerning the Aylesbury Baptists from the date of the licensing of the new house in 1733, until the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The following is a copy of the original license for holding public worship in the Baker's Lane Chapel (Cambridge Street), granted as dated:—

"*Buckinghamshire to Wit.*—Michaelmas Session, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-three.

"Be it Remembred—That the new-erected Brick Building on part of a peice or parcel of Ground Called Welche's Mount, Situate in Aylesbury, in the said County, was Certified to this Court this present Session to be a Publick Meeting house for Religious Worshipp according to the forme of the Statute made in the first year of the reigne of their Late Majestys King William and Queen Mary, Intituled an act for Exempting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalty of Certain Lawes.

"By the Court,
"Will. Hayton,
"Clerk of the Peace for the County of Buckingham."

In the year 1800 there was a secession from Waddesdon Hill Chapel, and a Baptist cause was re-formed at this Baker's Lane Chapel. The year 1802 was one of great excitement at Aylesbury, consequent upon the election known as "Bent's." At this election bribery and corruption in the Borough were general. It would seem that some of the members of the newly formed religious community were mixed up in this impure election. Unhappy altercations ensued in consequence. Some of the more purely-minded members of the Church were so sadly grieved at the immorality of those who had received or given bribes that a wholesale expulsion of them from the Church took place. This sadly enfeebled the efforts of those who remained, in establishing their infantine community.

Deacon Bell, an elder in the congregation, died in 1808, and Mr. Paice, the minister, having embarked in some small business, which proved a failure, he left, as the congregation at this time was so weak that it could not possibly support him. On Mr. Paice's resignation, preachers were supplied from the neighbouring chapels. The death of Deacon

Bell was a severe loss; he was highly respected, and had been the mainstay of the cause. The chapel was subsequently occupied for some years by a congregation of Particular Baptists; afterwards by different sects of Christians to whom the trustees of the place did not object. It is now (1884) used as a place of worship by the Plymouth Brethren, a sect which first appeared at Plymouth about the year 1830. They object to National Churches as too latitudinarian, and to other Dissenters as too sectarian. They receive into communion all who confess Christ and own the Holy Ghost as His vicar. Their doctrines agree with those of the most Evangelical Protestant churches, but they recognise no order of ministers. Mr. Darby, regarded as their founder, afterwards separated from them, with some adherents.

THE WALTON STREET BAPTIST CHAPEL.

For many years the Particular Baptists enjoyed, as tenants, quiet and undisturbed possession of the Baker's Lane Chapel, but a Conference of the General Baptists was held, from which an intimation issued that, as an experiment, one of their body would occupy the pulpit at Baker's Lane once a month, and were this attended with success, the next step would be to resume their former position in the town by forming a Church and taking the Meeting House entirely into their own hands. At a Conference about the year 1820 it was decided to continue sending a minister to Aylesbury. This decision was adverse to the feelings of the Particular Baptists, who at once resolved to procure another place for worship, to which they might withdraw when the Conference ministers preached. A house was therefore licensed and rented in that part of the town then known as Behind Church, now as Whitehall; here the congregation resorted for awhile, and were followed almost entirely by those who had attended their services whilst in Baker's Lane, which place was found to be deserted on the occasional visits of the delegate from the Baptist Conference; eventually this monthly supply ceased. In the course of a few months the Particular Baptists were again restored to the possession of the Baker's Lane Chapel, and for some years their prospects were cheering and encouraging.

In order to avoid inconvenience and any chance of further disturbance, it was resolved by the Particular Baptists to obtain a building of their own. In 1827 a piece of ground in Walton Street was purchased, and after some delay the building progressed, the foundation stone having been laid on the 18th of June, 1828, and the opening services were held on the 18th of September in the same year. The cost of the building and land was over £700, towards which no amount was subscribed by the Baptist Building Fund, the application for the amount usually granted being rejected without any assigned cause. In the year 1810 Mr. James Henry Marshall came to reside in Aylesbury, and in 1812 was admitted a member of the Church; he was soon afterwards appointed a deacon, and was attached to the body for the remainder of his long life; he was the means of keeping this community together for a great many years.

There are memorial tablets in and about the Walton Chapel, as follows :—

Sacred to the Memory of
RACHEL,
Wife of William Daubney,
And Daughter of Thomas and Rachel Bartlett,
Of this Place,
Died 7th March, 1830,
Aged 36 Years.
Also of the said
THOMAS BARTLETT,
Died 20th May, 1839,
Aged 77 Years,
And of
RACHEL, HIS WIDOW,
Died 30th July, 1851,
Aged 87 Years.

Sacred to the Memory of
ANN,
Wife of John Willison,
Who was born May 2nd, 1807, married July 31st, 1834, died August 6th, 1837.
Also Four of their Children,
ROBERT, THE ELDEST,
Was born July 31st, 1835, died June 8th, 1837.
Also of
JOHN WILLISON,
Who died March 10th, 1879,
Aged 76 Years,
Interred in Aylesbury Cemetery.

In Memory of
ELIZABETH,
Wife of William Hughes,
Late of Cuttle Mills, Northamptonshire,
Who was born August 22nd, 1793,
Died January 21st, 1851.
Her end was peace, relying on the finished work of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

JOSEPH FREEMAN,
Deacon of this Place,
Died 27th August, 1841,
Aged 50 Years.

JOSIAH HILL,
Died 26th April, 1836,
Aged 44 Years.
GEORGE BONHAM,
His Son-in-Law,
Died 22nd December, 1840,
Aged 22 Years.

THOMAS BAYMAN,
Died 15th September, 1841,
Aged 59 Years.
ANN, HIS WIDOW,
Died 15th June, 1850,
Aged 67 Years.

ELIZABETH WILLGOSS,
Widow,
For many years a Member of the Baptist Church at Evesham, Worcestershire, and 38 years an honorable Member of this Church,
Died 16th June, 1839,
In her 88th Year.

At the foot of this Stone lie the Remains of
SARAH MARSHALL,
Who died 11th November, 1845,
Aged 20 Years.
JAMES MARSHALL,
Who died 11th June, 1847,
Aged 24 Years.
JOHN MARSHALL,
Who died 3rd November, 1852,
Aged 30 Years.
ELIZABETH MARSHALL,
Who died 11th April, 1853,
Aged 62 Years.
In the Cemetery of this Town lie the Remains of
JAMES HENRY MARSHALL,
For Sixty years a Deacon of this Church,
Who died 23rd June, 1874,
Aged 85 Years.

In Church polity the Baptists resemble the Congregationalists or Independents—the choice of ministers, admission to the Church, and the general management of the individual Church being vested in the members thereof.

THE QUAKERS' MEETING HOUSE.

This building is situate on Rickford's Hill; it is in an isolated position, surrounded by other buildings, and accessible by a gateway passage. It is plain, square, brick-built and tiled, having no pretentions whatever to ornamentation. Nothing can be gathered relative to its founder; indeed, although information has been sought after, no traces can be gleaned of its early history.

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was born in the year 1624; his parents were members of the Established Church, and for a time he conformed to the

external religious observance in which he had been educated. Many gradually united in his views and objects. They, like himself, desired a something, which they found not, in the persuasions or lofty pretensions around them. To such men, the message of George Fox was but an illustration or echo of their own sentiments, their own hopes, and expectations. They held that man is able to obey the Divine will, without the help of outward law or ordinances. They looked upon salvation as a free gift offered to all men. They believed that many would be saved by the sacrifice of Christ, whose outward ears had never heard His name. They insisted on the importance of the Bible as the rule of life.

The first to proclaim these principles in London were Edward Burroughs and Francis Howgill; the former died in Newgate, under hard and lengthened imprisonment. Thomas Ellwood, the secretary of Milton, was a Friend. Some are apt to imagine that the early Nonconformists, Puritans, Friends, and all those not travelling in the prescribed paths of conformity were of low origin or of a mean position in society. This is an error, so far at least as such sects were connected with Buckinghamshire. The Penns, Peningtons, Springetts, Dells, Miltons, Ellwoods, and many others of the locality were persons of repute, of good families, and some of them in the enjoyment of large landed properties. The father of Thomas Ellwood lived on his own estate at Crowell, near Chinnor; he was in the Commission of the Peace, and kept his coach.

In the seventeenth century, Quakers were, by universal consent, bad men. They were rejected as witnesses; they were pilloried; they were imprisoned; their goods were forfeited; they were whipped through the streets at the cart's tail. Judges described them as "horrid blasphemers." Their character was considered so bad that the New England Independents, hearing that two Quaker women were on board a vessel just arrived in harbour, took them to prison, stripped them, and flogged them. Three other Quaker women were flogged by these pious Christians through eleven towns, a distance of eighty miles. Three men and one woman were hanged for their Quakerism. The Independents in England wrote, through Dr. Owen, a letter to dissuade those of New England from pursuing their bloody work. Quakers were sold from Bristol as slaves to serve in the sugar plantations, and were generally regarded as disreputable, and were lucky if only put in the stocks or beaten in the streets. Three hundred and sixty-nine Quakers died in gaol within a few years.

An order of September, 1656, against rogues and vagabonds goes on to say :—"And now lately divers other persons styled by the name of Quakers, disaffected to the present Government, do wander up and down the country, and scatter seditious books and papers, to the deluding of many weak people, undermining the fundamentals of religion, denying the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and the godly ministers of England to be the true ministers of the Gospel, so as many heresies and blasphemies are by them vented and broached abroad, to the great dishonour of Almighty God and grief of all

pious and religious people, and to the disturbance of the peace of the Commonwealth." It was, therefore, ordered that all constables "should apprehend all such persons as travel under the notion or name of Quakers, without a lawful certificate, or shall scatter, publish, or own any seditious books, or shall interrupt or disturb any minister in the congregation, or otherwise." Such persons were to be brought before some justice of the peace, to be dealt with according to law. A similar order respecting Quakers was issued in October, 1658, at the beginning of the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, and all Quakers' books found in the gaol were to be burnt.

In 1664 the Municipal Authorities of Wycombe determined on the suppression of Quakers there, and the records of the Corporation show that seven Quakers, having assembled on Sunday, the 8th of January, in that year, under pretence of religious worship, were sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the House of Correction. This place was a loathsome dungeon in Frogmore Ward in Wycombe. In June of the next year, four of the same party were again convicted, and were again committed, but, it being the second offence, for six months, instead of three. The sufferings the Quakers endured under the Protectorate expose the fallacy of the extravagant praises which have been bestowed on that period. Whether the Government were Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent, the masses of the people were, in their conduct towards Quakers, graceless heathens. Even females endured injuries, of which humanity cannot record the history without a sigh, nor decency read without a blush.

The early Friends, like all other Nonconformists, were persecuted not only by imprisonment and personal illusage, but by seizure of their property. In 1667 the Conventicle Act was renewed, in order to make it press more heavily on the Quakers; the Bishop of Peterborough saying that the Act had done its work on all fanatics except the Quakers, who he recommended should be sold for bondslaves. During the Protectorate there were at one time 4,000 Friends imprisoned for their religious opinions, some for assembling to worship in the mode which they believed to be right; many for not taking off their hats before magistrates; others, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, all swearing being considered by them as forbidden in our Saviour's command, "Swear not at all." Some Friends suffered for refusing to join the army. Indeed, they were imprisoned under the slightest pretence whatever. Their patient endurance and unflinching kindness, attention to one another, through personal risk and difficulty, extorted from their persecutors a similar testimony to that borne to the brotherly kindness displayed in the primitive Church—"See how these brethren love one another."

A marriage is recorded as having taken place in October, 1784, at the Friends' Meeting House, Rickford's Hill, Aylesbury, between Joseph Jackson and Martha White; they were representatives of old Aylesbury families. Interments have taken place in the small plot of ground adjoining the Meeting House.

Of the more modern Friends at Aylesbury very little is known ; no record of their proceedings can now be traced. In later years the attendances at their meetings at Aylesbury were very limited ; still, the remaining members of the Society continued their adhesion to local matters ; their philanthropic efforts being calculated to ameliorate the sufferings of their fellow creatures and to promote general improvement by the spread of voluntary education amongst the lower classes. In 1824 Joseph Jackson, then a well-known resident Friend, amongst others, addressed a large Anti-Slavery meeting in the County Hall. In 1826 another Anti-Slavery meeting was held, when amongst those who addressed the assembly was Mr. Squire, of Great Berkhampstead, a highly respected Friend of that town, and a sincere and earnest advocate of the cause of the Slave. In 1830, John Hull, a well-known Friend, of Uxbridge, was a frequent visitor to the town and neighbourhood, his object being to establish schools on the British and Foreign system, for the education of the children of the poor of the town and district.

On the 2nd of January, 1828, there was an unusually large meeting of the members of the Society of Friends at Aylesbury, at which John Gurney, of Earlsham, Norfolk, the brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, was present, in company with John Hull and others. After the breaking up of the assembly at Rickford's Hill Meeting House, Mr. Gurney, with Mr. Hull and other Friends, visited the County Prison. The prisoners were congregated together, and addressed by Mr. Gurney, in earnest, impressive, and affectionate terms. He was listened to with the deepest silence and attention throughout, and the admonition he gave was likely to make a lasting impression. In the evening of the same day a meeting for worship was held in the County Hall. The large building was crowded to excess by persons of all ranks and religious denominations. Mr. Gurney, after a short prayer, delivered an excellent speech, carefully avoiding all minor points on which a difference of opinion might prevail.

On the 1st of July, 1829, the usual meeting of Friends was held at the Aylesbury Meeting House, and at about the same period there was a Friends' funeral at the same place. In 1836 the death of Joseph Jackson was recorded ; he was long a resident in Aylesbury. In a few months his widow followed ; they were of a very advanced age. On the 28th of August, in the same year, the death of Jasper Jackson, their brother, took place. The Jacksons were the last resident representatives of the Friends in the town. In January, 1837, Mr. Littleboy, of Bourne End, Berkhampstead, died ; his name is associated with the Friends connected with Aylesbury.

Friends are ever active in promoting schools and in supporting Bible Societies. They were the faithful adherents of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Stephen, in their lengthened efforts to abolish the Slave Trade ; nor was it a novelty to Friends to espouse that cause. In the last struggle for the abolition of Slavery, the voice of the Society of Friends arose as that of one man ; they spared neither expense nor exertion to effect the desired object. They united with Sir T. Fowell Buxton, and those Christian

philanthropists who had bound themselves neither to rest nor surrender till every slave in the British dominions had obtained, in his liberty, the inalienable right of man. Hospitals, workhouses, and prisons shared the attention of Friends. In November, 1838, their little Meeting House was thrown open to temperance lecturers, and here it was that teetotal principles were introduced into Aylesbury. Dr. Lee, of Hartwell House, presided at these meetings, and the audiences were addressed by a Mr. Dawson, a sub-contractor for, and the navvies employed in, the construction of the Aylesbury Branch Railway. The last quarterly meeting of Friends held in their place of worship at Aylesbury was in the month of December, 1841. The name of John Hull, of Uxbridge, will ever be associated with one of the most important establishments in Aylesbury; he was the founder of the British Schools.

For further details relative to the Buckinghamshire Quakers, the reader is referred to the "Life of Thomas Ellwood," a remarkable work, containing a great deal of local and interesting matter; there is also a work entitled "The Penns and the Peningtons," to which the attention of those seeking information relative to the Friends of this county is directed. The Friends had several places for meeting in the immediate neighbourhood of Aylesbury. At Haddenham there is the Quakers' Burying-ground; at Meadle is the Quaker's Farm, formerly owned by an ancient and highly respectable Quaker family of the name of White; there also was a Burial-place, and records still exist referring to it:—

	£	s.	d.
1667.—Received towards ye mounding of the Burial-place the sum of.	00	18	00
Disbursed to Friends in prison at Alisbury	00	4	00
1670.—Disbursed at the meeting at Thos. Ellwood's	00	—	00

Meetings are referred to as having been held at Weston Turville, Brainsford Barn Amersham, Hunger Hill, &c.

THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL.

The Wesleyans of Aylesbury had no place of worship of their own until the erection of their chapel in the Friarage in the year 1837, when a plot of ground was granted them by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos on a lease for 99 years, at a nominal ground-rent of ten shillings per year. On this spot a neat and substantial building was erected, which, in the year 1843, was considerably enlarged and improved, and school-rooms and other appendages were added. In the year 1848 the building was sold by auction by the Trustees of the ground landlord, subject to the conditions of the lease granted to the Wesleyans. It made £30, is now in private hands, and must be a very poor investment.

John Wesley, the founder of Wesleyanism, was born at Epworth in 1703. In 1730, whilst at Oxford, he and his brother, and a few other students, formed themselves into a small society, for the purpose of mutual edification in religious exercises. So singular

an association excited considerable notice, and among other names bestowed upon the members, that of Methodists was applied to them. Mr. Wesley, with some others, went to Georgia, in America, in 1735, with a view to converting the Indians. After a stay of two years, he returned to England, commenced as itinerant preacher, and gathered many followers. The churches being shut against him, he built spacious meeting-houses in London, Bristol, and other places. In September, 1746, he preached at High Wycombe, but was much annoyed by the rabble, who were set on to insult him by many who thought themselves to be respectable people. Not being able to drown his voice with their hootings and yellings, the mob eventually had recourse to a drum. For some time he was united with Mr. Whitfield; but differences arising on account of the doctrine of election, they separated, and the Methodists were denominated according to their respective leaders. Mr. Wesley was indefatigable in his labours, and almost continually travelling over England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. His Society, though consisting of many thousands, was well organised, and he preserved his influence over it to the last. He published some vols. of hymns, numerous sermons, political tracts, and controversial treatises. In Wesley's countenance, mildness and gravity were pleasingly blended, and in his old age he appeared extremely venerable; in manners he was social, polite, and conversational; in the pulpit, fluent, clear, and argumentative. The approach of old age did not in the least abate his zeal and diligence; he was almost perpetually travelling. It has been computed that he passed over 8,000 miles every year, and preached three or four times constantly every day, besides visiting the sick and arranging the concerns of the Society of which he was the founder, setting aside his literary and controversial labours, which altogether were almost beyond calculation.

> Now through the land his care of souls he stretched,
> And like the primitive Apostle preached;
> Still cheerful, ever constant to his call;
> By many followed, lov'd by most, admired by all.—POPE.

John Wesley died on the 2nd of March, 1791, in the 88th year of his age. His powers as a leader and administrator were marvellous. Never general drilled a more heterogeneous army, and never was general more reverentially obeyed. He exacted no service which he did not in his own person exceed. His example gave life and inspiration to all who came near him. His strong will, and quick, decisive intellect naturally raised him to kingship, and gathered round him willing and joyful subjects. The constructive force and order of his own mind were reflected in the organization of Methodism, and in the increase and permanency of that community may be seen the highest testimony to the vigour and sagacity of his character.

In 1739 the first Methodist Meeting-house was built at Kingswood, near Bristol, and the first Meeting-house in London was opened at Moorfields. About the year 1743, the rapid diffusion of Methodistic principles, by the increase of preachers and the large accessions to the societies by the success of their work, led Mr. Wesley to employ his

powers in the formation of a system of discipline. Like most other ecclesiastical constitutions, it grew with circumstances and was perfected by degrees.

There was a Wesleyan preacher in Aylesbury some few years before the death of the leader of the movement. In the *Methodist Magazine* for 1816 is a memoir of Mr. James Durley, of Bierton,* a name which was from the first introduction of Wesleyanism in this district, and still is, connected with that cause. Mr. Durley states—"About the year 1786, or 7, I was admitted a member of the Methodist Society by Mr. Jonathan Cousins at Aylesbury, for which I shall bless God to all eternity. The succeeding Conference appointed Messrs. Pescod, Entwistle, and Reece to the Oxford Circuit. In the course of that year Thame was given up, and the preachers had a leisure day. Mr. Entwistle, not having to preach at Thame, came on and preached at our house at Bierton. From that time Bierton was added to the Circuit." It would thus appear that the parent of the Aylesbury Methodist cause was Bierton. The Methodists at Aylesbury were for years very few in number. Their worship was held in an old and dilapidated thatched cottage in Baker's Lane, then occupied by Mrs. Elizabeth (Betsy) King.

At the Conference of 1810 the Oxford Circuit was divided, and Whitchurch made the head of a new Circuit, Aylesbury being the second place. The Society now gave signs of increase, and in 1822 Aylesbury was made the Circuit town. Previous to this date matters had so improved that the members were emboldened to take a public place of worship. The Castle Street Chapel, which had been erected for the use of the Independents, had been vacated by that congregation on obtaining possession of the Old Presbyterian Chapel in Hale Leys; the Methodists arranged to occupy this building, and continued to do so until the present commodious chapel in Friarage was built.

The rapid growth of Methodism existent in Great Britain alone is shown by the fact that while at the date of Wesley's death the number of communicants was no less than 59,000—a wondrous mark of his power and zeal—the number of communicants of the "Original Connexion," exclusive of other Methodist bodies, was, in 1883, 441,484.

THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHAPEL.

The Primitives seceded from the main body of Wesleyans in 1810. Their place of worship at Aylesbury was erected in the year 1845 in Station Street, near the London and North-Western Station. This place was disposed of in 1883, when a new Chapel was built in Dell's Mount Place, near the General Infirmary. There is but little difference between the tenets of the Wesleyans and those of the Primitive Methodists, excepting that the Primitives hold their camp meetings and conduct services in the open air. About the end of the last century one Lorenzo Dow, an eccentric Methodist preacher, was very successful in the United States. He went thence to Ireland, voluntarily placing

* Father of Mr. Richard Durley, of Whitchurch, and of the late Mr. John Durley, of Bierton.

himself beyond the pale of his denomination, and thenceforward was known as an independent itinerant. He again visited the States, but eventually, in 1807, founded a religious interest in Staffordshire. He suggested to the zealous people there the plan of camp-meetings, which were proving so convenient and effective in the western wilds of America, where but few chapels of any denomination then existed. They adopted it. A flag was hoisted on Mow Hill, Staffordshire, and the first English camp-meeting was there held. William Clowes and Hugh Bourne, Wesleyan local preachers, took active parts in these proceedings, and there are records of mighty influences attending these camp-meetings. Bourne vindicated them in a pamphlet, and counter publications were issued by preachers of the Burslem and Macclesfield circuits. Many excesses, it was alleged, attended such out-door services, and in 1807 Conference declared "It is our judgment that, even supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief, and we disclaim connexion with them." Their advocates, however, continued them, in consequence of which Bourne was expelled from the connexion by the Burslem quarterly meeting. Two years later, Clowes, who continued to attend camp-meetings, was also expelled. Classes were then formed by those expelled preachers, and 1810 dates the epoch of the "Primitive Methodists" denomination. They preached in Market Places, and on the highways, as well as at camp-meetings, and allowed women to preach.

THE ASSEMBLY HALL.

This is a plain, square, brick-built and slated erection, on the north-east side of St. Mary's Church-yard. It was built in the year 1878. The worshippers there are not of any distinct sect; they are termed "The Evangelistic Society," or Open Brethren. They invite all; refuse none. They have a fellowship in which they teach baptism, and practise it, but do not insist upon it; they have no stated ministers. For two years before their chapel was built they assembled in the Corn Exchange for the purpose of public worship on Sundays.

Chapter XXXIX.—THE AYLESBURY CHARITIES.

John Bedford — his charity — charity property—objects of—Thomas Hickman's Charity —neglect of—the property—objects varied—Harding's Charity—purport of—property described—Elliott's—William Cockman's Charity—Lee's—Charities lost—Brickett's—restoration of charity—Findall's, Pelham's, Dormer's, and Pigott's Charities—Swaddon's Charity—Sym's—property sold—The Clock and Chimes Estate—Eman's—Cockman's expired Charity—The Organ Endowment—Lord Wharton's Gift—Holloway's—Jacob Clement—biography of him—his charity—Perrin's gift.

BEDFORD'S CHARITY.

JOHN BEDFORD, by his will dated July 12th, 1493, bequeathed property of the estimated value of £600 per annum to the parish of Aylesbury for ever. He is described as of the town of Aylesbury, gentleman, and he bestowed the proceeds of his estates on the perpetual amendment of the highways in and about Aylesbury, as need required, and the residue to be bestowed in alms to the poorest people of the said parish of Aylesbury. About one hundred years after the date of the bequest the charity appears to have been gravely misapplied; the feoffees having let on long leases parts of the property of the Charity, contrary to the trust, to their friends, children, and kindred, for small or no considerations, reserving only very small rents, so that the highways could not be repaired or amended, nor poor people relieved in accordance with the will. For redress of these grievances an Act was passed in the 39th of Elizabeth, entitled "An Act for establishing of the lands given by John Bedford's will to the perpetual repair and amendment of the highways at Aylesbury according to the said will," reciting John Bedford as of the town of Aylesbury, gentleman, deceased. The Act recites that he did, by his will, devise all his messuages, lands, &c., in the towns of Aylesbury, Hartwell, and Stone, and all the rents and profits arising out of the said premises, to the perpetual amending of the highways in and about Aylesbury, and to be given yearly and bestowed in alms to the poorest people of the said parish of Aylesbury; and he further willed, that the inheritance of the said messuage and premises should remain and continue for ever in feoffees' hands of trust unsold, to the only uses and intents before expressed. The said John Bedford also willed, that as often as need should require, the feoffees enfeoff other feoffees of trust, all being of the most discreet and

honest inhabitants of the said borough and town of Aylesbury and Hartwell, so that there might be seven or nine feoffees in trust of all the said premises, who should not alien or sell the said lands or any part or parcel thereof. The charity account became once more much confused, but by the interference of Mr. Rickford, the elder, who died in 1803, they were again released from difficulty.

The property of this charity consisted of:—A dwelling-house, with the appurtenances, at the south-east corner of the Market Square, in Aylesbury, with gardens and two closes of pasture land, containing altogether 4a. 1r. 38p. (near the Market Buildings); a dwelling-house, with the appurtenances, in Temple Street, Aylesbury, with four perches of land; two houses, with shops, on the west side of the Market Place (since disposed of); a house in Temple Square, and 15 perches of ground, and a garden on the north side of Castle Street, in Aylesbury, containing 22 perches; a garden on the south side of Castle Street, containing 16 perches; a field called the Mount, in Oxford Road, Aylesbury, containing 1a. 19p.; a garden on the south side of Castle-street, containing 16 perches; two dwelling-houses on the north side of Castle Street, with 23 perches of ground; a house, with its appurtenances, on the north side of Temple Square, adjoining Castle Street, with a garden and yard, containing 21 perches; two houses and gardens on the north side in Temple Square, at the junction with Church Street, containing 27 perches; three pieces of meadow land, in the parish of Aylesbury, near Holman's Bridge, containing 68a. 2r. 11p.; two pieces of arable land and one of pasture, containing 35a. 1r. 30p., also in the parish of Aylesbury, near Holman's Bridge; a dwelling-house, with outbuildings, yard, and gardens, comprising in the whole 1r. 36p., on the west side of Buckingham Street, adjoining or near to Kingsbury; a small piece of arable land, in the parish of Bierton, adjoining the road from Aylesbury to Bierton, containing 33 perches; also a sum of £89 3s., three per cent. reduced annuities. Portions of this property were sold a few years ago, with the consent of the Charity Commissioners, and the money was invested in the funds.

It was also by the Act of Elizabeth enacted that there should be, from thenceforth for ever, nine persons, inhabiting within the said towns of Aylesbury and Hartwell, who should be surveyors of the highways of Aylesbury aforesaid, which nine should have a perpetual succession, and should be called and known by the name of the Surveyors of the Highways of Aylesbury, and that the said surveyors and their successors for ever should be a body politic in deed and name, and should and might have and use a common seal to serve for the necessary use and affairs of the said body politic; and that when any of the said surveyors deceased or for any reasonable cause, seeming good to the greatest part of the said surveyors, were removed, the residue of the said surveyors should, within 40 days next after such death or removal, elect and choose one other of the better sort of the inhabitants of the said towns of Aylesbury and Hartwell to be a surveyor in the place of the party deceased or removed. And it was further enacted, that all messuages,

lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the several towns, fields and parishes of Aylesbury, and Hartwell, and Stone, or any of them, commonly called the Highway Lands of Aylesbury, which were given by the said John Bedford for repairing and amending the highways, or for the relief of the poor, should from thenceforth be vested and settled in the said surveyors and their successors, to be by their discretions for ever received, converted and employed yearly to and for the repairing and amending of the said highways, and to the relief of poor people within the said town of Aylesbury.

The distributions to the poor are managed in the following manner:—A sum is distributed on St. Thomas's Day, in amounts varying from 5s. to £2, according to the circumstances of the applicants. They are selected by the trustees; many of them are recipients of parish relief. A sum is also expended in and given away annually in clothes; these are made up into sets for a man and woman. A man's contains a coat and waistcoat with sleeves lined with flannel; a woman's comprises a blue serge gown and petticoat, and a flannel petticoat; they are given away on St. Thomas's Day, to poor persons selected by the trustees. A list is made of those partaking of this charity, who are all parishioners of Aylesbury; their names, and the amounts they receive, either in clothes or money, are recorded. The persons receiving the clothes are allowed them only once in three years; none are allowed to receive both clothes and money in the same year; each person also, whether male or female, is allowed only one set of clothes at the same time.

HICKMAN'S CHARITY.

Thomas Hickman, of Aylesbury, by his will dated 1st January, 1675, devised to Robert Hickman, Joseph Clayden, and John Plater, jun., all his messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, wherein he then dwelt, situate in Church-street, in Aylesbury aforesaid; and all those five cottages situate near the church-gate in Aylesbury; and all that his messuage or tenement in the Market-place, in Aylesbury, situate adjoining the passage to the King's Head on the east; and also that messuage, cottage, or tenement, and farm, with the appurtenances, and 21 acres of arable land, leys, and meadow ground, situate in Walton and field thereof, in the parish of Aylesbury; and three acres of arable land and a house situate in the fields of Walton; and four acres of arable land, ley ground and meadow, situate in the fields of Walton; and lastly, three and a half acres of arable land situate in Walton fields aforesaid. The testator directed that all the rents and profits of the said premises which should be over and above the yearly repairs of the same, should be paid by his said trustees and the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Aylesbury to the poorest people and most pitiful objects of charity, in alms to them, and not to ease the parish in their collection, but his gift was given that they might have a more comfortable subsistence in their poor and mean condition for ever; and the testator also directed, that after the payment of certain legacies, the five cottages situate near the church-gate should be almshouses for poor people of the said town to dwell in, to be placed there by his said trustees and the churchwardens and overseers of

the town of Aylesbury, with a proviso that if any of his kindred, though never so far off, or living in the town, would accept of any of the apartments as they were then, or would live there, and their children after them, they should at any time have a choice of any of the said apartments, whether they should be poor or sick, for their lives ; and he gave them full power and authority to enter therein and dwell as aforesaid, and directed that his trustees should assist them therein, and keep them in tenantable repair. Let there be one, two, or three, or more of his kindred, he would not let them want a habitation. These extracts are gathered from an ancient copy of the will.

The property belonging to this charity comprises—A dwelling-house on the north-east side of Church Street, formerly Broad Street, but described as being in Temple Street ; it is the first house in the street, and opposite the property belonging to Bedford's trustees ; it was formerly and for many years occupied by the Hickman family, and known as "Hickman's ;" a dwelling-house and shop in the Market Square, being the corner house on the left-hand side of the opening leading to the King's Head Inn ; five Cottages near the Church Gates, being the corner houses leading out of Church Street to Parson's Fee ; four cottages and about 22 acres of arable land in Walton. No regular accounts were kept of this charity previous to the year 1821. The imperfect accounts which exist commence in 1746, when Mr. Joseph Hickman was trustee. In 1795, Mr. Robert Hickman, who at that time acted as the trustee of the property, died ; he kept accounts, and during his trusteeship they were audited occasionally by the church-wardens of Aylesbury. They commence in 1757 and close in 1793. During that period, there were scarcely any appropriations of money to charitable purposes ; there are, however, some entries of payments to his mother, and a brother in London, "in distress." Mr. Robert Hickman was succeeded by his sister, Mrs. Ann Hickman ; she kept no accounts. She died in 1806, and was succeeded in the trust by Henry Hickman ; he kept no accounts, and, therefore, between 1793 and 1813, there were no regular entries whatever of either receipts or payments. During nearly the whole of that period there was an entry of an annual payment of three guineas to "The distressed Asburys." The Asburys were relations of the testator. At first, the entry is, "To Asburys, as distressed poor." The object, therefore, in making this donation seems to have been to satisfy in part the terms of the will ; but a great part of the receipts is not accounted for. The accounts of the charity have been regularly entered since the year 1821. The Alms' Houses, situate near the Church Gate, have been re-built ; a tablet erected in the front house is inscribed as follows :—

HICKMAN'S ALMS HOUSES.

These five cottages, being a gift in trust under the will of
THOMAS HICKMAN,
A native of Aylesbury, 1695,
Were repaired and made uniform A.D. 1871.

ZACHARIAS D. HUNT,
EDWARD BICKERSTETH, D.D.,
WILLIAM HICKMAN, M.A.
} Trustees.

An order in Chancery has been obtained by which some of the conditions of the will of the donor have been varied.

HARDING'S CHARITY.

William Harding, of Walton, in the parish of Aylesbury, yeoman, by his will proved the 19th February, 1719, devised all that his messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, that close of pasture ground whereon the said messuage or tenement then stood, called Harding's Elms Close, situate in Walton, in the parish of Aylesbury; also all his house in Walton, wherein he then dwelt; also 20 acres of land lying dispersedly in the common fields and precincts of Walton, which said land was theretofore the property of his brother John Harding, deceased; also two acres of land lying in the precincts of Walton; also one acre of meadow land lying in Walton Suck Meadow, which said three acres were purchased by his brother, John Harding. And the testator, by his said will, directed that his trustees should, with all convenient speed after his decease, sell his house, situate in the parish of Princes Risborough, and, with the money arising from such sale, purchase lands, the rents and profits of which should be employed by his said trustees according to the several trusts therein and hereinafter mentioned. And the said testator devised unto William James, Thomas Watson, Noah Pitcher, Thomas Williams, and Matthias Dagnall all other his messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, situate in Walton, or elsewhere, in the parishes of Aylesbury, Bierton, Broughton, Stoke Mandeville, or Princes Risborough, or elsewhere, and all the rents and profits of the same, together with their appurtenances, to hold unto the said trustees and their heirs, upon trust, to raise out of the profits of the said estates the sum of 40s. yearly, to be laid out in buying coats for poor men and women inhabiting within the precincts of Walton, which coats so bought he directed should be distributed every year by his said trustees, on St. Thomas's Day, to such poor men and women inhabiting in Walton as should be by them thought the most proper objects of charity. And the testator further declared, that his said trustees should for ever thereafter distribute and employ towards the putting out poor children apprentice in such manner as is in the said will directed; that is to say, that the said trustees, or the major part of them, should make choice of such boys or girls to be apprentices as they in their discretion should think fit, provided that the boys or girls so made choice of should be the children of poor persons, settled inhabitants within the parish of Aylesbury or Walton; and for the better manaaging the said trust, the testator directed that the said trustees should twice in every year, on the first Monday in May and on the first Monday in November, or on some day fixed by the said trustees, or the major part of them, within one week after, meet at the town of Aylesbury, to inquire and consult about putting out poor children apprentice, and about procuring fit masters and mistresses for that purpose; and the testator entreated his said trustees to use their utmost diligence and care that the children placed out by virtue of that trust should be bound to persons who were honest, of good morals, and well skilled in their several trades. And the

testator directed that in placing out the said children the said trustees should allow such sum or sums of money as to them should seem meet, not exceeding £10 for each child. And he further directed that when any of the said trustees should happen to die, that the surviving trustees, or the major part of them, should by note in writing, under their hands and seals, attested by two or more credible witnesses, elect one or more persons as vacancies should happen, in the room of such person or persons deceased, each person so elected to be a substantial householder living within the parish of Aylesbury or Walton.

The above extract is taken from a copy of the whole will written at the commencement of an ancient manuscript book, forming part of the documents of the charity. The trustees, after the death of the testator, sold his house at Princes Risborough, and with the proceeds of the sale and his personal estate discharged the abovementioned payments, and purchased 12 acres of land in the common fields of Walton, and a close of meadow in the parish of Chilton, called Beaney Field, containing about 50 acres, parcel of the manor of Chilton, and the tithes thereof, and took conveyances of these premises upon the trusts of the said will. By a decree of the Court of Chancery, dated 24th November, 1772, it was ordered that this charity should be established, and the Master should appoint trustees of the charity estates. By a decree of the Court, dated the 10th February, 1801, confirming a Master's report of the 3rd February preceding, the trustees were authorized to pay any sum not exceeding £20 for a premium for placing out as children apprentices, and to expend a sum of £5 yearly in buying coats for poor men and women of Walton.

The property consists of—A farm house and 112a. 2r. 7p. of land, nearly all arable, in the Hamlet of Walton, and a close of pasture, containing 1a. 2r. 11p., in the township of Aylesbury ; two closes of land, containing 14a. 2r. 30p., in the borough of Aylesbury ; a public-house, known as the New Inn, in Walton, and a garden of 3r. 3p., and an allotment of 2a. 13p. ; an allotment of arable land, in Castle and Rivey Field, in Stoke Mandeville, containing 29a. 3r. 36p. ; and a close of pasture land, containing 47 acres, in the parish of Chilton. After the deductions of outgoings the residue of the rents is expended by the trustees in apprenticing boys and girls selected by themselves at premiums of £20 and £15 respectively ; they are the sons and daughters of poor persons, inhabitants within the parish of Aylesbury and Walton.

ELLIOTT'S CHARITY.

There was a tablet in the Parish Church, dated 1494, which stated that Thomas Elliott gave two tenements in Green End, Aylesbury, for alms houses for ever, the occupiers to be appointed by the Churchwardens of that parish for the time being. These tenements were burned down, as appears from the deed next abstracted, in which they are believed to be alluded to :—" By an Indenture, bearing date 4th June, 1731, between the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of Aylesbury, of the one part, and Arthur Hodskin, of the other part : It is

witnessed, that for the considerations therein mentioned, the said churchwardens and overseers demised unto the said Arthur Hodskin all that curtilage, piece or plot of ground whereon two messuages or tenements, then lately consumed by fire, stood, situate in Aylesbury, in a certain street called Green End, containing, at the east end from Mr. Hodskin's garden wall towards the south, 27 feet, at the west end from the same wall southward, 25 feet 2 inches in length from Mr. Hodgkin's, which said two messuages or tenements, when standing, were used for the reception of the poor inhabitants of the parish of Aylesbury, and vested in the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the said parish for the time being for that purpose, with the appurtenances, to hold the said premises with the appurtenances unto the said A. Hodskin, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for a term of 199 years, commencing the 24th June, 1731, at a yearly rent of 8s., to be paid on St. Thomas's and St. John the Baptist's days." This lease is now vested in Mrs. Hooper at the yearly rent of 8s., which is paid to the churchwardens, who distribute it, with the income of other charities, under their management.

BRICKETT'S CHARITY.

There was many years ago a tablet in the Parish Church, dated 1567, with the following inscription :—" Robert Brickett, gent., gave £2 out of certain lands in Tharfield, in county Hertford, to be paid on May-day into the hands of the Churchwardens for the time being, yearly for ever, for the use of the poor." It appears from the Parliamentary Returns of 1786, and an entry in an old churchwarden's book, that this charity was founded by deed dated 1567. This rent-charge of £2 issues out of a house and certain lands containing about 28 acres, in the parish of Tharfield, in the county of Herts. In the year 1827, a considerable arrear had accrued in respect of this rent-charge. The proprietors of the lands then agreed to pay seven years' arrears, and to continue to pay regularly for the future. One of the proprietors however paid up an arrear of 24 years. The merit of recovering the charity is due to the churchwardens of the year 1827, who seem to have exerted themselves with great zeal and effect in that behalf.

FINDALL'S CHARITY.

On a tablet once exhibited in the Church there was an inscription relating to this charity, as follows :—" William Findall, A.D. 1604, gave £6 13s. 4d., to be paid on Mid-Lent Sunday, out of Summer Leys, in the parish of Weston Turville. N.B.—To be paid out of this sum to the poor of Weston, 6s. 8d. ; to the prisoners in Aylesbury gaol, 13s. 4d. ; to a scavenger to keep the church ways clean, 13s. 4d. The above sums to be paid into the hands of the churchwardens for the time being, yearly for ever, for the use of the poor."

This rent-charge issues out of a piece of meadow land called Summer Leys, containing about 30 acres in the parish of Weston Turville, formerly belonging to Mr. William Hayward.

LADY PELHAM'S, LORD DORMER'S, AND JANE PIGOTT'S CHARITIES.

There used to be a tablet in the Parish Church, with an inscription as follows :— "Dorothy Dame Pelham, A.D. 1613, gave £13 6s. 8d.; and also Robert Lord Dormer, A.D. 1616, gave £6 13s. 4d., the interest whereof to be employed for the use of the poor, £1 4s." "Jane Pigott, widow, gave £40, the yearly interest whereof to be employed for the teaching poor children, £2."

SWADDON'S CHARITY.

A tablet was formerly exhibited in the Parish Church, which stated that "William Swaddon, D.D., prebendary of Aylesbury Church, A.D. 1623, gave £3 12s., to be paid on Michaelmas Day, out of certain lands in Singleborough; £3 12s. to be paid into the hands of the churchwardens for the time being yearly for ever for the use of the poor." This rent-charge issues out of an estate in the hamlet of Singleborough, in the parish of Great Horwood.

SYMS'S CHARITY.

Mary Syms, of Aylesbury, by her will, dated 20th October, 1735, proved at Aylesbury, the 9th June, 1737, devised unto the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the town of Aylesbury for the time being, and to their successors for ever, all those her two freehold messuages or tenements situate in the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid, and then in the occupation of Joseph Dorsett and herself respectively, to the intent that the said churchwardens and overseers might yearly for ever thereafter, on the 1st of March in every year, distribute the rents and profits of her said two tenements, at the Parish Church at Aylesbury aforesaid, amongst such old decayed inhabitants and parishioners of Aylesbury as they in their judgment should think meet and proper objects to receive the same, and in such manner and proportion as they should think proper; and the testatrix further directed that the said churchwardens and overseers should keep her said two tenements in good and substantial repair out of the rents and profits of the same, and distribute the remainder in manner thereinbefore directed; and the testatrix further directed that the said churchwardens and overseers should enter the yearly rents of the aforesaid tenements in the account books of one of them for the said parish for ever, and give an account of the manner and proportion of the distribution of the same, and of the persons to whom it should be distributed, which receipts and disbursements she directed should be yearly approved in the same manner as the accounts of the parish; and the testatrix further appointed the said churchwardens and overseers, or some or one of them, to be her executor or executors.

The above abstract is from an office copy of the will. The premises mentioned are described as follows :—"All those messuages, cottages, or tenements situate in Aylesbury, in a street called Back Street, adjoining to a public-house called the Harrow." This property was sold by auction in the year 1876, under an order of the Charity

Commissioners, and the amount was invested in Government securities, the interest of which is paid over to the churchwardens as directed.

The expressions used by the testatrix, Mary Syms, in her will, in specifying the objects of her charity, seemed to intimate that she had in view a class of persons above the rank of poor in the receipt of parish alms; she appears to have indicated decayed tradesmen, and persons who have seen better days and have become poor through misfortunes arising from no improvidence nor fault of their own.

THE CLOCK AND CHIMES CHARITY.

A tablet in the Parish Church, dated 1494, of which the following is a copy, states that—"John Stone gave by will two tenements to this parish, to maintain a clock and chimes for ever." By an indenture of lease, dated the 13th October, 1691, between the churchwardens of the parish, of the one part, and John Aylward, clockmaker, of the other part, it is witnessed, that the said churchwardens, with the consent of certain inhabitants of the town of Aylesbury therein named, in consideration that the said John Aylward or his assigns should, at his and their own proper costs and charges, set up a new substantial clock and chimes in the Parish Church of Aylesbury aforesaid, maintaining and keeping the said clock and chimes in good and sufficient repair, excepting wires and putting them on, and ropes and lines, and also excepting any extraordinary casualty that might either accidentally or wilfully happen during the term thereafter granted, demised unto the said John Aylward, his executors and administrators, for 31 years, at a peppercorn rent, all those two messuages or tenements, with the appurtenances, situate in Aylesbury aforesaid, near or adjoining to a certain place there called Green End.

These premises were demised by the churchwardens of Aylesbury by indenture of lease, dated 1st March, 1814, by the following description:—"All that messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid, near or adjoining to a certain place there called Green End, which were formerly two messuages or tenements, and were then in the several tenures or occupations of, &c., together with the cooper's shop and gateway at the north or north-east end of the messuage or tenement thereby demised, and also the yard and garden thereto belonging, with the barn standing in or adjoining the yard on the south or south-west side, and which yard on the north or north-east side is bounded by the garden and premises, part of the estate of the trustees of Bedford's Charity, formerly in the occupation of, &c." And in the indenture of lease of 1814 the above premises are also described as being commonly known by the name of the Clock and Chimes Estate, and as having been devised to the churchwardens of the said parish of Aylesbury for the time being and their successors, by one John Stone, gent., for maintaining a clock and chimes in the Parish Church of Aylesbury for ever.*

* These premises (1884) consist of coach-house, stable, passage, dwelling-house (formerly the Savings' Bank), with a lawn or garden behind, and adjoin the rear of house and premises in Temple Square, vested in Bedford's trustees, and now occupied with such house and premises by Mr. Hooper, surgeon.

EMAN'S CHARITY.

Elizabeth Eman, of Olney, widow, by her will, dated 5th June, 1723, reciting, that on the 26th April, 1723, she had surrendered by the rod into the hands of the Lord of the manor of Aylesbury, to such uses as she should by will appoint, all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances, commonly known by the name of the Red Lion Inn, situate in Aylesbury aforesaid, in a place or street there called Kingsbury, together with all the appurtenances, devised the said messuage or tenement, inn and premises, with their appurtenances, after the determination of certain life interests therein limited, to Isaac Lodington, Joseph Bell, John Palmer, William Church, and Robert Hickman, and their heirs, in trust, for the proper and separate uses of three poor and decayed widows, which had had but one husband a-piece, and Aylesbury women born, for so long as they should continue widows *et non aliter*, and such also as the trustees above named, or the major part of them for the time being, should think most fit and proper objects of charity; and the testatrix further directed that whenever any two of the said trustees should happen to die or refuse to act, the surviving and remaining trustees should forthwith make choice of two other fit persons to support the said trust.

The above abstract is taken from an ancient copy of the will. These copyhold premises have been from time to time vested in new trustees by successive surrenders and admissions, according to the custom of the Manor of Aylesbury with Bierton, of which the charity premises are holden. Annuities of £8 each are paid to three poor decayed widows of respectable persons. The annuities are not always precisely of the same amount, as the income of the property is subject to deductions for repairs, &c.; they have been as low as £5 to each annuitant; at the present time they reach £12 each. They are persons who have seen better days, and of the description mentioned in the will. The objects receive the charity during their lives, unless they marry. They are selected by the trustees, who require from the candidates certificates of their fathers' names, of their own baptism, their own marriage, and the burial of their husbands; they demand from them some evidence that they have means of subsistence independent of parish alms, and also enquire the extent of those means to avoid giving to the rich.

MARY COCKMAN'S CHARITY.

Mary Cockman, of Aylesbury, spinster, by her will, bearing date the 22nd March, 1733, devised "all that close or inclosed piece of grass ground called Snixes Leys Close, lying in the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid, containing 13 acres; and all that piece of arable land called the Gallows Piece, situate in the Gallows Field, in the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid, and near the highway there, containing six acres; and all that parcel of leys or grass ground there, called Gallows Leys, containing two acres, situate in the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid: To hold unto their administrators and assigns, from the time of her decease unto the full end and term of 99 years, without

impeachment of waste, under the several uses, trusts and conditions thereinafter and hereinafter mentioned ; and after the expiration or other sooner determination of the said term of 99 years, she devised the said premises with their appurtenances unto her nephew William James, and his heirs and assigns for ever ; and the testatrix declared that the said term of 99 years so by her devised was upon trust, that the said trustees, their executors, administrators and assigns should during the said term of 99 years apply all the monies that should arise and be made of the rents and profits of the said premises so devised, in manner following ; that is to say, the sum of £5 yearly to the Rev. James Throgmorton, the then minister, or to any other succeeding minister of the Presbyterian or Independent persuasion exercising the office in the town of Aylesbury, if any such there should be, on St. Thomas's and St. John's days, by equal portions ; and the further sum of £5 yearly, other part of the said yearly profits, unto such poor people of the parish of Aylesbury as the said trustees for the time being should think to have most need thereof, the same to be distributed by the said trustees upon or before the 25th December yearly ; and the residue of the said yearly profits, their reasonable charges being first deducted hereout, should yearly, during the said term of 99 years, pay over unto the said William James, his heirs and assigns." Mary Cockman died the 10th January, 1734-5 ; the charity therefore expired on the 10th January, 1834 ; reference has been made to it in the account of the Hale Leys Chapel.

THE ORGAN CHARITY.

Mary Pitches, of Aylesbury, by her will proved in January, 1800, bequeathed to Daniel Thomas Hill, Joseph Pitches, and John Parker, their executors and administrators, £500 in the five per cent. annuities, upon trust to receive and pay the yearly dividends of the said £500 unto such person as should for the time being be elected and appointed the organist, or to play upon the organ in the Parish Church of Aylesbury, for so long as such person should continue as organist and to play upon the organ to the satisfaction of the trustees for the time being, or the majority of them, and also to the satisfaction of the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of Aylesbury ; and the testatrix directed that her said trustees should, after her decease, with the consent and approbation of the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid for the time being, appoint some fit and proper person to be organist in the Parish Church in the usual manner, and to continue such organist during so long time as he should play upon the said organ to the satisfaction of the said trustees or the majority of them for the time being, and of the vicar, churchwardens and overseers aforesaid, or the majority of them ; and to pay such organist the said yearly interest or dividends of the said £500 ; provided always, and in case the parishioners of the parish of Aylesbury aforesaid for the time being should neglect or refuse to keep the organ then placed in the Parish Church of Aylesbury aforesaid in sufficient repair, or in case the same should become so decayed or worn out that the same could not be repaired, then if the said parishioners should refuse or neglect, by the space of twelve calendar

months next afterwards, to repair the said organ so placed as aforesaid, or to purchase a new or other good organ, and place the same in the said Parish Church, to be played upon by the organist so to be appointed as before mentioned, the said testatrix did from thenceforth revoke and make void all and every the bequests thereinbefore made for the benefit of such organist, and directed that her trustees for the time being should assign or otherwise transfer the said £500 to the said Joseph Pitches, his executors and administrators, to whom she bequeathed the same absolutely to his or their own use and benefit.

WILLIAM COCKMAN'S CHARITY.

There was a tablet in the Parish Church, with the following inscription :— "William Cockman, gent., A.D. 1589, gave an almshouse (since divided into tenements) for the use of the poor." In an ancient churchwarden's book, this almshouse is stated to be in Cat-street, which is now called Castle Street, and to be for the use of four poor people of the town; but these tenements are supposed to be improperly described as to their locality in the above book, and to be four tenements situated in Green End, which were considered as belonging to the parish, and were sold to Mr. Thomas Tindal, under the provisions of the Workhouse Act, for the purpose of raising a fund for building a workhouse.

LEE'S CHARITY.

In the Parliamentary Returns of 1786, a rent-charge of £2 per annum is stated to have been given in the year 1611, by Sir Richard Lee, Knight, for the benefit of two poor widows in this town, and to be then lost by neglect for several years ; and in the ancient churchwarden's book above mentioned there is an entry, stating that this yearly sum is payable out of certain lands near Canterbury. Nothing, it is believed, has been received in respect of this charity within the memory of anyone living, and nothing is now known of the lands out of which the rent-charge issues, and it is not possible to identify them.

LORD WHARTON'S GIFT.

The donor of this gift of Bibles and Catechisms was Philip, 4th Lord Wharton ; he was the first of his family who inherited Winchendon. His seat in this county was at Wooburn, and he became possessed of Winchendon by his marriage with Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir Arthur Goodwin. Jane Goodwin was Lord Wharton's second wife, and after her death he returned to Wooburn, where he had previously lived. The tenor of the Bible gift is as follows:—"Philip, Lord Wharton, by a deed bearing date the 12th July, 1692, gave to certain trustees, by him named, and their successors, the clear yearly rents, issues, and profits which shall arise out of certain lands in the county of the city of York, for the purpose of distributing annually 1,050 Bibles, with the singing Psalms bound up therewith, and 1,050 Catechisms, now entitled, "The grounds and principles of the Christian religion," with the proofs thereof out of the

Scriptures ; the said Bibles and Catechisms to be bound, the former in calves' leather, and the latter in sheep's leather, and an inscription to be on the cover of each Bible and Catechism, with these words—'By the will of Philip, Lord Wharton,' and the year when such books are given out to be added in figures. In the inside of the cover of each Bible is to be pasted a printed paper to the effect of these words—'These reading Psalms, viz., 1st, 15th, 25th, 37th, 101st, 113th, 145th, are to be learned without book by the child to whom the Bible is given.' The Catechisms are to be delivered upon or about the second or third Tuesday in October. The children are to be examined in the October following the receipt of their Bible, as to the proficiency they have made in learning their Catechisms and reading their Bibles, and as a reward to one child, out of every ten, which shall have made the greatest proficiency, one book, entitled, 'A Sure Guide to Heaven,' by Joseph Alleyne,* and one book entitled 'The Principles of the Christian Religion," by Thomas Lye, A.M.,* is to be given."

One cannot fail to observe, from the Catechisms directed to be given by Lord Wharton, and books as rewards, that the benefit was intended by his Lordship for Dissenters ; indeed, he was a Presbyterian. The books are directed to be given away in several counties, in Buckinghamshire at the following places, and in the numbers attached to the names of the places:—

Winslow	10	Bibles	and Catechisms
Aylesbury	20	ditto	ditto
Wendover	20	ditto	ditto
Amersham	10	ditto	ditto
Chesham	10	ditto	ditto
Chepping Wycombe	20	ditto	ditto
Great Marlow	20	ditto	ditto
Beaconsfield	10	ditto	ditto
Wooburn	10	ditto	ditto
Winchendon and Waddesdon	10	ditto	ditto

HOLLOWAY'S GIFT.

Stephen Holloway is described as of High Street, Southwark, wholesale draper. His will is dated the 11th of July, 1829 ; in it he makes a bequest of something like £2000 to poor people of Aylesbury, under certain conditions. The document seems to have been very loosely drawn, even the names of the trustees are not properly given. Woodfield Blake Eagles is termed Woodford Blake Eagles and John Churchill is described as Joseph Churchill. The other trustees were William Rickford, Thomas Dell, and Robert Dell. In 1833, this bequest was, by a decree of the Vice-Chancellor, declared void, and, in 1843, it was declared to be revoked by the codicil to the will, which codicil was not dated ; further, in one place, in reciting the names of the trustees that of William Rickford is omitted altogether. As may be expected under such circumstances,

* Thomas Lye, A.M., and Joseph Alleyne were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, 1662; and Joseph Alleyne was imprisoned for preaching in the month of May, 1663. Thomas Lye, A.M., wrote "An Explanation of the Assembly's Catechisms," "The Principle of the Christian Religion," &c.

recourse was had to the law, the trustees being bound, in regard to their own safety, to obtain a decree in Chancery to guide them in their duties. The codicil referred to reads thus:—

"This is a codicil to my will, Stephen Holloway—Having sold out the two thousand pound stock (as I mentioned in my will dated 29th July, 1829), in the Three per Cent. Consols, and bought two thousand and forty-two pounds in the Five per Cent. Bank Long Annuities for thirty years, I direct that my executors . . . . after the death of my wife, &c. . . . transfer the whole of the said sum into the hands of the trustees as mentioned. . . . . and upon Christmas-day in each year they do pay such number of poor decayed tradesmen and poor women, natives and residents of the town of Aylesbury, who have not and do not receive any relief from the poor rate, being of sober and good moral character, and members of the Church of England, and who shall have attained the age of sixty years, as the same interest, dividends, rents, and profits will extend, to pay the sum of five pounds each, and, in case the said interest shall be more than sufficient to pay such poor men and women, then to divide and pay unto six poor men and women the sum of seven pounds instead of the five pounds each. Stephen Holloway." (Not dated.)

Decrees were made; information filed; answers put in; reports confirmed; decrees on further directions made and altered; then a reference to a master; a petition from the surviving trustees; another hearing; a petition of appeal; the Lord Chancellor's decree on appeal, and a decree on further directions. The reports of all these proceedings fill up forty-eight folio pages, with the usual result, a great expenditure in law costs; and the £2,000 bequest was reduced to the sum of £1476 5s. 5d., now invested in Consols. Mrs. Holloway, the widow of the Testator, died in March, 1841, from which date the will of the donor came into operation, and the poor of Aylesbury have since been recipients of the charity, provided they are eligible under the conditions of the will.

Notwithstanding that this bequest is of so comparatively recent date no information can be obtained respecting Stephen Holloway, or why he should have left his money to the poor of Aylesbury in preference to any other town. It is surmised, but only so, that the testator was a native of Aylesbury, that he left it in his early youth, made his way in the world, and in his declining years did not forget the place of his nativity. It does not say much for the gratitude of the Aylesbury people that his memory should so soon have faded.

JACOB CLEMENTS'S GIFT.

A sum of twenty shillings was for many years put into the alms plate at the Parish Church upon the occasion of the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Not only was this custom observed on the usual Sundays, but also upon all occasions on other days in the year when the Communion was celebrated. This sum was afterwards divided between the Parish Church and the Walton District Church, in the proportion of twelve shillings to Aylesbury and eight shillings to Walton.

Jacob Clements, the donor of these sums, was originally a poor boy, a native of, and

a resident at, Aylesbury. When very young he was employed at the lace pillow, for at that time pillow lace brought a high price, and the labour of the bobbins and pins was so remunerative that not only were women and girls employed in the production of lace, but young boys and even men also. In course of time, Jacob Clements either became tired of this employment or thought it too effeminate for him. On one occasion, under the excitement of a clip off his parchment, and a consequent break in his monotonous employment, he took his lace pillow, and, in contempt, used it as a football about Aylesbury Market Place, declaring that he would never more work at such a girlish occupation. The King's Head Inn at that time was occupied by Mr. Homeyer, an ancestor of the family of that name still resident in the town. Mr. Homeyer was a German by birth and came over to this country at the time when the Princess Caroline arrived to be the Queen of George III. Mr. Homeyer was both proprietor and occupier of the King's Head Inn, and it was at this inn that Jacob Clement, after abjuring the lace-making pillow, found employment as pot-boy or odd man, willing to earn an honest penny from anyone who would employ him; he was a quick, ready kind of fellow, and one who made friends by his willingness to please. Although thoroughly good-natured, he was frugal and took care of his odd pence; his mind was too large for his new occupation, and he aspired to something still better; he was frequently hinting at a desire to improve his position, and often expressed his conviction that if he could only get to London he could do something grand for himself. Like most poor country boys of that period, he had formed most exaggerated notions of the splendour of the city; but he had a tie which bound him to Aylesbury, and which was for a long time the cause of his wavering in his cherished determination to quit his native town and try his fortune elsewhere; this was his very great regard for his poor, widowed, and aged mother. At the affectionate parting, the old dame gave Jacob her blessing, which was all she had to bestow. How he travelled to London is not recorded; in his time it was a great undertaking to reach that city from Aylesbury, as conveyances of all kinds were then expensive and particularly slow and uncertain. From his circumstances it is very probable that, having little or no money, he trudged it all the way, as it is certain that he was not overloaded with this world's goods, either in the shape of clothing, coin, or merchandise. Jacob very soon obtained employment; his situation was that of a light porter or messenger. His master was a stockbroker, and Jacob's particular duty was to attend him when going backwards and forwards to business; he had to carry a bag of account books to his master's office in the morning, and to meet his master at the close of business hours and return with the books to the private residence of his employer.

There is no account of Jacob's book learning, or how far, if at all, he excelled, in his education, other boys of his like station in life. He, however, soon managed to improve his position—first by obtaining, and then retaining, the confidence of his master, and by his perseverance, industry, and, integrity, making himself really useful to him as a confidential assistant. In course of time he worked his way into a good

standing in the mercantile community of the great city, and was highly esteemed and deservedly respected by all those who knew him or with whom he had commercial transactions. Jacob at length married an estimable lady with a good property, and then found himself altogether in a different sphere from that which he held when a lace-making boy at Aylesbury. In his progress to prosperity Jacob did not forget his old associations; his poor old mother had long been regularly assisted by him, and as soon as he was able he sent for her to London. The old lady was taken by surprise at finding the well-doing of her "poor boy," and on her return to Aylesbury it was ever after her delight to be talking of what a "gret gentleman" her Jacob was. No sooner was Jacob able to do so, than he comfortably provided for her in her last days. Jacob's benevolence not only extended to his indigent relatives, but during his somewhat prolonged life the general poor of Aylesbury were the recipients of his bounty by an annual distribution of money, and by his will he secured for ever to the poor of his native place the charity which bears his name.

Mr. Clements was of gentlemanly deportment; he conversed well, and had the easy manners of a man who had lived long in the London world; he exhibited no deficiency in his education. He probably received elementary teachings at the Aylesbury Free School, and upon a solid beginning a man of his natural talents and cleverness would easily adapt himself to the requirements of ordinary society. It is impossible to speak too highly of him as an honourable, just, kind, and charitable man, and fully entitled to rank amongst the "Aylesbury worthies." His only child, the Rev. James Clements, was a learned and accomplished clergyman and gentleman. He lived on his own property at Lower Clapton, where both father and son were well known by their unfailing charity to the poor.

Mr. Jacob Clements died at his residence, Lower Clapton, on the 3rd of August, 1844. He realized a fortune of £300,000, and invested a sum sufficient to raise £25 per annum, to be given away annually at Christmas to the poor families of the parish, and likewise £15, to be annually distributed among the indigent partakers of the sacrament at Aylesbury Churches, making together an annual gift of £40 to the poor parishioners of his native place. He was also a benefactor to the Bucks General Infirmary.

PERRIN'S GIFT.

Mr. Thomas Perrin, of London, a native of Aylesbury, in the year 1879, left to the poor of this parish Russian Bonds of the value of about £80; these were converted into Government Stock, and the interest is, with other charities, distributed by the churchwardens.

The incomes of several of the smaller charities, when left for no specific object, are blended and distributed to the poor at the discretion of the parish officers.

Chapter XL.—THE FREE AND ENDOWED SCHOOLS.

The original founder—Small endowment—Original trustees—Phillips's Gift—Phillips's trustees—Decree of 1720—*Subsequent orders—Estates of the Charity—Management of the school complained of—Public meeting on the subject—Trustees appealed to—Solicitor-General's opinion—Chancery proceedings—Scheme for management,* 1851—*New scheme,* 1862—*Trustees in* 1884.

THE original founder of the Aylesbury Free School was Sir Henry Lee, K.G., who was Lord of Fleet Marston and Quarrendon. He was the eldest son of Sir Anthony Lee, of Burston (by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wyatt, and sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the graceful and renowned poet), and grandson of Sir Robert Lee, of Quarrendon, Burston, and Hardwick. He was born at Allington Castle, County Kent, the seat of the Wyatts, in 1531, and married Anne, third daughter of William, Lord Paget, of West Drayton. He represented Bucks in Parliament in 1557-8, and 1571-2, and died at Spelsbury, Oxon, in 1610.

In the neighbourhood of Aylesbury Sir Henry Lee, K.G., was one of the leading personages. In a correspondence with Sir William Cecil—suggested by Queen Elizabeth herself—on the loss which, as regards the lack of education, had been sustained by all classes through the suppression of the monasteries, the Knight of Quarrendon expressed his readiness to found a free school for the Aylesbury youths, a good work of which he first laid the foundation,* and subsequently promoted its steady growth and solid interest by two further donations, one in 1598 and another in 1603. A collateral descendant, Sir Richard Lee (buried in Canterbury Cathedral, and in memory of whom a large and handsome monument still exists on the north side of the nave), likewise left to the same school a rent charge of £10 a year, accruing from a tenement and lands† in the City of Canterbury ; but this bequest—though reference is made to it in the Church Book of Aylesbury—has been irretrievably lost.

"The very low state of public education in general towards the middle of Elizabeth's reign may be collected from a provision in Archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge in 1567. These are to be supplied by the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, and are to be 'the best and aptest schollars, well instructed in the grammar, and (if it may be) such as can make a verse.'

* His wife and children are buried in Aylesbury Church, and his ancestors had been benefactors on a small scale to the House of Friars in the town.

† This property appears, from a MS. note in a copy of Hasted's *History of Kent*, in the Cathedral Library, to have been held by a lease under the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Hence its possible termination.

It was essential, therefore, that something were done, and done promptly, to remedy the evil. So the authorities stirred up people of influence in various parts of England—specially those who had favoured the innovating policy—to provide means and machinery for educating the young. Sir Nicholas Bacon, in consequence, secured two specific charters founding a Grammar School at St. Albans. At Aylesbury, Sir Henry Lee, K.G., founded a Grammar School, to which a subsequent benefactor, more than a hundred years afterwards, added a munificent donation. At Thame, in 1559, Lord Williams established an admirable school, where for generations the sons of the nobility and gentry living near received a good education. At Reading the Corporation resuscitated an old school connected with the Abbey. At Wycombe, in 1561, the Queen granted the buildings and site of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in that town for 'the maintenance of one pedagogue or master for the good instruction of children or youth,' and gave to it certain lands in Penn, Hughenden, and Great Marlow. At Woodstock a Grammar School was founded in 1585. Notwithstanding these and several other important educational foundations of this reign, however, there were not two hundred Grammar Schools existing throughout the whole country."—"The Church under Elizabeth," by the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.D.

The original endowment of the Aylesbury School by Sir Henry Lee was of the reported annual value of £8 only; it consisted of two messuages vested in certain trustees, of whom the Vicar of Aylesbury appears to have been one. The then schoolmaster was supported partly by the receipt of the rents of these houses and partly by payments from the parents of the boys. The following were the trustees under the will of Sir H. Lee:—

Rev. T. Lodington, Vicar.	Paul Heywood, Esq.
William Church, Esq.	Joseph Bell, Esq.

And the masters acting under the will of Sir H. Lee were:—

1678—Obadiah Dumea.	1681—John Hine, Curate.
1680—John Higgins.	1692—Ralph Gladdman.

In the year 1714 the endowment of Sir Henry Lee was largely augmented by what is known as "Phillips' Gift." Henry Phillips,* of London, by his will, dated the 29th day of September, 1714, bequeathed to his cousins and executors, William Meade and John Meade, the sum of £5,000 upon trust, that the same should be applied to the purchasing of lands of inheritance in fee simple in the county of Bucks, or as near to the same as conveniently might be, to be settled by his said executors, or the survivor of them, upon trustees in succession for ever, for the enlargement of and further provision for the Free School in Aylesbury, for instructing poor boys of Aylesbury and Walton, in the first place, from time to time for ever, for providing sufficient and convenient books and other necessaries for that purpose; and for want of a sufficient number of poor boys in the said parishes of Aylesbury and Walton fit to be admitted into the said school, then for the instructing of such other poor boys of the next neighbouring parishes, together with those of Aylesbury and Walton, and for finding them books and necessaries,

* For particulars relating to the family of Phillips and their connection with Aylesbury, see pages 38 and 179.

all of which said poor boys should be instructed in the Latin tongue, writing, arithmetic and accounts, so as to be fit to go and be apprentices to good trades; with a proviso, that if the trustees should not agree, by articles in writing in legal and sufficient manner, that the said school and schoolmasters thereof should be regulated according to such direction and conditions as his executors, or the survivors of them, should appoint in the settlement concerning the said school, and for placing and displacing the masters and teachers thereof, as the trustees in the said settlement or settlements thereof for the time being should think convenient, the said gift or legacy given for the benefit of the Free Schools should cease and be void, and in such case that the sum of £5,000 should be applied by his executors, or the survivor of them, as was mentioned in another part of his will (which was to erect and endow almshouses). The trustees appointed by the High Court of Chancery under Mr. Phillips's will in 1717 were :—

F. Tyringham.	E. Martyn.
R. Lambourne.	John Heales.
T. Ingoldsby.	W. Meade.
W. James.	R. Abell.
W. Collett.	T. Goodson.

Joseph Bell (one of the trustees of the old Charity).

By a Decree of the Court of Chancery, dated the 4th February, 1720, the following rules and ordinances were established for the government of the school :—

1. "There shall be 120 boys admitted into the said school, to be taught gratis, and to be furnished with books, pens, ink, and paper, gratis.

"2. There shall be appointed one schoolmaster and one usher for teaching the said boys in reading English, Latin, and Greek; and also one writing-master for teaching and instructing the said boys in writing and accounts; the which said schoolmaster and usher, and also the writing-master, shall attend their respective duties in the said school at least ten hours in every week day, not being holydays.

"3 relates to the appointment and dismissal of schoolmasters.

"4 gives a power to the trustees to perform or not, at their discretion, at any time within two years, certain acts which they had not performed.

"5. Upon the death or removal of any one or more of the said trustees, the trustees or the major part of them shall nominate some other person or persons to be trustee or trustees in the room of him or them so dead or removed; and as often as the present trustees, or any subsequent trustees, shall by death or otherwise be reduced to five in number, the survivors of such trustees shall convey the estate to the other trustees, who shall be so nominated in the room of those that die or remove.

"6. The schoolmaster and usher for the time being shall take care that the said boys do come to school on every school day, from Lady-day to Michaelmas-day in every year, at six o'clock in the morning, and there remain till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and do come again at one o'clock in the afternoon and there remain till six o'clock; and from Michaelmas-day to Lady-day, the said boys do attend at school from seven o'clock till eleven in the forenoon, and from one till five in the afternoon.

"7. The schoolmaster and usher, and writing-master, in respect of their teaching the said 120 boys, shall not on any account whatsoever receive any gift, present, or other matter or thing of or from any of the said boys, or of or from any of their parents or friends, but shall have and receive from the said trustees such salaries respectively as they the said trustees shall see convenient.

"8. The schoolmaster for the time being shall and may receive and teach in the said school, for his own profit and advantage, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew only, so many other scholars, the sons of wealthy and substantial parents, as the said school shall be capable to receive, not exceeding twenty in number, and so as the boys to be taught gratis shall not be prejudiced or neglected thereby."

The new schoolroom and houses appear to have been erected in the year 1718-19 by William Meade, partly on the site of the two ancient messuages which formed the property of the old charity, at an expense of £1,267 18s. 2d., the repayment of which was secured to him. The newly built premises were first conveyed to the trustees of the school by indentures of lease and release dated the 13th and 14th September, 1737, by the description of "all that school and school-houses then lately erected and built, and situate and being in Aylesbury, adjoining to the churchyard."

The trustees, at various periods after the date of the abstracted rules and orders, made other regulations for the conduct of the school. The most material were the following:—

"Ordered, 1st October, 1720—The age of the children to be admitted into the school be five years, provided they can read.

"12th February, 1723—At a meeting of the trustees immediately succeeding the death of William Meade, it was resolved that the school be a free-school for boys, being sons of inhabitants of Aylesbury and Walton, according to the Decree of the Court of Chancery.

"1st October, 1814—All boys of the Church of England do attend divine worship on Sundays collectively, and those of other persuasions their places of worship.

"13th April, 1816—That Dr. Bell's plan of teaching be adopted in the English department of the school.

"2d April, 1825—Every boy absenting himself from school, without proper reasons, ten days, during each half year, be dismissed the school.

"24th September, 1825—The number of boys in the Latin school be increased from 15 to 20, and the number of the lower school reduced to 100.

"1st April, 1826—That the boys in the upper school be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as Latin, by the head master.

"17th April, 1830—That a sinking fund of not less than £60 be annually applied for the purpose of liquidating the debts due from the trustees."

In 1832 the property of this charity consisted of the manor of Broughton Abbotts, with its rights and appurtenances. The quit-rents due to the trustees in respect thereof amounted to £10 18s. 10d. The reliefs are, by custom, one year's quit-rent on every death or alienation. The homestead of Broughton Abbotts, consisting of a large farm-house, with out-buildings, and 141 acres of pasture land in the hamlet of Broughton and parish of Bierton; four pieces of pasture land, containing in the whole 36A. 2R. 35P., and an allotment 2A. 33P., also at Broughton; a water corn-mill and mill-house, with outbuildings and a cottage, and about 19A. 1R. 20P. in the hamlet of Broughton and parish of Bierton, partly arable and partly pasture; and a sum of £1,814 16s. 3d., three per cent. consols, producing a dividend of £54 8s. 8½d. yearly, composed the estate.

Great dissatisfaction had long existed, and had often been expressed by the towns-

people, as to the general state of the school and its management. In April, 1849, this feeling culminated in a strong expression of discontent; a large town meeting was held in the County Hall, for the purpose of devising measures to redeem the school from the state of inefficiency into which it had fallen. Mr. E. Green, who then resided at Brook Cottage, was active in the movement. At this meeting, which was a somewhat tempestuous one, the Rev. J. R. Pretyman presided. The Right Hon. Lord Nugent, who was at that period one of the members for the Borough, Mr. E. Green, Messrs. John Gibbs, Robert Thorp, James Jackson, W. Ward, H. Watson, Robert Gibbs, W. H. Poole, J. Jones, G. L. Browne, John Gurney, A. Tindal, T. Field, J. Ivatts, J. Shaw, D. Reid, the Rev. A. Baker, and others took part. A deputation was formed to wait on the school trustees with a memorial; also a committee to carry out the intentions of the meeting. An address to the trustees was adopted, which set out generally the unsatisfactory condition and management of the school, and said regard had not been paid to the will of the principal founder, nor to the decree of the Court of Chancery of 1720 for carrying the intentions of that will into full effect, and that whereas education was provided for 120 boys, the attendance had dwindled down to 50. Several other grievances in the management of the school were brought before the trustees. The address concluded :—

"We beg to remind the Trustees that this is not the first time that an attempt has been made by inhabitants of this town to call your attention to the existing evils, with a view to their removal, and that a deputation of ourselves, which three years since waited upon you for this purpose, were neither granted an interview nor received any attention to the memorial which they then forwarded to you.

"We, therefore, your memorialists, do now hereby call upon you, as being primarily responsible for the due management of this institution, to rectify these serious deviations from the regulations laid down both by the Founder's Will and by the Decree of the Court of Chancery, and to supply these ruinous defects in the administration of the School, in order that the middle and poorer classes in this parish may enjoy that advantage which the well-directed munificence of former days intended for their benefit in the solid and liberal education of their children. And we make this appeal to you in the belief and hope that much as the efficiency and utility of this School have now for many years been impaired under the existing system of management, you will not be indisposed to revert to a beneficial execution of your important trust, at the instance of this public representation and complaint from the inhabitants of this town, who have greatly suffered, for some years past, from the neglected and decayed condition of their Free School, and many of whom, failing to obtain for their children the advantages which they considered themselves as entitled to find in that School, have been compelled, to their cost and inconvenience, to supply this need in other ways.

"And we would respectfully intimate to you that we at present forbear to seek a remedy for the evils of which we complain by requesting our Representatives in Parliament to move for the introduction of a clause meeting our case in a Bill for the Regulation of Charitable Trusts now before the House of Commons, in the sole confidence that you will not reject this, our reasonable request, in consideration of the responsibility and obligations voluntarily assumed by you in accepting the office of Trustees.

"In conclusion, we respectfully request you to name as early a day as may be convenient to you for receiving a deputation of inhabitants appointed at this meeting, to lay before you the resolutions passed at it on the subject of the Free School, with such

further explanations of the wishes of the inhabitants as may be thought requisite, and to receive your answer to the present memorial."

In February, 1850, a long correspondence was carried on between the representatives of the school trustees and the committee appointed at the town meeting, principally on a request for a public examination of the pupils of the school, to which the trustees raised objection; indeed they did not evince any disposition to meet the wishes of the committee on this or any other subjects complained of. Eventually they ceded that a deputation, chosen by the committee, should be allowed to be present at an examination, and after some demur the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, Messrs. H. Watson, Edward Green, Robert Thorp, and Robert Gibbs attended as such deputation, and they reported the result of the examination to the committee. In May following, the Solicitor-General's opinion upon a case submitted to him upon the state of the school was published as follows:—

"The trustees of this school appear to me to have neglected their duty, and to have altogether omitted to carry into execution the Decree of the Court of Chancery of 1720, which they were bound to do. The circumstances, however, of this case are such, arising in a great measure from the length of time which has elapsed since the Decree was made, and from the powers given to the Court by the statute of 3rd and 4th Vic., c. 77, that it is in my opinion impracticable to produce the reform required by any attempt to carry into effect the Decree of 1720; but that they may be obtained by the Order of the Court of Chancery, and that therefore it is necessary that a fresh application should be made to the Court of Chancery. The existence of the Decree of 1720 will not prevent this course from being taken. The best course for this purpose is to present a Petition under the 52nd Geo. III., c. 101, and under the 3rd and 4th Vic., c. 77, for a scheme to regulate the Charity, and to introduce the changes which are required by the present state of society. This petition should be served on the trustees, and before the Master (under the order to be made) the various points in dispute will be settled, in the presence of the Attorney-General. I have, therefore, refrained from expressing any opinion on the propriety of the various changes required to be introduced, and as to the persons proper to be appointed trustees, whether by virtue of any office they may hold, as the Vicar, or otherwise, as these matters will depend on the view taken by the Master in the Court when the facts are fully before him: the petition, however, should state fully the facts of the case and the alterations and amendments proposed to be introduced by the petitioners. The costs of this petition, both of petitioners and respondents, will be borne by the funds of the Charity. This course is the speediest and least expensive which can be adopted, and is that which I advise to be adopted on behalf of the inhabitants interested in these schools.—(Signed), JOHN ROMILY,—Lincoln's Inn."

No satisfactory progress was made as to improvement in the management of the school. Consequently, in July, 1850, proceedings were instituted in the Court of Chancery by the presentation of a petition for a general inquiry into its management, the petitioners being the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, the Vicar, and Mr. Edward Green, of Brook Cottage. The case dragged on for another year; in July, 1851, it was brought before Sir J. K. Bruce, Knight, in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, when his Honour made an order confirming the Master's report, dated November, 1850, with one or two exceptions. In the same month, statutes relating to the management of the

school under the High Court of Chancery, as embodied in the Master's report, were settled. In the year 1862 a new scheme was issued, superseding that of 1851, and it is upon the latter that the school is now managed, and from which the following extracts are made. It is entitled "A scheme for the management of the Aylesbury Free and Endowed Schools, &c., dated 15th July, 1862."

". . . . . The full number of Trustees of the Charity shall be fourteen; and that the Vicar of Aylesbury for the time being and the Incumbent of Walton for the time being shall respectively be two of such Trustees by virtue of their respective Offices, and without any further or other appointment. . . . . .

"In case of a vacancy or vacancies occurring in the office of Trustees, the remaining Trustees shall appoint a proper person or proper persons to supply such vacancy or vacancies, the person or persons to be appointed being resident within a radius of ten miles from the School-house; such appointment or appointments to be forthwith reported to the Charity Commissioners.

"For the due administration of the Charity, the Trustees for the time being shall hold four general meetings in every year in the School-house, or at such other place as they shall think fit to appoint, such meetings to be held on such day and at such times as the Trustees shall appoint, and in default of such appointment then such meetings shall be held on the Saturday in the week after the 6th day of April, the Saturday immediately preceding the commencement of the Midsummer holidays, the Saturday in the week after the 11th day of October, and the Saturday immediately preceding the commencement of the Christmas holidays; and that at such meetings the accounts of the School shall be examined, and the conduct and management thereof during the preceding quarter, and the then present state thereof shall be enquired into.

"The Trustees shall, at least seven days before the audit, publish in two of the Aylesbury newspapers a summary of the receipts and payments on account of the Charity during the preceding year, together with a notice of the time and place at which it is proposed to audit such accounts.

"Boys who have attained the age of seven years, and are able to read, and whose parents are inhabitants of Aylesbury or Walton, or of the next neighbouring parishes (but with a preference in favour of Aylesbury and Walton), and unable of their own means to give them such an education as may be obtained in the Lower School, shall be eligible to become scholars of that School, and that the Head Master shall keep a book wherein he shall enter in rotation the names, ages, and qualifications of all applicants for admission to the Upper and Lower Schools, and shall at every meeting of the Trustees submit such book to them, and they shall have exclusive power at any meeting to admit boys as scholars of either school, and to expel scholars therefrom for irregularity, disobedience, or other improper conduct.

"The total number of boys receiving an absolutely gratuitous education upon the foundation shall not exceed 120. That there shall be an Upper and Lower School. That the course of Education in the Lower School shall comprise the English language, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, accounts, geography, and modern history, and, in addition to the subjects taught in the Lower School, the course of education in the Upper shall comprise the Greek, Latin, and French languages, mathematics, and such other useful branches of education as the Trustees may from time to time direct. That the free boys in both schools shall be gratuitously supplied and provided with all necessary books, pens, ink, paper, pencils, and stationery, and that daily instruction shall be given by the reading and explanation of the Holy Scriptures, and the examination of the scholars in their knowledge thereof.

"There shall always be one Head Master, who shall be at least a Batchelor of Arts

of either of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Durham, or Trinity College, Dublin, and qualified to teach and instruct the scholars in all the aforesaid branches of education (except writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and accounts), and to supervise the instructions given by the Writing Master in his department, and to judge of the progress of the scholars in all the branches of education taught in the schools, and at least one Second Master, who shall be called the Master of the Lower School, and who shall be qualified to instruct the scholars in all the branches of education taught in the Lower School, and at least one Writing Master, who shall be qualified to teach the scholars writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and accounts, and shall perform such other duties as the Head Master shall from time to time appoint. . . . . .

"The Head Master shall be at liberty to appoint one or more Assistant Master or Masters, to be approved by the Trustees, but not to be considered as having any vested interest under this scheme.

"All boys attending the Upper School shall pay a capitation fee not exceeding one guinea and a half per quarter if residing with their parents or guardians in Aylesbury or Walton, if residing elsewhere two guineas per quarter, except that a number of boys, not less than ten, may, after one year's regular attendance at the Lower School, be elected by the Trustees to Exhibitions admitting them free to the Upper School. That expensive books, such as Lexicons, Atlases, &c., may be provided by the Trustees, and that each boy in the Upper School, except the free boys, pay 2s. 6d. per quarter for the use of them. Stationery and ordinary school books required by the pay boys in the Upper School to be provided by such boys.

"The capitation fees and payments mentioned in the last clause be paid in advance quarterly to the Head Master and accounted for by him to the Trustees, to be applied by them to the improvement of the income of the Head Master, the maintenance of an Assistant Master or Masters in either of the said schools, and to such other purposes as the Trustees shall from time to time appoint, provided only that the present Head Master shall receive not less than one half of such capitation fees.

"There shall be paid to the Head Master, the Master of the Lower School, and the Writing Master, such annual salaries as the Trustees, having regard to the resources of the Charity, shall from time to time determine; and the Head Master and the Lower Master shall be respectively entitled to, and shall be paid in addition to their said several salaries, the sums or allowances following, (that is to say) the Head Master at the rate of ten shillings per annum, and the Lower Master at the rate of five shillings per annum, in respect of each boy, not exceeding in number 120, who shall have been admitted into either school upon the foundation, and shall have *bonâ fide* attended school during the preceding quarter; and such salaries and payments to be made quarterly.

"The present Head Master and the Lower Master shall be entitled, free of rent, to, and shall if required by the Trustees, reside in the residences belonging to the Charity now occupied by them respectively. . . . . .

"Subject to the controlling power of the Trustees, the Head Master shall have the entire Government of both schools, and that the Lower and other Masters shall perform such duties as he shall from time to time direct.

"The expense of providing fuel to be used in the schools and of cleaning the school-rooms shall be paid and borne out of the income of the Charity.

"The Head Master shall be at liberty to receive any number of boys as boarders in his house, not exceeding twenty, to be instructed with the other boys in the Upper School, but subject to the payment to the trustees of the capitation fees hereinbefore mentioned.

"Neither of the Masters shall (except as in these Statutes mentioned), in respect of their teaching of any of the scholars, receive from any of them or any of their parents

or friends any payment, gift, or present whatsoever, without the sanction of the Trustees.

"The only holidays in the schools shall be the days between the Thursday before and the Wednesday next after Easter-Day, Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-Week, and one month at Midsummer, and one month at Christmas, and the afternoon of every Wednesday and Saturday throughout the year.

"The Head Master shall keep a separate list of the boys admitted to each school, which shall state the date of the admission, the names and ages of the boys, the names and residences of their parents or guardians, and the dates and reasons of their leaving the school; and that the Head Master shall have power to suspend until the next meeting of the Trustees any scholar who shall be guilty of irregularity, disobedience, or other improper conduct in either school.

"That an examination by a competent person or persons, to be nominated by the Trustees, of all the scholars for the time being in the schools, as to their proficiency, shall be held immediately preceding the Midsummer holidays and the Christmas holidays, and that the inhabitants of Aylesbury and Walton shall be at liberty to attend such examinations; and that the Trustees shall have power to award such and so many prizes, not exceeding twenty in number, as they may think fit, to and amongst the most meritorious scholars of either school, who shall distinguish themselves for learning or good conduct, and who in the judgment of the examiners shall be deserving of the same, provided that the total amount to be expended in the purchase of such prizes at any one examination shall not exceed the sum of £10, and no greater sum than £10 shall be paid to any examiner or examiners for any one examination, unless with consent of the Charity Commissioners.

"This scheme shall be printed at the expense of the Charity, and a copy thereof given to every person who is now or may hereafter be appointed a Trustee or Master of or in the schools, and a copy thereof shall be supplied by the Head Master to any person who shall be willing to pay the sum of one shilling for the same."

There are other rules—details relating to the conducting of the affairs of the Charity and estates, but they do not affect the general management of the schools.

Summary of receipts and payments on behalf of the schools for the year ending June, 1883:—

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's account.	324	9	9
Rents of Estates	483	0	0
Dividends	41	12	0
Quit Rents	10	13	0
	£859	14	9

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Salaries & Payments to Masters.	345	0	0
Tithe Payments	16	5	7
Clerk's Salary	10	0	0
Insurance	4	3	9
Fee Farm Rent	1	15	4
Books, Stationery, Printing, &c.	17	15	3
Examination Fee	10	0	0
Books for Prizes	5	19	0
Repairs	70	2	1
Draining Pipes	31	8	8
Miscellaneous Payments.....	29	7	10
Balance	317	17	3
	£859	14	9

Chapter XLI.—THE GAOL, HOUSE OF CORRECTION, COUNTY HALL, &c.

A County Gaol at Aylesbury at an early period—a Borough Gaol—Bridewell—Prison life—The Gaol in 1665 *and in* 1779*—Howard's visit to Aylesbury Gaol—Defects in construction — Outbreaks — Inbreak — Sanitary condition of Gaol — The Wat or Ghost—Gaol fever—Neild visits the Gaol—his report—Laxity in management —Jemmy the Gipsy—Gaol reformation—the treadmill—hard labour—The "Datchet" —The new Gaol—Her Majesty's Prison—Judges' Lodge—The County Hall—Act for building it—Removal of Assizes to Buckingham—removal of Assizes from Buckingham to Aylesbury.*

THERE was, without doubt, a gaol at Aylesbury at a very remote period. In the 4th year of Edward I. (1276), a report was made to the Exchequer of those who had received gifts or gains for the exercise of their offices. It was found that Thomas de Bray, late Sheriff of Bucks, had received from William de la More, of Hertwell, and Agatha, of the same place, imprisoned in the prison of Eglesburie, 20s., for exercising his office at the precept of the King.

In the reign of Edward III. Aylesbury gaol was again referred to ; there is proof of its being repaired at that time, and that such repairs were paid for out of the county fund. Three points are thus disposed of—First, that it was a county prison ; secondly, that Aylesbury was considered the county town ; and, thirdly, that the gaol must have existed a considerable time, or repairs would not have been needed. There is also proof that a town or borough gaol, Bridewell or prison of some kind, also existed in addition to the county gaol. This building is described in a document, dated 1553, as a "triangular messuage or tenement in Aylesbury, in the occupation of Richard Fryer, and called the old gaol." In the Charter of Incorporation, granted to the town by Queen Mary, a gaol is, amongst other privileges, awarded ; the fact, in the charter, is recorded in these terms :—

"And moreover, of our further grace, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, that they may have for ever a prison or gaol, to be limited or assigned in any convenient place within the borough aforesaid, according to their discretion, for the safety and securely keeping there by the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, or their deputy, or the steward of the said borough, all and singular the persons from time to time apprehended or taken within the borough aforesaid, and all other persons for any cause happening to be committed to the prison or gaol aforesaid, until they shall be delivered therefrom according to the form of the law."

It would appear from the preamble of the Act for the erection of the County Hall

in the year 1727, that the prison was not originally erected for the purposes for which it was used; it is there described as "a house used for such gaol." This explains many circumstances in connection with it; showing that it ever was ill-adapted, insecure, unhealthy, and altogether unfit for congregating a mass of human beings together; that from first to last it was nothing better than a miserable makeshift, and that the new Gaol erected in 1845 ought to have had an existence even centuries before. A plan of the old prison, still in existence, shows that the area was so circumscribed and so awkward in proportion that anything like classification of prisoners and general good management was an impossibility. Its site was a narrow slip of ground, the frontage of which was occupied by the County Hall; it was bounded by the rear of the houses in Walton Street on one side, and the late White Hart, now the Market Company's premises, on the other, and it extended as far as the Bear Brook, which formed its southern boundary. It was approached by a low gateway at the east end of the County Hall, running under the offices of the Clerk of the Peace. At the rear of this entrance were two sets of gates fitted in open iron work; they were some yards apart, the turnkey's lodge intervening, adjoining which was the gaoler's office. There were no other buildings on the left, all other parts of the prison ranging on the right-hand side. The first apartment on the right was known as the cave, then next were the governor's house, the old gaol, sleeping cells, new gaol, the "Datchet" or poacher's ward, women's ward, washhouse, treadwheel, House of Correction or Bridewell, boy's ward, cooking kitchen, chapel, carpenter's shop, debtors' ward, bakehouse, infirmary, and the bath-room. There was a gateway entrance from the lower part of Walton Street, which now forms Exchange Street, and at the rear of the Infirmary yard or garden was what was termed the lower garden; this was outside the boundary wall, but connected with the other part of the premises by a doorway; it abutted on the bankside of the brook, which formed the extremity of the grounds. There was a house on the west side of the frontage of the County Hall, in which resided the gaol schoolmaster and gaol baker, on the site of which now stand the offices of the Chief Constable.

In 1779 the County Gaol was occupied by debtors, felons, and prisoners awaiting trial, and the Bridewell by misdemeanants and minor offenders. The gaol comprised a day-room for felons, two condemned cells, a hall for debtors, and sundry rooms for the keeper; also a separate room or two for female felons. At this period there was neither an Infirmary nor a Chapel connected with the Gaol; Divine Service was celebrated in the County Hall, where the inmates of the Gaol were accommodated with seats in the prisoner's dock. The townspeople were admitted to these services, and a collection was usually made, the proceeds of which were divided amongst the debtors and prisoners who attended the services; this arrangement rendered the attendance of the inmates as to numbers everything that could be desired. The keeper at that time (Mr. Smith) received no salary, but contracted to supply debtors and felons with a pound of bread a day, and two hot dinners a week, also to convey transports to London, for £70 a year. The fees

and perquisites attached to the office were such as to render a fixed salary unnecessary. This arrangement was a cruelty; gaolers generally were unrelenting. The gaoler at Bedford is an example; he required a fee of 5s. 4d., and his turnkey one of 2s., from all debtors or prisoners before discharge, and they were detained in custody until the money was paid. These charges were even imposed upon men committed for trial and acquitted; thus wretches, guiltless of crime but bankrupt in estate, would languish in gaol for want of a few shillings to purchase their discharge. Gaolers were also accustomed to appropriate the best rooms in the prison to their own profits, and let them to those debtors who could afford the luxury of separate sleeping apartments. Mr. Smith, the Aylesbury gaoler, also had a license to sell beer and wine, a monopoly which he, without doubt, exercised to his own advantage. He was also keeper of the Bridewell, of which Howard thus writes:—"The two workrooms and the lodging-rooms are small—one of the latter only 5½ feet by 4 feet, and 6 feet high. A court in front, 8 feet wide, has lately been enclosed from the spacious courtyard of the keeper behind the County Hall. The salary of the keeper is £30, but he puts in a deputy who serves, for living rent free." The keeper, it seems, received the salary, and the deputy did the work. The gaol fever, a fatal malady very common in the gaols of this country, which will be subsequently referred to, was a frequent visitor at Aylesbury. Howard, in his report, says that six or seven had recently died of it in Aylesbury gaol at the time of his visit, a circumstance not to be wondered at when the poor wretches were confined in sleeping rooms 5½ feet by 4 feet; and Neild, in his report at a later date, refers to a "loathsome dungeon which had been bricked up." This must have existed at Howard's visit, although he makes no mention of it. Some of the prisons at this period were so loathsome that the keepers themselves did not dare to venture into them or approach them. Howard carried disinfectants and strong smelling salts for fear of falling a victim to the malignant fevers which then prevailed in prisons generally. Many of the prisons in the East at the present day would compare favourably with those existing in England a century ago.

A grim piece of evidence as to prison life in the early days of the Plantagenets has been taken from the *Coram Rege* rolls of Henry III. The translation of it runs thus:—

"*Assizes at Ludinglond.*

"The jury present that William le Sauvage took two men, aliens, and one woman, and imprisoned them at Thorlestan, and detained them in prison until one of them died in prison and the other lost one foot, and the woman lost either foot by putrefaction. Afterwards he took them to the Court of the Lord the King at Ludinglond to try them by the same Court. And when the Court saw them, it was loth to try them because they were not attached for any robbery or misdeed for which they could suffer judgment. And so they were permitted to depart."

The penalty of hard labour was in Howard's time unknown: writing of his visit to Aylesbury Gaol, he says—"Two men sentenced for three years had continued here two years and a half; one of them was much emaciated by confinement without work." Prisoners were permitted to work if they pleased, and to sell their handiwork; but the majority

of them, being dissolute characters, spent their time in idleness, diversified with gambling and the relation of vicious stories, which tended in no small degree to demoralize those of their associates who were yet new in the paths of crime. They were also without regular spiritual consolation. A clergyman of the town only occasionally called to administer to their spiritual wants, and preached a sermon on Sunday.

An insight into the former general state and management of Aylesbury Gaol is obtained from the autobiography of Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker. About the year 1665 the persecution of the Buckinghamshire Friends, or Quakers, was unrelenting. Many of them were committed to Aylesbury Gaol, and Ellwood describes their introduction. He, with others, attended a Quaker's funeral at Amersham, and just as the procession was passing through the town one Ambrose Bennett, a Justice of the Peace, happened to pass on his way to Aylesbury Sessions. For no offence whatever, ten of these men were forthwith committed to Aylesbury, Ellwood and Pennington included. Ellwood goes on to say :—

"The Aylesbury gaoler, whose name was Nathaniel Birch, had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, and with great rudeness and cruelty to some of our friends of the lower side of the county, whom he, combining with the Clerk of the Peace, whose name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his gaol, and, after they were legally discharged in Court, detained them in prison, using great violence, and shutting them up close in the common gaol among the felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees. When we came in, the gaoler was ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that day to begin the assize, and his wife was somewhat at a loss how to deal with us ; but being a cunning woman, she treated us with great appearance of courtesy, offering us the choice of all her rooms ; and when we asked upon what terms she still referred us to her husband, telling us she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to draw us to take possession of some of her chambers at a venture, and trust to her husband's kind usage. But we, who, at the cost of our friends, had a proof of his kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman, and there told her we would not settle anywhere till her husband came home, and then would have a free prison, wheresoever he put us. Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the prison, in which was a well of very good water, and having beforehand sent to a friend in Aylesbury, a widow woman, whose name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us some bread and cheese, we sat down upon the ground round about the well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well. In this posture, the gaoler, when he came home, found us ; and having before he came to us consulted his wife, and by her understood on what terms we stood, when he came to us, he hid his teeth, and, putting on a show of kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old friend Mr. Pennington, and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his house we pleased. We asked upon what terms, letting him know, withal, that we determined to have a free prison. He, like the sun and wind in the fable, that strove which of them should take from the traveller his cloak, having, like the wind, tried rough, boisterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us ; wherefore he told us, we should make the terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired : if we thought fit, when we were released, to give him anything, he would thank us for it ; and if not he would demand nothing. Upon these terms we went in and disposed ourselves, some in the dwelling house, others in the malt house, where they chose to be. When we had lain there that month, I, with another, went to the gaoler,

to demand our liberty, which he readily granted, telling us the door should be opened when we pleased to go. This answer of his I reported to the rest of my friends there, and thereupon we realised amongst us a small sum of money, which they put into my hand for the gaoler, whereupon I, taking another with me, went to the gaoler with the money in my hand, and reminded him of the terms upon which we accepted the use of his rooms. I told him, that although we could not pay chamber rent or fees, yet, inasmuch as he had been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small token, and thereupon gave him the money. He, putting it into his pocket, said, 'I thank you and your friends for it; and to let you see I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look upon it to see how much it is.'"

Another great defect in the Gaol was its miserable and irremediable state. In its earliest years it had obtained the character of being a most unhealthy and ill-conditioned place. The plague, the spotted fever, the gaol fever, the putrid fever, the pestilence, and other fatal diseases with which the town of Aylesbury used to be visited were commonly shown to have originated in the prison. In 1604, the county election was held at Brickhill in consequence of the "sickness" (plague) being so fatal in Aylesbury Gaol, and in the town also. The neatness and cleanliness observable just prior to its demolition are no index to its state in former years. It probably was then unpaved, unpitched, undrained, and in a general state of neglect and dilapidation.

The ghost story attached to the Gaol may have had its origin in its swampy and low situation. This ghost was no other than a Will o' the Wisp, of which we read in the tales of antiquated authors. Philosophical discussions on the nature of this phenomenon were at one time gravely entered into. The Jack o' Lantern, or Will o' the Wisp, was considered by one philosopher to be a group of shining insects, and by another a collection of fired vapours, and by a third a kind of light of an electric nature; it was supposed by Sir Joseph Bankes, after a laborious and unsatisfactory investigation, to have no existence at all. As a rational solution is apparently hopeless, and philosophical conjecture baffled, we must be content with the ideas of our forefathers, and resolve it into a supernatural appearance. It commonly haunted marshes and moist meadows, and excepting when it was seen at sea it appears to have been, in general, ominous of nothing. Anthony à Wood reports seeing a "fiery drake at Boarstall." It appeared to be as long as All Saints' steeple in Oxford, and very narrow; it made the place light enough to read in, and gave a report. "Great raines and inundations followed." The fiery drake was known at Aylesbury as "The Wat;" it used occasionally to visit the Gaol, and was then prophetic of evil; the night before the arrival of the Judges at the Assizes was the fatal period of its visit. It would then make its appearance like a small flame, and the unfortunate person to whom it was visible had nothing to look forward to but certain death. "This," adds John Gregory, in the simplicity of his soul, "I cannot affirm of my own knowledge, but I learnt it from the inhabitants of Aylesbury themselves—from persons worthy of belief." The Ignis Fatuus (Latin—vain or foolish fire) has been described as a gas generated by the decomposition of

animal matter present in a marshy soil; its motion is accounted for by the flame being communicated along the line of a stream of the gas.* In former times the Will o' the Wisp, Jack o' Lantern, &c., was an object of superstition amongst the inhabitants of the district where it appeared, and was believed to be due to evil spirits, attempting to lure the traveller to his destruction; travellers have been misled by it, taking it for a lamp, and decoyed into marshy and dangerous places. Gay, in one of his poems, is playful over the subject:—

> Will-o-wisp leads the traveller a-gadding,
> Through ditch and through quagmire and bog;
> No light can e'er set me a-padding,
> But the eyes of my sweet Molly Mogg.

Not of late years, nor, indeed, within the memory of man, has Will o' the Wisp visited his former haunts or been seen or heard of near the old Gaol, nor did he follow the establishment to the new quarters on Bierton Hill.

On another occasion (says Thomas Ellwood) "this same Bennett committed six other Friends to Aylesbury gaol; the batch included a Mr. Parker, a doctor." The state of the gaol was again brought into prominence. The warrant for committal being read, the wife of Dr. Parker expostulated with the justice for cruelly exposing the prisoners to disease and death, reminding him that it was a sickly time, and that the pestilence was reported to be in Aylesbury gaol; she desired him to consider in time how he would answer the cry of their blood, if, by his sending them to be shut up in an infected place, they should lose their lives. This made him alter his purpose, and by a new mittimus he sent them to the house of correction at Wycombe.

In 1666 Mary Pennington, with her children, took a small house at Aylesbury, in order to be near her husband during his cruel imprisonment in the plague-stricken gaol. On another occasion, when Pennington was a prisoner, the gaol was so crowded with Friends and other Nonconformists that he was confined in an incommodious old malthouse adjoining the gaol premises. Ellwood describes the place as "So decayed that it was scarce fit for a dog-house. And so open it lay, that the prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these Friends were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in prison for others, of other professions and names, whom the gaoler did not trust in the old malthouse." Sixty or seventy Quakers were kept imprisoned in this miserable place.†

In the summer of 1784 there was a lamentable outbreak of fever in the gaol; it

* "Audivi sæpius a Buckinghamiensis meis tale quid nebulonibus desperatis accidens ad regium carcerem Ailesburiensem, ubi nocte præeunte judicis adventum, prodigiosa quædam flammula apparere solet in cacere, illis omnibus fatalis a quibus visitur. Unusquisque enim ex incarceratis cui contigit hanc flammulam (quem vocant, *the Wat*), conspexisse, actum est de illo: nihilque in posternum expectat præter patibulum. Non adeo sum infeliciter peritus ut hæc ex propriâ experientiâ affirmare ausim: at ex oppidanis ipsis diligenter didici; iisque hominibus fide dignis."—MS. of John Gregory.

† This malthouse, which was connected with the Bear public-house in Walton Street, was standing a very few years ago; it was pulled down and stabling erected by Mr. Lepper, veterinary surgeon.

spread into the town and neighbourhood, several cases of death being recorded from "gaol fever." A man from Stoke Goldington was put in gaol for a £10 debt; he took the fever and died of it. His wife came to nurse him, she caught the fever, and carried it home to Stoke Goldington; she died of it; it spread through the village and a great many died; the children recovered, but it was mostly fatal to grown up people. Anthony à Wood gives the following account of the gaol fever out of the Register of Merton College:—"Sometimes getting out of bed, agitated with, I know not what, with fury from their distemper and pain, they would beat and drive from them their keepers with sticks; others run about the yards and streets like madmen; others jump head foremost into deep waters. The sick labour with a most violent pain both of the head and stomach: they are taken with a frenzy; are deprived of their understanding, memory, sight, hearing, and other senses. As the disease increases, they take nothing; they get no sleep; they suffer none to tend or keep them; they are always wonderful strong and robust even in death itself; no complexion or constitution is spared; but the choleric are more particularly attacked by this evil, of which the physicians can neither find the cause or cure. The stronger the person is, the sooner he dies. Women are not seized with it; nor the poor, neither does any one catch it that takes care of the sick or visits them. But as this disease was strangely violent, so it was but of short duration."

Starvation was another prison grievance. At Epiphany, 1693, "divers poor distressed prisoners in the gaol presented a petition to the Court of Quarter Session," showing "that by reason of the dearness of corn the County allowance of three halfpence per diem for bread is become so small that it will not keep them alive," and praying that the Court would save them from perishing by famine. The allowance was thereupon increased to threepence a day. In 1695 it was reduced to twopence, but it was soon found necessary to raise it again to threepence.

The state of Aylesbury gaol was not worse than that of prisons generally. We are told by Howard (the prison reformer, whose visit to Aylesbury was in 1779) that he found in Hertford gaol two small rooms for men felons, in which they were always locked up, without fire in winter or exercise at any time. At Salisbury he found just outside the prison gate a chain passed through a staple in the wall, at each end of which a debtor padlocked by the leg stood offering to those who passed by nets, laces, purses, &c., made in prison. He found also felons chained together, going about the city at Christmas, one carrying a sack or basket for food, another a box for money. And he mentions, as a tolerably general custom, that an innocent man acquitted by a jury of his fellow countrymen could not obtain his release from confinement without the payment of fees amounting to £1 6s. 8d. In Winchester he found a dark, damp, and close dungeon, eleven steps underground, in which, the surgeon informed him, twenty prisoners had died of gaol fever in one year. At Cardiff the gaoler informed Mr. Howard that an Exchequer debtor had been confined in the old prison for ten years, for a debt of seven pounds, and had died just before his visit. In Thetford the dungeon for the felons, descending

by a ladder of ten steps, was but eighteen feet by nine and a half in length and breadth, and nine feet high, with one solitary window in it, about eighteen inches by twelve in diameter. Yet in this miserable hole from sixteen to twenty persons, men and women together, were regularly confined for four or five nights during the assizes, which were held in that town in the summer season.

A further defect in the Aylesbury prison was the utter impossibility of proper classification and separation of the prisoners. Convicted and unconvicted, old offenders and comparatively innocent youths were all huddled together. The construction of the Gaol buildings was such that this could not be avoided, notwithstanding the alterations and additions constantly made. In 1824-5 there was a considerable outlay on the Gaol; a new chapel, capable of holding 200 persons, was built; sleeping rooms were erected over the laundry and the day rooms of the Datchet ward, and other improvements and extensions made; additional sleeping rooms were also erected over the Bridewell, and every effort attempted by the Justices of the Peace for the due and proper management of the prison, but all to little purpose. It was evident at this date that the building of a new prison, on a better site and a more suitable and comprehensive plan, was merely a matter of time. The want of classification and sub-division of the prisoners led to secret combinations. Outbreaks were of frequent occurrence; indeed, amongst other defects of the Gaol, that of insecurity was not the least; outbreaks are again and again reported, from the earliest period up to the last years of the existence of the Gaol. There is a case of novelty, where some lawless fellows actually broke *into* the Gaol. Notices like the following are frequently to be met with in old newspapers :—

"September, 1680.—Broke out of Aylesbury Gaol, on Friday morning last, being the 1 of this Instant, two Prisoners, the one his name Thomas Johnson, about 36 years of age, with a full dark coloured Cloth Coat, Black curled Hair, a lisping Tongue, and a crooked Thumb on his left Hand; the other, his Name is William Young, about 24 years of age, with a small pale Visage, in a close bodied Cloth Coat with striped Facings to it, with short Hair, a little turning up at the ends, otherwise with a Periwig; Whoever can give notice of any one, or both of them, to Captain Richardson, Keeper of Newgate, or to Mr. Nathaniel Birch, Keeper of Aylesbury Gaol, shall be well rewarded for their pains."

"1697.—Escaped out of the County Gaol of Bucks at Aylesbury, on the 10th June, Rich. Want, formerly a Sergeant in Colonel Columbine's Regiment, tall and well shaped, fresh colour, thin Face, with short lank brown Hair, aged about 26, in a brown short loose Coat with Reddish Hair Buttons, a Worsted flowered Waistcoat, and Calamanco Breeches with small Red stripes. Whoever secures him, and gives notice to Mr. William Benson, Keeper of the said Gaol, or to Mr. William Benson in the Old-Baily, London, shall have Three Guineas Reward, and reasonable Charges."

"In March, 1770, some desperate fellows broke into the Gaol by entering through the roof of one of the Gaol buildings, which they damaged; they succeeded in their intentions, which were to release two prisoners of the names of Berry and Turner, both of whom had been capitally convicted. In 1780, Thomas Irons, George Treadwell, Thomas and William West, being closely confined in the well-room in the Gaol, found

means to get their irons off, and attempted to make their escape by knocking the turnkeys down. Richard Smith, one of the six that did escape on the 7th of November, was brought back from Huntingdon Gaol, having been retaken at Godmanchester. In October, 1787, some prisoners got out by breaking through the ceiling into the Session Hall, and from thence with a rope, which they tied to the chair of the Crier of the Court, descended from the window over the gateway into the street, about one o'clock in the morning. Two of them were taken in the Session Hall by the gaoler, and two more by Durham, the bellman, with some of the townspeople, in the town. The same day, about one o'clock, Shock Reeves was taken in a ditch that parts Walton and Aylesbury, by three wool-sorters; he was to be transported for deer stealing. On the same day, Day, for the murder of his wife, and Hollis, another of the deer stealers, who was to be transported with Reeves, were taken near Leighton Buzzard, and brought back in a post-chaise. Grace and Dulton were taken at Wilstone for housebreaking after they broke out, on the Saturday after, and the goods were found on them."—*Local Occurrences.*

In 1820, a successful escape was made, and the prisoners got clear away. In 1821, six prisoners were unsuccessful, in consequence of some miscalculation as to the thickness of the prison wall. In the same year two men got away; they got as far as Missenden, where they slept in a wood. Here one robbed the other of 13s., and made off to Cambridge, leaving his companion penniless; there was certainly in this case no "honour amongst thieves." They were both soon retaken. In September, 1822, several prisoners made an attempt to escape; they had reached the County Hall, where they were stopped by the gaoler and turnkeys. Within a few days of this attempt, another of a very formidable nature took place; this was the case of Banks and the two Cribbs, the horsestealers; in the night, or early morning, they got into the County Hall, made ropes of their blankets and bedding, and slipped down from one of the Hall windows into the street. They took the fields, in the direction of Bishopstone, where it was supposed confederates had arranged to meet them with a conveyance. It was a bold and hazardous attempt, but not likely to succeed, as they were not only dressed in the prison garb, but were loaded with leg-irons; it was, however, as it afterwards turned out to be, a race for their lives. They were overtaken in the neighbourhood of the Friarage fields, and brought back within a few hours of their escape. The circumstance caused great excitement in the town and neighbourhood. A few weeks later they made a third attempt by taking up a flagstone, and working their way into the sewer, but their escape was again frustrated.

After these occurrences special attention was given by the Justices to the insecure state of the Gaol; new locks were fitted and every precaution adopted to ensure the safe keeping of the prisoners; still some managed to escape. In February, 1828, a deeply laid plot by several prisoners in Gaol to escape was discovered: no less than ten were implicated in it; the principal was Saunders, who had to take his trial for burglary. Mr. Sherriff and the turnkeys had got information, and were watching the movement; the men had tied the forms together and made a kind of ladder, which was reared against the wall, and Saunders was the first to mount; when he reached the top of the wall Mr. Sherriff pounced upon him and secured him, although he had a perilous struggle in doing so. The men, being secured, were put in irons. Shortly after, three

prisoners under sentence of transportation escaped from the Gaol; they got through the ceiling of the place where they were confined, and then on to the roof of the Gaol, thence over the houses into the street. On the 10th May, 1837, a prisoner escaped from the Gaol Infirmary by scaling a wall and wading the Bear Brook. Individual escapes were very numerous.

One of the first Acts of Parliament for the reformation of prison discipline in England was a prohibition of the admission of spirituous liquors within the gates of gaols. A characteristic arrangement at Aylesbury was a little window in the old White Hart premises that opened into the prison yard, by which beer and spirits obtained admittance without having to pass the prison gates, thus evading the Act of Parliament.

The visit of James Neild to Aylesbury Prison was in the year 1808. He was a worthy and active philanthropist, though less known than John Howard. He resided at Chelsea; was born in 1744, but left an orphan at a very early age; by industry and diligence in his business, as a goldsmith, he accumulated wealth, and devoted his best energies to the practice of benevolence. Imitating the example of Howard, he was accustomed to visit places of criminal confinement, and felt a delight in alleviating the sufferings of the wretched prisoners. In 1773 he very actively promoted the establishment of a society for the relief of persons imprisoned for small debts; and he afterwards travelled through many parts of England, examining and endeavouring to correct the abuses prevailing in the system of imprisonment. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Camden, Esq., of Battersea. He published a work on prison reform, entitled "An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Society for the Discharge or Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts throughout England and Wales." It is pleasing to find that in 1808 Aylesbury seems to have been a model prison, especially when compared with others. In his work Mr. Neild gives this description of it:—

"AYLESBURY—THE COUNTY GAOL.

"Gaoler, Henry Sheriff, Salary, for the Gaol £140; for the Bridewell £30.

"Fees, abolished. But the Under-Sheriff takes from each debtor 2s. 6d. for his liberate.

"Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Hopkins. Duty, prayers and sermon every Sunday. Salary, £50.

"Surgeon, Mr. Hayward. Salary, £35 for every class of prisoners.

"Allowance. To debtors and prisoners of every description, one pound and a half of best wheaten bread every day, and a pint of soup twice a week.

"*Remarks.*

"This gaol adjoins the back part of the magnificent Shire Hall. In the floor of the prisoners' bar a door opens, through which, by means of a ladder, they are brought up into Court.

"The original construction of the buildings was faulty in the extreme; but the Marquis of Buckingham, ever attentive to the interests of this County, having humanely interfered in its prison concerns, the loathsome Dungeon has been bricked up, and the gaol has received many and great improvements.

"There is but one court-yard for debtors, 54 feet by 26, paved with flag-stones, and a sewer in one corner. Two day-rooms, with fire-places and glazed windows, the largest room 20 feet by 14.

"Up-stairs are seven good bed-rooms, all free wards, fitted up with wooden bedsteads, flock beds, a blanket, and coverlet, at the County expence: one of the smallest rooms is set apart for women debtors. A liberal supply of coals is allowed to the day-rooms, from the 16th of October to the 16th of April; but, if the weather be very severe, the time is extended by the considerate Magistrates.

"The Infirmary is a neat detached building, and consists of two large rooms on the ground-floor, in one of which is an excellent mill, with a pair of mill-stones for grinding corn, and an apparatus for dressing the flour. Above are two spacious rooms for the sick, with boarded floors, glazed windows, both light and airy, and a small cooking-room, with suitable conveniences for sick persons.

"Books are kept in the prison, in which the Visiting Magistrates, Chaplain, and Surgeon enter their respective reports. There being no stated Chapel, divine service is performed in the Shire-hall. When I attended it, January 13th, 1805, thirteen criminals and four debtors received the sacrament, which is administered four times a year. Many persons also from the town are accustomed to attend upon the occasion, and the money collected is distributed among the criminals. All prisoners are required to attend divine service. A Chapel within the prison, properly partitioned off, so as to exclude the classes from the sight of each other, is an accommodation much wanted. It would afford their exemplary Chaplain an opportunity of selecting, occasionally, passages in Scripture the most appropriate to each class of prisoners; of admonishing the profligate, exhorting the thoughtless, and converting the afflicted.

"The alterations proposed are not yet (1807) completed, but new work-rooms are built: and it is intended to establish a manufactory, so that the prisoners may be usefully and beneficially employed.

"It would likewise be of considerable advantage if rules and orders were made by the Justices, and confirmed by the Judges of Assize, for the direction of the gaoler and good conduct of the prisoners, and hung up in conspicuous parts of the prison, agreeably to the Act 32 Geo. II., cap. 28.

"At the Summer Assizes prisoners are removed from hence to Buckingham.

"The following memorial of a legacy is hung up in the Church, and the donation regularly paid:—'William Findall, in the year 1604, gave £6 13s. 4d., to be paid on Mid-Lent Sunday annually, into the hands of the churchwardens of the parish of Aylesbury for the time being, for ever, out of Summer Leys, in the parish of Weston Turville, for the following purposes, viz.:—To the poor of Weston Turville, 6s. 8d.; to the prisoners in Aylesbury Gaol, 13s. 4d.; to a scavenger, to keep the church-ways clean, 13s. 4d. The remainder, after deducting 15s. 6d. for the land-tax, is distributed to the widows and distressed poor of the parish of Aylesbury.'

"There are likewise other donations which ought to be recorded, viz.,—The Earl of Chesterfield gives, every Christmas, two pounds of beef, and one shilling in money, to each prisoner. It is distributed by Mr. Curry, his Lordship's steward at Eythrop, in the county of Bucks.

"The Rev. Mr. Hopkins, for the 27 years during his officiating as chaplain, has given to the prisoners, every Christmas, one guinea, which is equally distributed by the gaoler.

"The Act for the Preservation of Health and clauses against spirituous liquors are here conspicuously hung up."

The worthy author of this work (Mr. Neild), whose philanthropic efforts were crowned with success, was High Sheriff of Bucks in 1804, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the counties of Bucks and Middlesex and the City and Liberty of Westminster, and Treasurer of the Society for the Relief of Persons confined for Small Debts ; he died in 1814. A better monument than he has earned for himself none need desire. Whilst Neild the elder spent the best portion of his life in ameliorating the miseries of fallen humanity, John Camden Neild, his son, seemed born to make every one miserable with whom he came in contact. He was the miserly character who possessed large estates in Bucks and other counties ; he made an attempt on his own life on one occasion during a stay with one of his tenants at North Marston. Having no near relatives he left his property to the Queen.

At the Summer Assizes of 1828 a case was tried which shows the free and easy management of the gaol at that period. Three men were indicted for stealing a flitch of bacon, the property of James Sherriff, the governor of the prison, from his private residence in the gaol; these men were already prisoners. and they robbed the gaoler, proving that the terrors of the gaol had little influence on them ; they were convicted and severally transported for fourteen years. At the March Assizes following another case was tried, showing the laxity in the discipline. One, William Staley, was charged "with having feloniously delivered to one Mary Batt, for the use of Joseph Sampson (a noted prisoner, known as 'Popper on'), certain instruments, with intent to assist the said Sampson to escape out of prison." This Mary, who was better known as "Polly Batt," was regularly appointed to fetch errands from the town for any prisoners, for which service she was paid two shillings per week by the Justices, and obtained all other perquisites she could from the prisoners. She had the whole range of the prison, and was allowed to go in and out whenever she applied to do so. On this occasion, on passing the wicket into the prison, she had in an open basket a quantity of hard peas. It occurred to the turnkey on duty that this was not an article required by a prisoner, so he thrust his hand into the peas and discovered, secreted amongst them, a skeleton saw and other implements calculated to assist in an attempt to escape from prison ; the delivery of the peas to Polly Batt was traced to the prisoner; he was convicted and sentenced to transportation for seven years. Poor old Polly was not suspected of any guilty knowledge in the transaction. She was, however, discharged, but as she was of a great age Mr. Sherriff, the gaoler, kindly undertook to see that a retiring pension should reach her. In 1834 the debtors complained of their treatment and solicited an enquiry into the general management of the prison. The enquiry was granted, but the

Home Secretary wrote to the Visiting Justices that their report on the state of the prison was satisfactory.

On Saturday afternoons a gang of convicted prisoners, under the guard of a turnkey or warder, issued out of the prison, dressed in the gaol garb. Each brought out his birch broom, and the public street was well swept by them from the Bell corner to the Bull's Head Inn. A communication existed between the lower part of the Gaol premises and the Bear Inn yard, and it was no unusual thing to meet a prisoner in the Bear, taking his beer; indeed, beer was regularly allowed to such prisoners as had the means to pay for it. It was supplied in alternate weeks from the White Hart and the George, the potboys from these two hotels calling regularly on the prisoners thrice a day for orders, which were required to be prepaid.

Prisoners who were debtors were allowed "the liberty of the stones," that was, the privilege of parading the frontage of the County Hall within the boundary posts, where they could communicate freely with their friends and the public. The gaoler would have been made responsible in case of any escape, so the favour could have been no small one. "Look ye, here, gentlemen," said he to the debtors one night after they had been staying out on the Hall steps, enjoying the evening, rather later than usual, "You must come in earlier, or I'll lock you all out."

This free and easy egress from the prison was not confined to debtors; prisoners were as plentiful about the town then as policemen are now. Mr. Acton Chaplin, who was Clerk of the Peace, employed prisoners on his private premises in Walton Street; they excavated the earth for forming the ornamental piece of water, and did other earthwork for him there.

A tale of a woman sentenced to death, whose warrant had been overlooked or miscarried, and the execution thus delayed for a long time, is still remembered. She was allowed to leave the prison to do a day's washing. Unexpectedly the warrant arrived during her absence from the gaol. A turnkey was sent after her with the unwelcome intelligence that it had been received, and he addressed her—"Guvner says you be to come home and be hung." "What must be must," was the philosophical remark of the condemned, as she wiped her hands on her apron. "I'd like one drop afore I go," she added, with a pleading look at the landlord of the house where she had been at work, "It'll be my last *drop* but one." In connection with the beer supply, there is another tale quite as worthy of credit as that told of the washerwoman; it was of a criminal who, under sentence of death, was informed by the gaoler of the date fixed for his execution. His reply was, "Please put off that little job of mine for a day or two, for I've paid my beer money up to Thursday, and that'll be a *dead* loss to me if I be hung afore then." The truth of these tales is not vouched for, but there is no doubt about that one relating to "Jemmy the Gipsy;" it is given in the "Papers published by the Committee established

at Aylesbury in 1845, for the purpose of Collecting and Diffusing Information on the Punishment of Death"* :—

"A case illustrative of how the capital laws worked, not very many years ago, is in the knowledge of many persons still living in this town. It is of so remarkable a sort, though not single in its kind, that, to be credible, it should be recorded while witnesses to its truth are yet alive. At the Spring Assize, 1802, James Ayres, more popularly known as 'Jemmy the Gipsy,' was convicted, at Aylesbury, of sheep stealing, sentenced to be hanged, and left for execution; the execution was delayed. Executions were in those days so frequent that Jemmy was not missed among the victims by the populace under the scaffold. Nor was much public astonishment excited, or any questions asked, when, a few weeks after, he was seen superintending the farm labourers of the then Under Sheriff. After the responsibilities of this occupation were ended for the day, each evening Jemmy regularly returned to gaol;—dead in Law, dead in the opinion of the Judge who had left him to die according to Law,—but trusting, even in matter of life or death, to the good nature of the Under Sheriff, and to the honourable understanding thus established between them. After some time, Jemmy began to take liberties, and would visit the alehouse in his way home to gaol, and remain there to an undue hour, knocking at the gaol door for admittance when the night was far spent. On these occasions, the gaoler would rebuke him severely for keeping the gaol servants up to wait on him (Jemmy), and threaten that, next time, he (Jemmy) should find himself locked out! In which case, what would become of him (Jemmy)? Then was there a begging for forgiveness, and a promise of future regularity in his hours of return to that place from whence his sentence had been that he should be 'taken to the place of execution,' &c., &c., &c. More than once, too, a remonstrance was made by the Under Sheriff about a bad day's work performed, and then always a threat of 'I'll hang you next week, Jemmy.' But Jemmy knew the kind-hearted Under Sheriff better. Three or four years rolled on in this triple league between convict, gaoler, and Under Sheriff. The last that was seen of Jemmy in public, at Aylesbury, was on the occasion of a harvest home supper, given by the Under Sheriff to his labourers, in the garden at the back of his house, Jemmy playing the fiddle to the dancers. Shortly afterwards an order was sent by the Under Sheriff to the gaoler to liberate Jemmy, who parted from his friends with regret on all sides. So much for the example given by a capital sentence, accompanied by a warning against any hope of mercy in this world, in those days so often referred to for venerable precedent. This story, we repeat, is one for which in these our times we should despair to gain belief, but that the present excellent Governor of our gaol, who then held, as a young man, a subordinate office in it, is an attesting witness to these facts, as are also many other persons, still inhabitants of Aylesbury."

When Mr. Fowler, of the White Hart, was pressed with business he would send into the Gaol to borrow a handy man, and such handy man was provided. In one case a prisoner, who had assisted at the White Hart, waited on Mr. Fowler after he had been discharged, and presented his little account for services rendered at the hotel during his imprisonment. If times were bad and winters severe, the prison quarters were thought by some of the inmates to be jovial and comfortable compared with pauperism and its attendant miseries outside the walls, so much so that they did not take any advantage of chances offered them to escape. Others would be found returning to prison on some

* Committee—The Right Hon. Lord Nugent, M.P.; John Lloyd, Esq., Aylesbury; the Rev. J. B. Reade, Stone; the Rev. W. Farley, Haddenham; the Rev. H. Meeres, Cuddington; John Dell, Robert Dell, and George Rainsford, Aylesbury; Secretary, John Rolls Gibbs, Aylesbury, at whose decease Thomas Dell, jun., of Aylesbury. These papers were published in the *Aylesbury News* and *Bucks Herald*.

minor conviction regularly as the winter set in. Some surprise was on one occasion created by a prisoner, or rather an ex-prisoner, presenting himself at the prison gate, and asking admission. He had escaped during the night—"just popped home to see his old 'oman," as he told the governor when questioned upon the subject. On another occasion a man presented himself, and asked to be taken in, as the constable who had the warrant had got drunk on the road, and was coming on behind. The turnkey declined to admit him without the usual warrant, so he returned and obtained it after an altercation with the drunken constable, which nearly terminated in blows. The Gaol had indeed lost its terrors. In "Local Occurrences," under date of 1830, is this entry —"Aylesbury Gaol has lost its terrors; it has been discovered that a poacher has stayed there three weeks over his legal imprisonment. He did not seem inclined to budge, and had to be turned out." At this time there were over 200 prisoners, of which number 50 were poachers. That part of the prison called "The Datchet" was so named on account of its being occupied by poachers, the majority of whom hailed from that locality.

One of the difficulties the prison authorities had to deal with was that of providing hard labour for the convicted inmates. A huge treadmill was erected, with a wheel of some 20 feet diameter. A gang of prisoners entered the inner portion of this wheel, whilst a similar number occupied a position on the top of it; the prisoners were engaged in gangs, and they were kept on the wheel for twenty minutes, when a relay took their places for another twenty minutes; thus the gangs interchanged; their weight constituted a motor. Corn was thus ground, and water raised to the summit of the loftiest buildings in the prison. The construction of this wheel was found to be dangerous to the prisoners working it, and frequent accidents happened, one or two cases terminating fatally, and it was to some extent disused.

A most important Act was passed in 1835 relating to the management of prisons, and for the first time inspectors were appointed. The condition of gaols must have been at this time most deplorable, and the county gaols especially were great nurseries of crime. There was no religious instruction, no education of juvenile prisoners, no employment. The great Gaol of Newgate, under the management of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, was the worst of all. Smoking, drinking, gambling, obscene language, cheatings, quarrelling, fighting, and the planning of robberies after they had left prison were the principal occupations of the inmates.

The insecure state and unsatisfactory arrangement of Aylesbury prison had for a long time been a source of anxiety to the Justices of the Peace. At length, at the Quarter Session in January, 1843, it was condemned as being generally bad and inefficient for the purpose of a county prison. At the following Quarter Sessions the question of the insecurity of the prison was again brought before the notice of the Court, but a motion made on the subject was withdrawn. In January, 1844, progress was made, as power was given by the Court of Quarter Sessions to the Gaol Committee to raise money for the purchase of a site for a new county prison.

THE COUNTY HALL.

The County Hall has a bold façade of rubbed brick, with Portland stone dressings and rustic quoins. The base is also of Portland ashlar, carried up to the springings of the arches of the entrance and lower windows ; the parapet is of the same material. A massive pediment, supported by carved blocks, has on the apex and lower angles ornamental terminals consistent with the date of the erection.

The building originally had three entrances. The one at the eastern end, which was used as a passage to the Gaol and House of Correction, is now closed. The central doorway leads to the Magistrates' Chamber and offices of the Clerk of the Peace, which occupy the first floor, and the western, to the Courts of Justice, which are reached by a spacious and open balustraded staircase. Over the central doorway is a badge illuminated with the design of the Buckinghamshire swan. The present entrances are approached by broad flights of stone steps. At the base of the steps to the central entrance and at the extremities of the building are stone pedestals, on which ornamental lamp irons are fixed. There were originally four windows on the lower floor, but by the alteration in the eastern entrance another is added. The entrances and lower windows are all arched and stone-dressed, the central door and the windows being strongly guarded by substantial iron work of a decorative character and of a style indicative of the purpose for which the building was erected. The western door is of great strength. There are seven windows in the upper floor, the central one being the loftiest ; it is arched, and ornamented with pilasters ; the other windows have square heads and pediments ; these are all stone-dressed. To the central window a balcony was formerly appended, which was for many years used as the place for the public execution of criminals. The upper floor is divided into two principal compartments known as the Outer and the Inner Courts. Adjoining, and connected with each other, are the old grand jury room, justices' retiring rooms, various offices, and some other requisite apartments. The Courts are spacious and lofty ; the internal fittings, which are of oak, are massive and bold ; the screen dividing the two Courts is a very elegant specimen of joinery of the last century ; the seats for the presiding justices, the open gallery fronts, counsels' tables, jury boxes, prisoners' dock, staircase, wainscoat, and panelings are all of the same solidity of construction.

The design for the building is ascribed to Sir John Vanbrugh ; he was a dramatist as well as an architect, and descended from a Flemish family resident in England ; he was born in 1672. When Betterton and Congreve obtained a patent for erecting a theatre in the Haymarket, London, Vanbrugh wrote the " Confederacy," the most witty and licentious of his productions. As an architect he was selected to build Blenheim House, and that structure, as well as Castle Howard, affords proof of his skill and genius. He obtained the office of Clarencieux King of Arms, and in 1714 received the order of knighthood. He was also appointed Comptroller of the Board of Works and Surveyor of Greenwich Hospital. His principal further works were mansions at

Eastbury, Dorsetshire ; King's Weston, Bristol ; and Duncan Park, Yorkshire. He died in 1726.

By the sarcastic wit of Swift, the censure of Pope, and the elegant criticism of Walpole, Blenheim was long condemned to be spoken of, if without contempt, rather as a monument of the gratitude than the taste of the nation. Its first panegyrist was Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose accurate judgment has been confirmed by subsequent observations of other critics. Of Castle Howard, one of Vanbrugh's previous works, the points of excellence are few ; and there is an infinite littleness of parts perpetually interrupting the intended effect of a whole so greatly assisted by magnificent environs. At Grimsthorp he indulged himself in imitating Blenheim. Seaton Delaval ranks amongst his best houses, but is in a very unfavourable situation. Vanbrugh had much merit in the plan of chimnies, which he sometimes grouped into a resemblance to pinnacles, or converted into an arcade, by which the massiveness of the house was greatly relieved.

After the restoration of Charles II., many attempts were made to intermix the newly introduced French or Palladian architecture with the Gothic of the preceding age, in several houses of the nobility, but with the usual success attendant upon the application of principles diametrically opposite to each other. The architects of the schools of Wren and Vanbrugh found ample encouragement in the earlier part of the last century, and many of the ancient provincial houses were successively rebuilt upon their plans and under their directions. It must be allowed that a great sameness reigns through all these mansions, and that there are found in their erection a constant monotony of lengthened fronts with pediments, porticos, and pilasters, on the outside, and vast halls with painted ceilings and gigantic staircases within, usurping, solely for the sake of a magnificent approach, what is ill spared from the comfort and symmetry of the habitable apartments.

It was originally intended that the County Hall should be built by the private subscriptions of the gentry of the county ; indeed, its erection was commenced and to a certain point carried out under such arrangement. A political feud, however, broke out, which led to a general quarrel and disunion in the county, and the progress of the building was thus arrested ; it remained in a semi-finished state for a very lengthened period, indeed for some years. It was eventually abandoned as a private undertaking, and a great loss was sustained by some of the promoters. Many of the materials and fittings provided for the building became deteriorated or were destroyed, and wasted. It was not completed for many years after the death of the architect. In this dilemma a Bill was promoted in the year 1727 "To enable the Justices of the Peace for the county of Bucks to finish a Gaol and Session Room for the use of the said county." It was passed with this preamble :—

"Whereas, for want of a common Gaol in the county of Bucks, which is very large and populous, a house in the town of Aylesbury, a market town, situate about the middle

of the said county, hath for many years passed been rented and used for such Gaol, and the same becoming insufficient for safe custody of the prisoners, it was unanimously concluded and agreed by the Justices of the Peace for the said county at their General Quarter Sessions (after divers presentments of such insufficiency by the grand juries at such Sessions) to build in Aylesbury aforesaid a public Gaol for the said county, with a Court Room or Shire Hall therein, for convenient and commodious holding the Assizes, Sessions of the Peace, and other public meetings for transacting the public and common business and affairs of the said county. And whereas considerable progress has been made in such buildings, but, for the speedy completing and finishing of the same, farther powers are necessary to be given by law,

"May it therefore please Your Most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Justices of the Peace for the said county of Bucks, at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be holden for the said county after the 24th day of June, 1727, or at any subsequent Quarter Sessions, or the major part of them present at such General or Quarter Sessions, to assess, levy, and raise a sum or sums of money as are now due for and upon account of work and materials used in and about the said Gaol and Court Room, and as upon the examination of able and sufficient workmen or otherwise, the said Justices shall find necessary for the completing and finishing of the said Gaol and Court Room at Aylesbury aforesaid, such assessment or assessments not to exceed in the whole the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds, and to be made and laid in equal proportions, as near as may be, upon the several Hundreds and Divisions of the said county, in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

"And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the said Justices of the Peace, or the major part of them, shall have and execute for the purposes of this Act such and the like powers and authorities not otherwise altered by this Act as was given or enacted, touching the assessing, collecting, levying or applying monies for building or repairing Gaols, by an Act made in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of his late Majesty King William III., entitled 'An Act, to enable Justices of the Peace to build and repair Gaols in their respective counties,' which Act, by another Act made in the sixth year of his present Majesty's reign, was made perpetual."

The general Act for building or repairing gaols is then recited. The assessment of the county was not to exceed 4d. in the pound rent, to be collected by the constables, and, after payment for the site and buildings, the overplus to be added to the county stock; the Borough town of Buckingham was specially exempted from the rate.

Notwithstanding the outlay of public money in the erection of the County Hall and Sessions House, Lord Cobham, in the year 1747, succeeded in obtaining an Act of Parliament for holding the Summer Assizes at Buckingham. For a period of one hundred years the system of dragging the court, judges, counsel, jury, prisoners, and others interested to Buckingham was continued. At the Midsummer Quarter Sessions of 1847 Mr. Raymond Barker proposed, and Mr. J. T. Senior seconded, a motion, "That it was desirable that the assizes should always be held at Aylesbury;" it was lost by 120 to 11. The Midsummer Assizes were held at Buckingham in 1848 for the last time, and in May, 1849, an order in Council sanctioned their removal to Aylesbury. Subsequent legislation has grouped counties together for assize purposes, and the

Buckinghamshire prisoners are occasionally transferred to Northampton or Bedford for trial.

Considerable works were executed in the Hall about 30 years ago, under the direction of Mr. D. Brandon, the county architect,* when the Courts and the approaches to them were much improved.

The upper floors of the offices of the Chief Constable communicate with the County Hall, and they have been utilised as a grand jury room, waiting room for witnesses, and other purposes, and have proved a valuable adjunct to the county buildings. At the rear of the Hall are the Judges' Lodgings, a building appropriated to the purposes of the Judges when on Circuit, also for the use of the magistracy at the Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and near the County Buildings are the residence of the Chief Constable and the Police establishments.

THE NEW COUNTY GAOL, OR HER MAJESTY'S PRISON.

At the April Quarter Sessions, 1844, details referring to a new prison were discussed, and at the following Sessions a long debate ensued on the same subject. A site already selected on Bierton Hill was purchased, and at the October Sessions a tender was accepted from Messrs. Lock and Newsham, for building a prison, for the sum of £40,800. Major Jebb, an engineer officer, holding the office of Inspector of Prisons throughout the kingdom, had the superintendence of its erection and construction. In March, 1847, a special Session was held for the purpose of appointing officers for the new prison, and in the month of May in the same year the inmates of the old prison, both alive and dead,† were removed to their new quarters.

Under its present title the gaol is designated as "Her Majesty's prison." The façade of the building has a neat and handsome appearance: the only entrance is by a lofty arch, which, like the façade, is of brick, with stone dressings. Over this arch was the place appointed for the execution of criminals when they took place in public. On each side of the entrance arch, and adjoining thereto, are the private residences of the Governor and the Chaplain. On passing into the interior a large Court Yard is first entered, inclosed on one side by a wing known as D., which is occupied by debtors; on the other side, by wing E., which is appropriated to female prisoners. Ascending a flight of steps the main body of the prison is reached. Here, on either side, are suites of waiting rooms, magistrates' private room, governor's, chaplain's, and surgeon's offices, turnkeys' or

* The Lunatic Asylum at Stone, to which reference has already been made, is the largest of the County Establishments, but it does not come within the range of a History of Aylesbury. The first contract for its erection was undertaken under the direction of the late Mr. T. H. Wyatt and Mr. D. Brandon; the building has by additions at various times been doubled in extent, and a detached chapel has been built, from the designs and under the direction of Mr. Brandon. The Asylum was opened for the reception of patients in 1853. At the end of the first year there were 157 patients, in 1883 this number had increased to 455.

† Some of the bodies of the recently executed felons were removed to and re-interred in the precincts of the new prison, amongst others those of John Tawell and a man named Bates.

warders' rooms, and other apartments requisite for the private affairs of the establishment. At the end of this range is a flight of stairs leading to a spacious room used as an Infirmary and fitted with all necessary appliances for sick prisoners. Here also are reception cells where prisoners are, on their entrance, retained until the surgeon has examined them and certified that they are free from infectious diseases and may safely be introduced into the ordinary cells.

Issuing from the outer passage is the central hall, which consists of three arcades, radiating from a point, and opening from the floor to the roof of the building, but covered with sky-lights. The cells are entered from the sides of the arcades, and there are three storeys of them. The lower row of cells is entered from the floor ; but those above are reached by galleries of light and ornamental ironwork, fixed along the walls, adding much to the appearance of the hall. These galleries are reached by narrow cork-screw stairs, of open ironwork ; at the centering part of the arcades, these galleries can be very conveniently attained. The arcades are lettered A, B, and C, and the storeys and rows are marked 1, 2, and 3. The cells are also numbered. On the clothing of the prisoners corresponding markings are inscribed. Separation, as well as silence, is enforced. Each prisoner has a cell to himself, in which he can work, eat, and sleep. At certain hours detachments are allowed to march out to court-yards for open-air exercise.

The court-yards instil into the mind that the essence of the system is the separation of the prisoners and the prevention of contamination. In marching to the yards, each prisoner must be eight feet from another ; no one is allowed to speak a single word to a companion ; and every one, on leaving his cell, is locked into his own separate court-yard. There is a small central lodge, in which a superintendent in charge of the prisoners presides during the time they are exercising. Since the prison has been in Government hands the partition walls of the exercising yards have been removed. If the strict discipline of the model system be carried out, there can be not only no intercourse by words or signs between the prisoners, but no personal knowledge of each other.

The organization of the cells is full of ingenious contrivances. Each cell is a neat white-washed apartment, thirteen feet long, seven feet broad, and nine feet high, with a window in the end wall for admitting light, but so constructed that the inmate cannot distinguish any object outside ; the aperture for admitting the light is so formed that it is impossible to look in any direction, excepting upwards to the sky ; and a further precaution is also taken to use a fluted glass, so that any object, on either side, is so distorted that it is not possible to distinguish its form. In each cell is a shelf on which the rolled-up hammock or bed is placed during the day, and beneath it a drawer, in which any small articles might be deposited. Near these conveniences is a table. Over the table, and projecting from the wall, is a gas burner. A short way farther in the cell is a very neat washing apparatus. A metal basin is fixed to the wall, with a water-pipe in it, which can be turned at pleasure, for washing the face and hands ; the waste

water escapes from the bottom of the basin, and flows by a tube into a seat-pan or jar provided with a lid, movable on a hinge ; each prisoner may use six gallons of water daily in his cell, independently of the quantity consumed in baths, to which he is subjected at regular intervals. Hooks are fastened in the walls, to which the hammock is hung at night, and the cells are supplied with warm air. The heated air from stoves in the lower storey is admitted through perforated plates in the floor of the cell, and the vitiated atmosphere escapes through perforations above the door. This method of ventilation effectually removes all impurities.

The prisoner can, at any time during the day or night, call an attendant to supply his wants. Within the cell is a spring, which, on being touched, causes a bell in the arcade to sound, and at the same time a tablet, which is hinged to the wall, to start conspicuously out ; and, as a number marked on the tablet corresponds with that of the cell, the officer in attendance is directed to the spot where his services are required. In the door is a small eye-hole, covered with gauze and a shield, and through this aperture the prisoner's actions can be at all times unobservedly watched. The door is likewise furnished with a small wicket, through which meals may be readily conveyed to the inmates. Prisoners are allowed the use of religious and other instructive books and slates; writing books were for some time permitted, but the privilege was abused ; the library contains about 300 vols. ; and, in cases where their avocations permit, prisoners may follow their mechanical trades in their separate cells. The total number of cells, including the " reception " and the " refractory" ones, is 256.

The most interesting part of the building is the chapel, which is a spacious and elegantly built apartment, and is situate over the rooms used as the private offices of the establishment ; it is fitted up with pulpit, reading-desk, and other necessary furniture, and is capable of seating 274 prisoners, besides the staff of the gaol. The chapel is also used for giving instruction in reading, &c., by the schoolmaster, every morning, and the Chaplain holds a class there once a week. The basement story of the building is occupied by apartments adapted for the stores and culinary department ; large ovens, boilers, and steam cooking apparatus are erected ; here also are means of heating and ventilating the prison. There is every convenience for serving up the food of the prisoners, in lifts, by which the trays of rations are raised to the required height. The baths, both hot and cold, are also in the underground part of the prison, and are available at a moment's notice.

Many of the details, both in management and arrangement, have been altered since the prison passed into the hands of the Government. The building stands on an area of nearly five acres, and is surrounded by a boundary wall 18 feet high.

By Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1877, the County Gaol no longer existed ; it became " Her Majesty's Prison," and passed out of the guardianship of the local authorities. The amount stated to have been agreed to by Government for the acquisition of the County Gaol was £16,000, subject to certain deductions.

Chapter XLII.—SOME REMARKABLE TRIALS, &c.

Assizes held at Little Brickhill—Keach's trial—Case of conspiracy—Ashby v. White—Bierton Murder—Whaddon Chase case—Aylesbury toll case—Body Snatchers—Croker and Randall—Banks and the two Cribbs—Charles Lynn—Tyler and Sewell—Special Commission—Pauper riots—John Tawell—John Simonds—The Denham murders, and other trials.

TOWARDS the end of the 16th, and in the early part of the 17th century, the assize courts for the county were held at Little Brickhill. About the middle of the 17th century 42 criminals are recorded as having been executed there. The reason for holding the assizes so frequently at Brickhill must have been the then difficulty in travelling. It is probable that in the winter or in the early months of the year Aylesbury could not be reached, in consequence of the bad state of the roads. Little Brickhill, it may be noted, is situate on the Watling Street, the most conspicuous of the ancient Roman roads in Britain, and probably it was much easier of access by Her Majesty's Judges than the county town; again, it was also in a line to other assize towns in the same Circuit. Even so late as 1692, or a hundred years after the above period, Judge Rokeby gave an account of the state of the roads on his journey in going the Oxford Circuit, and this, too, was at the Summer Assizes, or the best season of the year for travelling—"July 27th, 1692.—I began the Oxford Circuit this day, and bated att Maidenhead, but ye waters were soe great upon ye road that att Colebrook they came just into ye body of ye coach, and we were forced to boat twice at Maidenhead. Once we boated ye coach, and at the second time we boated ourselves, and ye coach came through ye water, and it came very deep into ye body of it. That night we lay at Henley-on-Thames, where we were forced to boat the coach again." The Assizes were held at Little Brickhill in the year 1638.

TRIAL OF THE AYLESBURY BAPTISTS.

Amongst the earliest of the remarkable trials of which record now exists is that of the Aylesbury Baptists, which took place in the year 1661; it has been already referred to at considerable length in Chapter 38.

A QUAKER'S TRIAL.

There is an account on record of the trial, in 1670, of a Quaker named Thomas Zachary; he had been convicted on false evidence of being present at a Quaker's meeting, and was fined £30. An appeal was lodged against the conviction, and it was heard at a Quarter Session held at High Wycombe, when it was proved beyond doubt that the informers against Zachary had committed perjury, and it was ordered by the Court that the £30 deposited to meet the fines imposed should be returned; but it was never obtained. Zachary was taken from Aylesbury Gaol to Wycombe for trial, and although nothing could be charged against him, Justice Clayton, who had committed him in the first instance, prevailed on the Bench of Magistrates to remand him to Aylesbury prison, there to lie until the next Session.

THE TRIAL OF BENJAMIN KEACH.

At the Aylesbury assizes, in October, 1664, Benjamin Keach, a Baptist preacher, residing at Winslow, was tried before Lord Chief Justice Hyde. The case illustrates the religious rancour of the period. The indictment set forth, "That the said Keach, being a seditious, heretical and schismatical person, did, on the 1st of May, in the sixteenth year of the King, write, print, and publish a seditious and venemous book, intitled, 'The Child's Instructor' or a new and easy Primer; wherein are contained, by way of question and answer, several damnable positions, contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Liturgy of the Church of England, all which are laid to be seditiously, wickedly and maliciously written, to the great displeasure of God, the scandal of the Liturgy, the King's peace, &c."

Neale, the constable, being sworn, deposed that Mr. Stafford, a justice of the peace, sent for him, and took him with him to search Keach's house, and there they found about thirty of these Primers. The prisoner's examination was then read against him, wherein he acknowledged that he was the author of the book, and that he delivered part of the copy to one Oviat, a printer, at London; that about forty of them were sent down to him (the prisoner), and he had dispersed about twelve of them; and that the price was 5d. apiece. Here the Clerk read some of the passages laid in the indictment, and the case proceeded as follows:—

"Question—Who are the right subjects of baptism?—Answer—Believers, or Godly men only, who can make confession of their faith and repentance.

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—This is contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, for that appoints infants to be baptized as well as men and women.

"Clerk reads—What then is the state of infants?—Answer—Infants that die are members of the Kingdom of Glory, though they be not members of the visible Church.

"Clerk (to prisoner)—And in another place thou hast wickedly and maliciously affirmed concerning gospel ministers, Christ hath not chosen the wise and prudent men after the flesh, not great doctors, rabbies, &c.

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—Because Christ, when he was upon earth, made choice of tradesmen for his disciples, therefore this fellow would have ministers to be such now —taylors, and pedlars, and tinkers, and such fellows as he is.

"Keach—I desire liberty to speak to the particulars in my indictment.

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—You shall not be suffered to give reasons of your damnable doctrine here, to seduce the King's subjects.

"Keach—Is my religion so bad that I may not be allowed to speak ?

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—I know your religion ; you are a fifth-monarchy-man, you can preach as well as write books ; but I shall take such order as you shall do no more mischief.

"The Chief Justice having summed up, the jury withdrew, and after being out some time, one of them was admitted to speak with his Lordship in private, and the rest of the jury returning into Court soon after, it was demanded of them, if the prisoner was guilty of the facts contained in the indictment ; the foreman answered, he was guilty in part, but that there was something contained in the indictment that was not in the book ; and the Court demanding what it was, the foreman said, in the indictment he was charged with these words, 'When the thousand years shall be expired, then shall all the rest of the devils be raised,' but in the book it was, 'then shall the rest of the dead be raised.'

"Clerk—Is he guilty of all the rest of the indictment, that sentence excepted ?

"Juryman—I cannot in conscience find him guilty, because the indictment and the book don't agree.

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—You may find him guilty of all, that sentence excepted; but why did you come in before you were agreed ?

"Foreman—We thought we had been agreed.

"Lord Chief Justice Hyde—You must go out again and agree ; and as for you that say you can't in conscience find him guilty, if you say so again without giving reasons for it, I shall take an order with you.

"Then the jury withdrew, and in a little time returned and brought the prisoner in guilty of the indictment (that sentence excepted wherein 'the devils' are inserted instead of 'the dead'). After which the Court pronounced judgment on the said Benjamin Keach, viz.,—That he should be committed to prison a fortnight without bail ; that he should stand in the pillory at Aylesbury and Winslow, with a paper on his head with this inscription, 'For writing, printing, and publishing a schismatical book, entitled, The Child's Instructor, or a new and easy Primer ;' that his book should be burnt before his face by the hands of the common hangman ; that he should pay a fine to the King of £20 and remain in prison till he found sureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next assizes, there to renounce his doctrine, and make such public submission as should be enjoined him."

It is easy to see that this trial was carried on in a very arbitrary manner, and a verdict extorted against the prisoner. Nor could any pardon be obtained, or the least relaxation of the severe sentence ; the Sheriff took care that it should be rigorously carried out. Accordingly, Keach was kept a close prisoner till the Saturday, when, following the sentence, he was put into the pillory at Aylesbury,

several of his religious friends and acquaintances accompanying him. When they expressed feelings for his hard case, and the injustice of his sufferings, he said with a cheerful countenance, "The cross is the way to the crown." His head and hands were no sooner fixed in the pillory than he began to address himself to the spectators to this effect—"Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head; my Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me; and it is for His cause that I am made a gazing stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here, but for writing and publishing His truths, which the spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures." On the Saturday following, he stood in the same manner, and for the like time, at Winslow, and had his book burnt before him, according to the sentence.

A REMARKABLE CASE OF CONSPIRACY.

In March, 1668, Robert Hawkins, incumbent, of Chilton, was tried at the Assizes at Aylesbury, on the charge of entering the house of Henry Larrimore, and there and then stealing various articles. Although he was in Holy Orders the gaoler loaded him with irons, being told when he was brought to gaol that he was a notorious picklock. The case turned out to be a conspiracy between Larrimore and Sir John Croke, of Chilton, to ruin the prisoner. A Mr. Brown, a tipstaff, was called as a witness. He said that Sir John Croke and this Larrimore had threatened that if he came down to this Assize to testify what he had heard of this conspiracy, they would ruin him and his family, and for that reason he said he dared not speak; but the Court promising him protection, he gave his evidence. Mr. Brown then stated that "being entrusted by Sir John Lentall, as keeper to Sir John Croke, who is a prisoner in the King's Bench, on Wednesday, the 16th of September, 1667, as I was in bed at Sir John Croke's house, I heard a great noise, and fearing they were contriving Sir John Croke's escape, I started out of bed in my shirt, and stood at the dining-room door, behind the hangings; and there I heard this Larrimore tell Sir John Croke, that he had undone him by causing him to contend with the parson; for that he had entered him in most of the Courts in England, and summoned him into the Crown Office and Chancery, and he could not maintain so many suits." Sir John replied—"Is that all? Come, brother Larrimore, be contented; we will have one trick more for Hawkins yet, which shall do his work." Larrimore answered, "You have put me upon too many tricks already—more than I can manage, and the parson is too hard for us still." Sir John replied—"If thou wilt but act, I will hatch enough to hang Hawkins; cannot thou convey some gold or silver into his house, and have a warrant ready to search it? And then our work is done; and do you but go to Sir John Piggott, and inform him that you have lost money and goods, and desire his warrant to search for them; and then take Dick Maine, the constable, who is one of us, and will do what we desire him, and search the house, and when you find these things, charge him with flat felony, and force him before me, and I will send him to gaol, without bail, and we will hang him at the next Assizes." Lord Chief Baron

Hales, the judge, who presided, soon saw through the case, and said to Larrimore, the prosecutor, "Thou art a very villain, I think thou art a Devil. Gentlemen, where is this Sir John Croke?" It was answered he was gone, for he had stolen away from the Bench without taking leave of the Chief Baron. The judge said to the jury, "Gentlemen, I must acquaint you Sir John Croke sent me two sugar loaves this morning to excuse his absence, but I sent them back again. I did not then know so well what he meant by them. Sure Sir John does not think the King's justices will take bribes." Hawkins was at once acquitted, and Sir John Croke, Larrimore, and their accomplices in the conspiracy fled privately out of Aylesbury.

THE CASE OF ASHBY V. WHITE AND OTHERS.

In the year 1703 the case of Ashby v. White was tried at the Summer Assizes, when the plaintiff obtained a verdict of £5 and costs against White and others, who were the Aylesbury returning officers, for rejecting his vote. This was the commencement of the famous case known as that of the "Five Aylesbury Men," which led to the breaking up of the Parliament. It is referred to at considerable length in Chapter XXI.

THE BIERTON GIBBET.

At the Summer Assizes in the year 1773 a man of the name of Corbet, a ratcatcher, of Tring, was tried for the murder of Richard Holt, a farmer, at Bierton. The peculiarity in this case was that the murderer was traced by means of his own dog. In order to evade detection the criminal had climbed on to the roof of the dwelling of his victim and let himself down the chimney; being a sweep as well as a ratcatcher, he had but little difficulty in so doing. After committing the crimes of murder and robbery he left the house by the means he had entered it. Unobserved by him his dog had followed him to Holt's house, and the animal, not seeing his master leave, continued sitting at the door, was found there in the morning, and would not be driven away; the dog was known to belong to Corbet, and thus on the murder being discovered suspicion was at once aroused against him; he was taken, convicted of the charge, and gibbetted.

THE WHADDON CHASE CASE.

The Whaddon Chase property had been the subject of litigation on several occasions, with a like result; in the year 1784 it was again in the law courts. At the Assizes held at Aylesbury, in March of that year, it took the form of an application for an ejectment brought by a Samuel Selby against William Lowndes, Esq., to recover possession of the estate, valued at £2,000 per annum, left by Thomas James Selby, about twelve years previously, to Mr. Lowndes, unless by public advertisement his heir at law could be found. This was the fifth or sixth claimant, and all with equally ill success. The plaintiff made out but a very weak case, and the jury, being a special one, found a verdict for the defendant, to the entire satisfaction of the Judge and a very crowded Court.

THE AYLESBURY TOLL CASE.

At the Summer Assizes in 1820 a case of great importance was heard, then affecting the corn trade in Aylesbury Market. It was that of Wells v. Miles and Toms. The plaintiff brought this action to recover the sum of 4s. 3d., being the value of a quantity of wheat and beans taken from him as excessive toll. The defendants were the lessees of the tolls of the market, under the Marquis of Buckingham, the then Lord of the Manor; the Marquis was in fact the defendant. It appeared from the statement of counsel that as Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury the Marquis was entitled to a market on every Saturday, and he claimed a toll of two quarts of corn for every quarter brought to the market to be sold. Several persons who had acted as toll collectors for the previous forty years were called by the defendants. Their evidence went to prove that the Lord of the Manor for the time being, and his lessees, had been accustomed to take two quarts of corn out of one sack for every quarter brought into Aylesbury to be sold, whereof any part was pitched in the market. The same witnesses stated that they used to take the same toll for all corn brought into the town of Aylesbury, and to return the toll in case the corn was taken back unsold; but when a farmer only brought one sack to market, no toll was taken until it was known what quantity had been sold by that sample sack, and then toll was taken out of that sack for the whole quantity sold, at the rate of two quarts for every quarter. The witnesses also proved that they tolled all corn brought into the town of Aylesbury on any day in the week other than market day, when the owner would allow them to do so. Upon cross-examination it appeared that the farmers often pitched one sack in the market and sold by it several quarters of corn then unthrashed, and though, when thrashed, it would be taken to the mills, and never enter the town of Aylesbury, yet the same toll was taken, and that whenever any opposition was made to the toll being taken on any day, except Saturday, they never attempted to enforce their claim.

The counsel for Wells contended that the case was not supported by the evidence, and that the various ways in which the toll had been taken were sufficient to set aside the prescriptive right set up by the defendants; he commented on the inconsistency of the customs as described by them, contending that it would be impossible to return the toll if the corn was taken away unsold, because all toll corn was mixed together, and therefore there might be a return sometimes of better and sometimes of worse corn. He concluded by stating, in the clearest manner, the law of tolls as applicable to the present case, in which he contended it was impossible that the custom of tolling corn not brought into the market could be supported in law; he declined calling any witnesses.

Mr. Justice Holroyd recapitulated the evidence; he expressed his fear that the parties would not be able to try the question they meant to try, and perhaps the Marquis might have an action for a fraud on the market, which would better try the right to toll. There might be a right by special custom, an extended right, but it required strong evidence to support it. Whether the custom could be supported in law would be subject for consideration in another place. His Lordship asked the jury to say

whether the mode of taking toll for the whole bulk out of the pitched sack was not done to avoid a fraud on the market, and submitted to, not as a right, but as a matter of convenience between the Lord and the public, to prevent disputes. "With regard to the plea of taking toll on corn before it was sold, and returning it in case it was taken away unsold, it was shown by the defendants' own witnesses to be submitted to only under certain circumstances; the toll-corn being all mixed, it was impossible that the same corn would be returned; an equal quantity was returned, but it would be sometimes better, at others worse, than the corn taken. The toll is not due until the corn is sold, and then to be taken of the buyer and not the seller. The defendants having suffered judgment to go by default, as to the wheat, and failed in proving that the beans were sold in the market, the plaintiff, as to them, will be entitled to a verdict."

The Jury consulted together for a quarter of an hour, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff,—damages, 4s. 3d., being the value of the wheat and beans seized for toll.

In May, 1821, the case was taken to the King's Bench, when the verdict given at Aylesbury was upheld, and it was ruled that toll could only be taken for the corn actually sold in the market.

TRIALS FOR BODY-SNATCHING.

Body-snatching is a term which, by many young people of the present day, will not be understood. Body-snatchers were men who robbed graves of their contents, to sell for the purposes of lectures on anatomy at the public hospitals and other institutions. The legislature never contemplated such a crime as body snatching; it could, therefore, only be treated as a misdemeanour, and not as a felony. No one was supposed to have property in a dead body, and body-snatchers were careful not to remove from the grave a particle of grave clothing; had they done so, the crime of felony would have been committed, and on conviction transportation would follow as a matter of course, whereas on conviction for a misdemeanour a short imprisonment only would be the result.

These depredations were by no means infrequent; churchyards were ransacked in all parts of the country, and the nuisance continued for years, much to the discomfort of the relatives of lately deceased persons. Indeed, it became requisite for new graves to be watched nightly for a long time after interment. Wycombe Churchyard was disturbed in 1828. At Newport Pagnell, much consternation prevailed amongst the inhabitants on discovering that the graves in the churchyard had been opened, and upon examination being made it was found that the bodies of two persons recently buried had been stolen. It was not unlikely that others had been removed. The churchyards of the neighbouring villages also had been subjected to like depredations, it being ascertained that the remains of a person interred at Stoke Goldington had been surreptitiously removed. Upon the occasion of the opening of a tomb in Aylesbury Churchyard, some years ago, a vacant coffin was discovered; it was in an excellent state of preservation;

but no trace whatever of a corpse remained in it, and without doubt the once occupant had been surreptitiously removed by body-snatchers.

One of the old Aylesbury waggoners was once startled by the appearance of a dead body in his waggon. On nearing Uxbridge and preparing to leave some goods there, he noticed a case very clumsily packed, and on removing it the lid came off, and out fell a corpse ; he was frightened and packed up the case again as well as he could; a few miles further on he saw a stranger with a horse and cart, apparently waiting for him. As soon as the waggon reached the spot the man demanded the badly packed case. As he properly described the address on it, it was given up to him, the waggoner being glad to get rid of such cargo, but was inclined to quarrel with the applicant. A tip of half a sovereign, however, effectually silenced him, and nothing more was said about the occurrence at that time. At Uxbridge the public burial-ground was found to have been robbed of the recently buried corpses of a woman and her twin children. The incentive to these crimes was the high sums that dead bodies made for the purposes of dissection at hospitals and surgical lectures. As much as twenty guineas has been paid for a single subject. At the commencement of a new session at the hospitals, resurrectionists might be seen looking out for lecturers; fifty pounds down and nine guineas a body were often acceded to. So useful were the services of these resurrectionists to the surgical profession that when they got into trouble through their nefarious occupation the surgeons made great exertions in their favour, and advanced large sums of money to keep them out of gaol, or to support them during their imprisonment. Sir Astley Cooper expended hundreds of pounds for this purpose ; a single liberation of a resurrectionist has been known to cost £160; and an anatomical teacher is said to have paid £5 as a weekly allowance, continued for two years, to a resurrectionist confined in prison. It was actually reported of one body-snatcher that he, at his death, left nearly £6,000 to his family. One of the body-snatching fraternity, on being captured, was tried and found guilty of stealing the clothes in which the bodies were buried ; he was transported for seven years. It was this high price obtained for bodies that induced the miscreant Burke, the resurrectionist, to murder people, to supply the orders he had on hand from surgeons and hospital students; he selected his subjects according to the requirements of his customers.

At the Epiphany Sessions in the year 1821, Thomas King, Robert Clark, and Thomas Robinson were indicted for digging up and carrying away from the Churchyard at Missenden, on the 6th of December previously, the body of a male child of the name of John Aris. The evidence was such as to leave the guilt of the prisoners unquestionable. They could only be indicted for a misdemeanour, as they were careful to leave all the grave clothes behind. They were returned as guilty, and Sir Edmund Carrington, the chairman, after a severe reprimand, sentenced them each to pay a fine of £10, also one year's imprisonment, and further detention until the fines were paid. These men were taken at Chalfont. Mr. Drake's men at Amersham were employed in removing a

quantity of leaves into the garden, when they were surprised to find in one of the heaps a dead body ; they gave information, and the prisoners having just passed through the town, suspicion was raised ; they were followed and taken. On searching their cart another dead body was found, that of a child, the one which they were convicted of stealing ; the one found at Amersham was that of a female about 60 years of age, and was identified as having been buried in Wendover Churchyard a few days previously. In November, the same year, three fellows were pursuing their avocation in Little Marlow Churchyard, but were disturbed by General Pigott's servants ; chase was given to them, but they escaped.

At the Liberty Sessions, at St. Alban's, in 1822, a man of the name of Williams was convicted of stealing the corpse of a female out of Watford Churchyard ; he was imprisoned for two years, in addition to a fine of £25. This fellow took the corpse wrapped up in a garden mat, and left it at a coach office, to be forwarded to London. Suspicion was excited, and when he applied for the parcel he was taken into custody. An accomplice got away ; the man Williams had been twice before convicted of like offences. In August, 1828, some body-snatchers were caught at their disgraceful work at Wycombe Churchyard, and in November, 1831, a man was committed for trial at Aylesbury for the crime. In January, 1832, a man named Beesley and two of his accomplices were tried at Aylesbury for stealing dead bodies out of Wingrave Churchyard.

HIGHWAY ROBBERY AND BURGLARY.

At the Assizes, in 1822, several men were condemned for assaults and burglaries, and two were executed ; their names were Spufford and Deely ; their crime was assaulting and robbing William Read, at Chalfont St. Giles ; they used the prosecutor badly, but spared his life, and theirs might also have been spared. Two of the prisoners who were reprieved were sentenced to be transported for life ; they shewed great commiseration for the two men left for execution, and associated with them from the time of their conviction, exciting them to acts of devotion and joining with them in prayer. Both sat up with them the whole of the night before their execution, and attended them to the scaffold. In consequence of this very meritorious conduct Sir J. Dashwood King and Col. Browne, two of the visiting Magistrates, rewarded them.

THE TRIAL OF CROKER AND RANDALL.

It was on a cold, drizzly morning in November, 1822, that the Aylesbury coach drove up to the Broughton turnpike gate on the Aston Clinton road. This gate then crossed the road at the junction with the Broughton Lane, the house being on the left of the road, on the Aylesbury side of the lane. On this morning the gate was closed, a most unusual circumstance, as old Needle, the gate-keeper, was attentive ; Mr. Wyatt, the coachman, was surprised at no notice being taken of his repeated calls. He got down and went into the toll-house, and to his horror found both Needle and his wife dead, and the house in the greatest confusion. A few moments revealed the fact that the poor, innocent old couple

had been murdered, and great was the excitement occasioned by the discovery. Messengers were sent back to Aylesbury, and the coach proceeded on its journey. On reaching Tring, information was given, and both the constables of that place went in pursuit of the murderers, and, from certain circumstances, traced them to Gaddesden, where a man named Randall was taken into custody ; another, named Croker, was then taken, and a woman, who gave the name of Barnacle, that had been seen in the company of the two men. She, it was afterwards proved, knew nothing of the murder, and at the trial gave evidence against the prisoners. The parties were strangers in this neighbourhood, and appeared to have been leading a strolling life. The object of the murder was plunder, in which the perpetrators were sadly disappointed, as very little money was in the house, and nothing of value. The murderers took away a few articles of wearing apparel and other trifles, some of which were found upon them, and identified as belonging to the Needles, and led to their conviction.

The trial took place at the March Assizes in 1823. The Hall was very much crowded, and the greatest confusion prevailed. Silence could not be obtained ; the Court was like a bear-garden ; the judge spoke of adjourning the trial, as he could not proceed for the noise ; the confusion continued ; at last a jury was got into the box, the prisoners were arraigned, and the crowd became quieter. Croker pleaded guilty, Randall not guilty. The case was very plain, and the guilt of the prisoners could not be doubted for a moment ; indeed the judge declined to hear all the evidence. The witnesses, amongst others, were C. Whitehall, Mr. Wyatt, the coachman, Mr. Hayward, surgeon, and Mary Barnacle, the companion of the prisoners. The jury immediately returned a verdict of guilty, and the judge passed sentence of death upon the prisoners, to be executed in 48 hours ; he also ordered that their bodies should be given to the surgeons to be anatomised. Both men made confessions of their guilt. Randall had been a desperate fellow, according to the account he gave of his many exploits.

BANKS AND THE TWO CRIBBS.

The Bucks Lent Assizes of 1823 might well be termed a "bloody assize," for no sooner had the drop fallen from under the feet of Croker and Randall than public attention was directed to the forthcoming execution of Banks and the two Cribbs. These men, whose names really were Milson and Browne, had been tried at the same Assizes as the murderers, and had received sentence of death, but for a crime altogether of a different character. At this time the value of a horse was in higher estimation than the life of a fellow creature ; and here was an instance of three stalwart fellows, in the prime of their manhood, being sacrificed for stealing a pony of the estimated value of £7 ! One of Ebenezer Elliott's Corn Law rhymes might here be parodied—

> Oh, God ! that horseflesh is so dear,
> And human flesh so cheap.

These men, in passing through Aylesbury, stopped at the Ship Inn, Walton Street,

to bait their horses. A trivial circumstance happened, by which the attention of Cross, the constable, was called to them. Horse-stealing at that period was rife ; indeed, it was followed as a profession. Horses were stolen from different places in the district almost nightly, and cases are on record where eight or ten were stolen the same night ; stables were known to be cleared of all the horses they contained. Suspicious-looking travellers possessed of horses were keenly watched by the constables of the towns through which they travelled. Had Banks and his companions shown the courage at first which they did after their commitment to gaol, they might have passed muster with the constable. Upon Cross putting a few questions to them, one attempted to make off ; this of course settled the point, and they were at once taken into custody. There was no direct charge against them ; and they were remanded as rogues and vagabonds. During their remand, information was obtained respecting the horses found in their possession, and one was proved to have been stolen ; they were consequently committed for trial on the then capital charge of horse-stealing. Their repeated and determined efforts to escape from gaol created great interest, and the trial and ultimate fate of the men were the topic of conversation in the town for a long time.

These poor fellows suffered death for a crime which now would be visited by a few weeks' imprisonment only. Banks is said to have been a high-spirited fellow, just in the prime of life. He always denied the crime for which he suffered, but it was understood that if he did not actually steal the horse for which he was convicted, he was privy to the theft and an immediate receiver of the stolen property. After his condemnation Banks, who was looked upon as the principal, confessed to several robberies of pigs, fowls, &c. ; he was stated to have been a general receiver of stolen property ; he was originally a farm servant at Canterbury. He said he had been extensively engaged in smuggling, by which he had amassed a considerable sum in Norfolk and Suffolk ; in all his engagements he took care never to steal, but received the articles after they were stolen, and this would appear to have been so in the case for which he suffered, for after repeated exhortations, and in his last moments, he denied having stolen the horse, and complained of the injustice of his sentence.

At the Assizes of 1824, several prisoners were sentenced to death, but eventually all were reprieved.

THE WHADDON CHASE MURDER, ETC.

At the March Assizes in the year 1825 the principal case was the prosecution of Charles Lynn for the murder of a man of the name of Hogg. The prisoner was acquitted on the ground of insanity. Lynn held a situation in a distillery in London, and, in company of his friend Hogg, went on a shooting excursion. The unfortunate occurrence which led to fatal results took place in the neighbourhood of Whaddon Chase. Whether the parties were on trespass does not appear, but Lynn, who had been drinking hard for some days before, had a notion that the keepers were

after him, and he ran off, his friend following closely after him. Lynn suddenly turned round, and, by a stroke with the butt end of his gun, felled Hogg to the ground and killed him. On the trial the defence of insanity was relied on—that he was under the influence of *delirium tremens*. It was not disputed that the prisoner was sane at the time of the trial, but it was urged that at the time of committing the deed he was not so, or he would not have killed his friend, with whom he was so closely intimate. The jury took a humane view of the case, and Lynn was acquitted on the plea set up for him. The effect of the verdict was that he was kept a prisoner in gaol at Aylesbury for many years. The verdict was very unpopular with some classes. "The man had killed another, and he ought to be hung"—such was the argument. The disappointment of the advocates for hanging, at the escape of Lynn, gave rise to some verses reflecting on the alleged stupidity of the jury, one of which ran thus :—

> If you have done murder and wish to get clear,
> Take care and be tried in Buckinghamshire.

They went further and made up their minds that, after the acquittal of a culprit guilty in so clear a case of murder, the gallows would never again be required, and might be handed over to the auctioneer for disposal.

At the same Assizes was tried the case of alleged murder of William Morris, of Aston Clinton, which terminated in a verdict of manslaughter ; also that of two Eton Schoolboys, who were indicted for the manslaughter of F. Astley Cooper, in a school fight ; no prosecutor appearing they were acquitted. At March, 1826, there was the usual array of sheep-stealers and others; the form of recording death, followed by a reprieve, was gone through. In March, 1828, the Radnage burglary was the leading case, when the life of a young burglar of the name of Robert Saunders was forfeited.

THE TRIAL OF TYLER AND SEWELL.

A market gardener, known as Noble Edden, residing at Thame, usually attended Aylesbury market. One night, in the year 1828, he was killed on his journey as he was returning to Thame. Some people thought that his death had been caused by accident, but the coroner's jury, at an inquest held at Haddenham, in which parish the murder took place, found a verdict of "Murdered by some person or persons unknown." No apprehensions were made for a considerable time, although suspicion was attached to certain parties thought to have been implicated in the murder. In August, 1829, nearly a year after the murder, in consequence of some information obtained in a roundabout way, Seymour, the Thame constable, apprehended a man of the name of Solomon Sewell, on the charge. Sewell made a statement implicating another party. Next day he was taken before the magistrates at Thame, and he reiterated the statement ; he was committed to Aylesbury Gaol. Two days after, a man of the name of Benjamin Tyler was apprehended at Uxbridge, and was taken before the magistrates at Thame, upon the statement made by Sewell that he was implicated in the murder of Noble Edden ; he also was committed to

gaol. After one remand Tyler and Sewell were again brought up and examined. Mrs. Edden, the widow, said—"On the night of the murder I was ironing; something rushed over me, and I thought I heard the voice of my husband. I ran out and said, 'Oh! dear God, my husband is being murdered!' I told this to several persons before I heard the news; I thought I saw my husband's apparition, and the man that done it was Tyler. That was the reason I sent for him after the body was brought home; I sent many times, but he wouldn't come; I wanted him to touch the corpse.* In consequence of what I felt on the Saturday night I ran to look after my husband till I was exhausted." Sewell's examination was then read, in which he distinctly stated that he saw Tyler strike Edden with a hammer. The magistrates told Sewell they did not think he was telling all the truth. They were again remanded, and again examined, when Charlotte Sewell said she was mother of Solomon Sewell and "four-and-twenty more;" that her son was an imbecile. A great many witnesses were called, after which Tyler reiterated his entire innocence of the charge. The magistrates cleared the room, and on the re-opening, Lord Nugent addressed Tyler and said that they thought Sewell's evidence utterly unworthy of credit, and he (Tyler) would be at once discharged. Sewell was committed for re-examination. On his discharge, Tyler went to Thame, gaily dressed in ribbons, where he annoyed the witnesses who had given evidence against him, by dancing before their doors.

A few days after, Sewell was again brought before the Aylesbury magistrates, and rambling statements were made by him, as well as by the witnesses examined; he was again remanded; no faith was placed in his statements. After another week, he was again brought before the magistrates in petty session; several witnesses were examined; he again declared his innocence; Lord Nugent discharged him, telling him that the magistrates believed he had told a string of falsehoods. As soon as he reached the outside of the Court, he was apprehended for stealing a pair of shoes, and sent off to Oxford Gaol. Here the matter remained, without further steps being taken in it. In the meantime, Sewell had been sentenced to 14 years' transportation for fowl-stealing; in order to procure a commutation of his sentence, he consented to speak the truth. Tyler was therefore again apprehended, taken to Ashendon, and

* Her sending for Tyler to touch the dead body of the murdered man arose from an old superstitious idea that the mangled corpse had the power of pointing out the murderer if brought into contact with him. King James I., in his "Demonology," says—"In a secret murthur, if the dead carcasse be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to Heaven for revenge of the murtherer." At the Hertford Assizes, 4 Car. I., the following information was taken by Sir John Maynard, from the deposition of the minister of the parish where a murder was committed—"That the body being taken out of the grave thirty days after the party's death, and lying on the grass, and the four defendants (suspected of murdering her) being required, each of them touched the dead body, whereupon the brow of the dead, which before was of a livid and carrion colour, began to have a dew, or gentle sweat, arise on it, which increased by degrees, till the sweat ran down in drops on the face; the brow turned to a lively and fresh colour; and the deceased opened one of her eyes, and shut it again, three several times; she likewise thrust out the ring or marriage finger three times, and pulled it in again, and the finger dropped blood upon the grass." The minister of the next parish, who also was present, being sworn, gave evidence exactly as above.

remanded to Aylesbury Gaol, both being eventually committed for trial on the capital charge of murdering William Edden.

On the 5th of March, 1830, there was a great rush to the County Hall to hear the trial, and the place was crowded as soon as the doors were open; it lasted the whole day, and was not over till midnight; the evidence was purely circumstantial, and very rambling; the prisoners were convicted. Sewell appeared very simple; even whilst the judge was passing sentence he turned his back and made motions to some acquaintance in the gallery, intimating that he would be hanged. Tyler declared himself as innocent as a baby; Sewell also said he was innocent. They were sentenced to be hanged, and their bodies to be dissected at some London hospital. Three days after, Sunday having intervened, some 4,000 or 5,000 people assembled in front of the gaol to witness the execution. Those who were fond of such sights must have been satisfied with the rich treat it afforded them; it was a regular old-fashioned hanging scene. There seemed to be an absence of solemnity about the whole thing, and it was hard to understand that what was going on was a reality. The poor wretches looked more like puppets in the hands of a showman than men on the very verge of death; it was like a stage play altogether. Sewell first made an appearance, and he continued that silly, half-idiotic conduct he had maintained all through, which, whether assumed or real, could only be known to those who were well acquainted with his antecedents; he scanned the crowd, anxious to see if there was anyone there whom he knew, and appeared disappointed that he saw so few; he recognised a Mr. Taylor, and shouted out, "Ah! Mr. Taylor, there you are. I am just going to die, and hope I shall go to Heaven; so goodbye, Mr. Taylor, good-bye." Tyler was then brought out; he was very nervous and trembling; he advanced to the front of the gallows, and spoke to the following effect:—"My blessed brothers, I wish to say a few words to you before I quit this world, which will be in a very few moments, and I hope you will all take warning by my untimely fate, though I am innocent of the act for which I am about to suffer. I am just going to leave this world, and I solemnly declare to you that my life has been taken away by false swearers. I bear them no malice, but I freely forgive them, and I hope God will bless you all." Here the poor wretch's speech failed him; he appeared to have had something more to say, but for the interference of the executioner, who pulled a cap over his face, withdrew, and in another moment both were launched into eternity. The surgeons at St. Bartholomew's Hospital reported that the brain of Sewell was diseased and bore the appearances of those of persons who had been insane; they further reported that the disease had existed during the lifetime of the criminal.

A SPECIAL COMMISSION.

On the 10th of January, 1831, a special commission opened at Aylesbury to try the machine-breakers; there were 126 committed for trial, the larger proportion never having been before charged with a violation of the law. The judges were Mr. Justice Park, Mr. Baron Bolland, and Mr. Justice Pattison. These trials caused much excite-

ment, and brought a great concourse of people into Aylesbury ; the inns were much crowded. The first charge heard was that of destroying a paper machine at Loudwater ; the prisoners were convicted ; the trial took up a long time. On the second day of the commission, twenty-four men were put to the bar charged with destroying a paper-making machine at the mill of Mr. W. R. Davis, at High Wycombe ; most of them were convicted, but recommended to mercy. Some rioters from Iver were also convicted. On the third day of the commission, twenty-three rioters pleaded guilty, and sentence of death was formally recorded against them. Twenty-one were charged with destroying a thrashing machine belonging to Mr. Farmbrough, of Stone ; the prosecution in this case was not pressed, and the prisoners, on giving security for good behaviour, were discharged. Other Stone men were similarly treated. Seventeen more men from Stone were then tried for a like offence ; this indictment was pressed, as the case was an aggravated one ; all were convicted but one. On the fourth day, those men charged with destroying Mr. Rickford's machines at Blackgrove Farm, Waddesdon, were acquitted. Then came the Winchendon case of breaking Mr. Wiggins's chaff machine, and a conviction ensued. Four men of Waddesdon were tried for breaking Mr. Hiron's winnowing machine ; one was acquitted. Several other cases were tried, including some from Long Crendon and Wavendon. On the last day of the special assize, the sentences were given ; some of the accused were transported, others had various terms of imprisonment, some fined and discharged ; the Court dealt very leniently with the simple cases of breaking machines, but where force or intimidation had been resorted to they were more severe. Nineteen prisoners convicted of breaking paper machines had sentence of death recorded against them, and two of them were left for execution. No sooner were the sentences of death pronounced than a petition to the King was got up in favour of pardoning those left for execution ; Lord Nugent took the matter up, and the petition was well signed. In the course of a few days a respite arrived, the intelligence of which was received with the highest satisfaction by the public.

VARIOUS TRIALS.

At the Summer Assizes of 1830, Simon Byrne was tried for killing Alex. McKay in a prize fight at Hanslope ; he was acquitted. At the Summer Assizes in 1831, three men were indicted for a burglary with violence, at North Crawley, and two of them were executed. At the Midsummer Sessions, 1834, nine Aylesbury paupers were indicted for riot ; they were able-bodied, and were dissatisfied with their pauper's pay ; about 60 assembled, and gave signs of disturbance ; the nine indicted were the leaders ; they were convicted, and were imprisoned for fourteen days. At the following Sessions a number of paupers from North Marston were convicted of riot ; they were surplus labourers, and they put their foreman into the parish pond. There was also a gang of paupers from Chalfont St. Giles tried ; they were acquitted, also another batch from Chesham. All these cases arose from a detestation evinced by paupers of the New Poor Law, which had just been brought into operation ; the Chesham men were con-

victed and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the March Assizes of 1837, the absorbing case was that of a man convicted of the murder of Colonel Hanmer's game-keeper; he was hanged. At the same Assizes a man from Long Crendon received a sentence of 12 months' imprisonment for stealing a penny loaf. During the next few years there were no cases tried containing any marked features.

THE CASE OF JOHN TAWELL.

No criminal trial ever created greater general and local interest than that of John Tawell for the murder by poison of Sarah Hart, at Slough. John Tawell, the second son of Thomas Tawell, of Aledby, in the county of Norfolk, was born in 1784. About the year 1798, he entered the service of a widow, a member of the Society of Friends, who kept a general shop at Pakefield, near Lowestoft, in Suffolk, and gained the perfect confidence of his employer and the respect of her customers. While living at Pakefield, he formed a close intimacy with Joseph Hunton, linen-draper, of Norton-Folgate, who was executed at Newgate in 1828, for forgery. Hunton resided at that time at Yarmouth. His intimacy with Tawell was one of the means of gradually undermining the moral principles of the latter. In 1804, Tawell obtained a situation with a person named Janson, who had an extensive linen drapery establishment in Whitechapel. Here circumstances required that Tawell, in order to maintain an honourable position, should marry a domestic in the household. His conduct in this affair might easily have been forgiven, had he not at the very time been carrying on a correspondence, with a view to marriage, with a young woman of a respectable Quaker family at Yarmouth. His union with the housemaid having been the result of necessity, not of choice, the ill-assorted alliance turned out a very unhappy one. Two sons were its issue. On leaving Mr. Janson's establishment, he was recommended to Mr. Marsden, the head of an extensive wholesale drug and patent medicine business in the neighbourhood of Queen Street, Cheapside. He was engaged to travel for the trade; he showed much activity and business tact, combined, and was highly prized as an efficient and trustworthy representative. After he had acquitted himself creditably for seven years as the confidential representative of a first-class commercial London house, it came out very unexpectedly that he had committed an extensive forgery on the Uxbridge Bank. In those sanguinary days of our penal code, this crime, if brought home, would have led to his certain condemnation and ignominious execution as a felon. The particulars of the affair were, however, suppressed as far as possible, on account of the insuperable disinclination of the bankers to be in any way instrumental in taking away human life. So the circumstance of his having a forged Bank of England note in his possession, at the time of his apprehension on the more serious charge, was taken advantage of as the means of effecting his escape from the consequences of the capital offence. The Uxbridge bankers were relieved from the necessity of prosecuting; the Bank of England took up the case of the forged note; Tawell pleaded guilty by arrangement, and in 1814 he was sent, a convict, to Sydney. In New South Wales his knowledge of drugs availed him;

he was retained in the service of Government as one of the assistants in the convict hospital at Sydney. In this situation he continued rather more than three years. His intelligence, assiduity, and carefulness acquired for him the favourable regard of his superiors, and by their recommendation the governor, Major-General Macquarrie, first granted him a ticket of leave, and shortly afterwards an emancipation ticket. Aided by some friends he had made among the colonial officials, he commenced business in a small shop in Hunter Street, Sydney. He subsequently removed to more commodious premises. Here he grew rich, and was successful in all he undertook. The report of his prosperity reached England. His wife, with her children, had received no aid from him during his long absence. A subscription was raised to provide her and her children with necessaries for a voyage to Sydney; a free passage was also obtained. They arrived at their destination in 1824—no very welcome visitants to Tawell, who had formed one of those female connections in the colony which are more consistent with convenience than sanctioned by morality. At length, having accumulated between thirty and forty thousand pounds by his fortunate, and, it is to be presumed, honest trading, he determined to return to his native country, from which he had been absent more than sixteen years.

Upon his arrival with his family in London, in 1831, Tawell first rented a house in Whitechapel, and then removed to Southwark, but some affairs in Sydney, which he had not finally wound up, requiring his attention, and having an opportunity of embarking, with a prospect of profit, a sum in the purchase of goods which he knew would meet with a ready sale in the Sydney markets, he set sail thither with a valuable cargo. By this single speculation he is said to have cleared between four and five thousand pounds. Then, having settled the business for which he undertook the voyage, he returned home; but the success he had met with prompted him to engage in a still more extensive venture of the same kind, in pursuance of which he went out to New South Wales once more, accompanied this time by his wife and family. The death of his son again determined him to return to England. On his arrival he took a house in Southwark. His wife had for some time been in bad health, and he engaged a woman, about thirty years of age, named Sarah Hart, to nurse her in her illness. Mrs. Tawell died. Sarah Hart became the mother of two children, of whom Tawell was the father, and to all appearance she was entirely dependent on him for support. Tawell had gone to live at Berkhampstead, and was apparently possessed of affluence; he married a second wife, a member of the Society of Friends, to whom he had been introduced, and who was reputed to possess, in a somewhat extraordinary degree, those mental endowments and moral qualities which constitute the excellencies of the female character, and which no class of women in the world can boast of possessing more than Quakeresses. They were married in February, 1841, at the Registrar's Office, in Berkhampstead, and they lived together in that town in apparent comfort, and with some pretensions to style, though it turned out afterwards that Tawell was by no means in such easy circumstances

as he was supposed to be. An allowance of £1 a week to Sarah Hart, for the maintenance of herself and children, had perhaps become a burden on the woman's seducer; or Tawell was in dread lest his connection with Sarah Hart should become known to his wife, and destroy their domestic peace, as well as ruin his character. At all events he resolved that he would get rid of her. On Wednesday, the 1st of January, 1845, he proceeded to her residence, at Salthill, and after a short time he sent her to a neighbouring inn for a bottle of porter. She was then perfectly well; after she returned, a Mrs. Ashley, who lived next door, heard a moan or stifled scream. She became alarmed, and went to the door, and saw Tawell coming out of Mrs. Hart's house; she met him at the gate. Tawell appeared agitated, and could not open the gate; Mrs. Ashley helped him to open it. Mrs. Ashley then went into Sarah Hart's. On a table in the room she saw a bottle of porter, which had been opened, also two glasses. In one of these there was only a little froth; the other contained porter, or porter and water. On the floor was Sarah Hart, dying. A Mr. Champneys, a surgeon, of Slough, was sent for; on his arrival she was dead.

Suspicion had by this time attached to Tawell; he was, however, suffered to go to town, but information was given to the person who superintended the electric telegraph at Slough, and signals were made to the effect that a person would arrive by the next train who was to be watched. This was the first time the telegraph was employed in effecting the arrest of a criminal. When Tawell arrived at Paddington, there was a policeman on the platform, who saw him get out of a first-class carriage and enter the New Road omnibus. The policeman, who was disguised, went into the omnibus, which proceeded to the Bank, where Tawell left it. He walked forward to Cornhill; and when he got near the Wellington statue, he paused, turned back, and went to the Jerusalem Coffee House. After a time he went down Cannon Street, to a lodging-house in Scot's Yard, kept by a member of the Society of Friends. The next day the policeman went to this house, but Tawell was gone. He traced him to the Jerusalem Coffee House. Tawell was asked whether he had been at Slough the day before, and said he had not been out of town all day, and that he knew nobody at Slough. When told of the suspicion against him, he said, "My status in society places me above suspicion; you must be mistaken as to my identity." He was, however, taken into custody. At the time of the inquest on Sarah Hart it was not known that Tawell had had any prussic acid at all in his possession; but it was subsequently discovered that he had been to a chemist in Bishopsgate Street, and purchased two drachms of Scheele's acid, saying he wanted it for external application. This was on the Wednesday, the morning of the murder. On the Thursday he again went to the chemist's, and asked for a further quantity, saying he had lost the other bottle.

The foregoing is an outline of the material facts. But there was another piece of evidence, which led to the inference that this was not Tawell's first attempt on Sarah Hart's life. Towards the latter end of the September previous, a person named Charlotte

Howard was staying with Mrs. Hart; Tawell came one day, about seven o'clock in the evening, and Howard was sent out for a bottle of porter. Not very long after Tawell left, Mrs. Hart became dreadfully ill and sick, so much so that she went to bed, leaving thirteen sovereigns on the table, being evidently unable to take ordinary care of them. She continued very ill all night and next day, but ultimately recovered. She attributed it to the porter, but had no suspicion against Tawell.

The trial of Tawell on the charge of poisoning Sarah Hart came on on March 12th, 1845, before Mr. Baron Parke; the witnesses called for the Crown completely established the facts as narrated above. Mr. Fitzroy Kelly, who was the leading counsel for the prisoner, did not attempt to rebut any portion of the evidence, his cross-examination, particularly of the medical men, being directed to establishing the fact that prussic acid exists in, and may be extracted from, a variety of substances, vegetable and animal. It was admitted by the scientific witnesses that the acid is deducible from apple pips, although in such exceedingly infinitessimal quantities as to be almost indefinable; and upon this admission, and proof that Sarah Hart had recently received a present of a peck of apples, the solemnity of this judicial inquiry was outraged by an attempt to persuade the jury that the unfortunate woman had occasioned her own death by swallowing apple pips! After the trial had lasted the greater part of two days, the prisoner's ingenious counsel delivered a speech in his defence, which from that time fixed on him the soubriquet of "Apple-pip Kelly." On the third day of the trial, the Judge summed up the case, and after an absence from the box of half-an-hour the foreman delivered a verdict of guilty, amid the most profound silence. The judge then proceeded to pass sentence of death on the prisoner, who exhibited an extraordinary amount of firmness, betraying little emotion.

On Friday, the 28th day of March, 1845, the culprit was executed in the balcony then on the front of the County Hall, in the presence of an immense crowd. From the time of his conviction his conduct was befitting his awful position. He was visited in prison by his wife and step-daughter, and also by his brother. The last meeting was a most painful, but very affectionate one. Mrs. Tawell spoke of him and addressed him in terms of great affection, believing to the last in her husband's innocence. Against all reason, Tawell had buoyed himself up till the moment of his condemnation with the hope and anticipation of acquittal. It was stated that his carriage was in waiting at the White Hart Inn, to convey him home after the trial, so confident was he of being acquitted.

The scene on the morning of the execution will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Hours before daylight, and before the inhabitants had risen from their beds, the tramp of footsteps might be heard in the streets, and at daylight the principal parts of the town were crowded by visitors, most of whom had apparently travelled many miles to witness the execution. Every minute spot from which a glimpse of the gallows could be obtained was occupied, and the concourse of spectators was immense and

beyond all computation. Somewhat before the accustomed time, or exactly punctual to the moment, the drop fell, and the tragedy, which had for some time occupied not only local but general attention, closed. This was the last execution that took place in front of the County Hall. It was the withholding of the confession of Tawell which caused such recrimination between the County Justices and the Rev. F. Cox, the Gaol Chaplain. The prisoner made a confession to Mr. Cox, as his spiritual adviser, which the justices claimed to have given up to them. Mr. Cox very properly refused; this refusal led to his vacating his appointment as Gaol Chaplain; he retained the confession, and the details of it were never forthcoming.

THE CHURCH RATE TRIAL.

At the Epiphany Sessions of 1848, John Simonds, of Mursley, shopkeeper, was charged with wilfully resisting an order of the magistrates, in fact, refusing to pay a church rate of 5d., made by the churchwardens of Mursley. Long before the doors of the Hall were opened a crowd had assembled, anxious to obtain admission. Soon after, the Court was densely filled, as the case had created very great interest from its novelty. There were several challenges of jurymen on both sides, and some difficulty occurred in forming a panel. Simonds, on being placed at the bar, pleaded not guilty. Mr. Sanders, the counsel for the prosecution, stated the case, from which it appeared that the prisoner was the occupier of a cottage and garden at Mursley, for which he was duly assessed, and was so assessed at the sum of 5d. to a church rate made on the 30th of July, 1847; the prisoner was respected and esteemed in the parish, and objected to pay the rate on the ground of principle. The churchwarden consequently summoned him before the magistrates to show cause why he refused to pay; he did not appear or show cause, and the magistrates issued a commitment for contempt, and the present prosecution was instituted. The learned counsel called John Walter Symonds, the churchwarden of Mursley, to prove the legal making of the rate, the demand for it, and other proceedings connected with it. The cross-examination of this witness took a long time, but nothing particular was elicited by it, the whole case bearing on the fact of the refusal of the prisoner to obey the order of the magistrates. The Court retired once or twice to consult in private, on legal technicalities raised in the course of the hearing of the case. The defence was conducted by Mr. Stammers, of London, with Mr. Wells as junior counsel. Mr. Stammers argued that the step taken by the indictment of Simonds was arbitrary and uncalled for, it having been proved by the churchwarden that Simonds' shop was well-stocked, and there was abundance of property on which a distress could have been levied. He read extracts from a decision of Lord Mansfield, where his lordship discussed the point of introducing the common law to supersede the penalty of a statute. He further contended that the indictment could not lie. Mr. Wells also addressed the Bench for the defence, remarking that the attention of Westminster Hall and every Court in the Kingdom was drawn to this case, and all awaited the decision with the greatest interest; he thought the Bench would be glad to

take shelter under Lord Mansfield's decision, and get rid of it altogether, so that henceforth the common remedy by statute should be applied to such cases as this, and not subject the whole of the Nonconformists of this kingdom to indictments as common criminals. The Court again retired, and on its return Sir Thomas Aubrey, who was Chairman, announced that a majority of the justices had decided that the indictment should lie. Whereupon Mr. Stammers addressed the jury at great length. "The prisoner," remarked the counsel, "protested against the rate, and by his refusal to pay it that protest takes the form of a great truth, and not a criminal act. This is all he means by his resistance; it is not to oppose the law. No; his Bible has taught him to revere it. Give him a verdict of not guilty, and there are many in the Church of England who will feel obligated, while the Nonconformists will be relieved from oppression, and the voice of the people will support your decision, seeing that the prisoner's conduct contains none of the elements of guilt." The Chairman's summing up was extremely brief. He directed the jury simply to decide whether the prisoner had wilfully disobeyed the order of the justices. The jury retired, and after an absence of about ten minutes returned a verdict of guilty, and the prisoner was sentenced to one week's imprisonment, without hard labour.

THE DENHAM MURDERS.

At the Aylesbury Assizes in July, 1870, John Jones, *alias* Owen, was tried for the murder of a whole family of the name of Marshall. Emanuel Marshall, an artizan in a small way, lived in the village of Denham. His family consisted of his wife, three children, his sister, and mother. Such was the number of the family when they were last seen alive. On Sunday, the 22nd of May, the house was closed, and the inmates did not show themselves, but it was supposed they had made an excursion into the country. Monday came and still no appearance, but no suspicion was aroused that there was anything wrong. On Monday night a young woman called at the house to deliver some garments. The house being closed, and no response being received from within, the police were summoned. On the door being forced the whole of the family were found one after another weltering in pools of blood, each with his or her brains dashed out. Marshall's body was discovered in his workshop, and the bodies of the others, partially dressed, in the lower rooms of the house, as though they were hurried from their beds by the noise made by the attack on the master of the house, and were slaughtered in succession as they appeared on the scene. At first there seemed no motive for the atrocity. No particular temptation to robbery existed in the cottage of a mere artizan, however comfortable; revenge was out of the question, and it was supposed by those on the spot that Marshall had murdered the others and then committed suicide. But it was found that the injuries which caused his death could not have been self-inflicted. There was no one left to identify the murderer, and it was clear that all Sunday had veiled the tragedy and given him ample time for escape. The prisoner had taken lodgings in Uxbridge, a couple of miles from the scene of the murder, on the previous Saturday night. He was

then shabbily dressed, and had no money. He told a man he fell in with, at the lodgings, he should not be at home that night. He left after dark, and appeared next morning in new clothes, and in possession of money, which he squandered in drink and on loose women. He left for Reading on Tuesday, when the news of the murder was bruited about. Various circumstances were remembered against him, and he was captured at Reading. The clothes he was wearing were identified as those of Marshall, while those found blood-stained in the house were recognised as the clothes he had at first appeared in. It was moreover ascertained that he had pledged at Uxbridge a watch and chain which had been stolen from the house of his victims. Link by link continued to be added to the chain of evidence, until at last he was as indissolubly connected with the murder as it is possible for circumstantial testimony to bind a criminal. There was no doubt whatever as to the prisoner's guilt; he was convicted, condemned, and executed at the new prison on Bierton Hill, on the 8th of August, 1870.

There have been several other trials on the capital charge of murder in later years, in which executions followed, but there were no special features in connection with them.

Chapter XLIII.—OBSOLETE CRIMINAL PUNISHMENTS.

Original idea of punishment—Ancient cruel punishments—The stocks—early punishment by stocks at Aylesbury—in villages—some still standing—The ducking stool—description of—ducking stool at Aylesbury—The pillory—description of—disgraceful usage in—the pillory at Aylesbury—Carey Cole in the pillory—account of—The gallows—the gibbet—the drop—last gibbet in Bucks—Executions at Gallows Road, Aylesbury—Riots at the gallows—Silas Told—the road to the gallows—The new drop at Aylesbury—Executions there—Dying-speech men—Superstition—the dead man's hand—the hand of glory—Whipping at the cart's tail—description of—Whipping at the cage door at Aylesbury.

THE original idea of punishment was pain inflicted on, or endured by, a person, as satisfaction or atonement by him for some offence he had committed. The retaliatory principle of punishment is of great antiquity, and was probably the earliest idea which nations had formed concerning the nature of punishment. By degrees it was perceived that the infliction of pain for a vindictive purpose was not consistent with justice and utility, or with the spirit of Christian ethics, and that the proper end of punishment is not to avenge past, but to prevent future offences. Punishment ought to be, as far as the unavoidable defects of police and judicial procedure will permit, certain, and also, as far as the differences of human nature and circumstances will allow, equal. In the earliest times in Ancient Britain, it was taught that the gods took delight in the death of a criminal; that they were made angry by the crime, and only relented when the culprit had expiated his offence.

It is asserted by Lord Romily and Mr. Justice Blackstone that the Anglo-Saxons fixed a money penalty for all offences, and that their laws were remarkably free from all harshness and severity. The fine for cutting off an ear was 30s.; if the hearing was lost, 60s.; knocking out the front teeth, 8s.; the grinders, 16s.; to fight or cause a brawl in the court or yard of a common person was punished with a fine of 6s.; to draw a sword, even without using it, was 3s. This notion of compensation ran through the whole criminal code of the Anglo-Saxons, who allowed money compensation for every kind of crime, not excepting murder. Blackstone asserts that British law, in its origin and source, was peculiarly merciful and tender of human life, and, in recapitulating the great changes which have taken place in this country (down to his time), says that none

are greater or more to be lamented than the change from the mercy of our ancestors to the extreme severity of our modern laws.

The highest offence recognised by the law of England is, and ever has been, treason —an offence, the definition of which was framed in the fifth year of King Edward III. Death was the punishment inflicted for this crime, and this punishment was ordered to be undergone in the most fearful manner. First, the attainted was to be drawn to the place of execution. Originally, this drawing was effected by tying the culprit's feet to the tail of a horse, and so dragging him to the scaffold, with nothing between his bare back and the road. As early as the reign of Edward I., however, a hurdle was interposed, and so the severity of the punishment much lessened. Arrived at the place of execution, he was hanged by the neck for a few moments, and, whilst living, cut down, and then, being bound alive to a stake, disemboweled, and his heart "burnt before his face." His head being then cut off with a butcher's knife, his body, divided into four parts, was exposed in the most conspicuous places of the town where the execution took place, or in some other locality fixed upon by the sovereign.

The uniform punishment inflicted upon women for treason was, to be drawn to a place of execution, and there burnt alive; this was not legally abolished until the year 1788. In 1767 a woman of the name of Sowerby was fastened to the stake at York and burnt to death; her crime was poisoning her husband. In 1784 Mary Bayley was burnt to death at the stake at Portsmouth for slaying her husband; she was drawn to the place of execution on a hurdle. In London, in 1786, Phœbe Harris, for coining and counterfeiting shillings, which was considered treason, was strangled, and then burnt, according to her sentence; she hung about half-an-hour before the officer began to place the faggots round her, which, being lighted, soon consumed her to ashes. So recently as the year 1788 a woman was executed at Newgate for coining; her body was afterwards publicly burnt. But how did these horrible punishments act, so far as regarded preventing the repetition of offences, and awing others by the exhibition? As a matter of fact, there were ten times as many persons tried and executed for treason during any one year of the continuance of the severe laws against it as there were after the abolition of those laws.

Next to high treason came the offences of parricide and petty treason. Petty treason was the killing of the husband by the wife, or the master by the servant, and of his superior by an ecclesiastic. Petty treason was treated as a species of aggravated murder, and the convicted person was ordered to be drawn as well as hanged. Following in atrocity to these offences was the crime of wilful murder, uniformly punished for ages past with death. For many years, in atrocious cases, the court was accustomed to order that the criminal should be hung in chains after death, and this addition which, until 1752, formed no part of the legal sentence, but was in the discretion of the judge, was perhaps intended not so much to inculcate a horror of the crime itself as to satisfy the friends of the deceased—the murderer in such a position being, in the words of the

civil law, "a pleasant and comfortable sight to the relations of him who was murdered." In 1752, hanging in chains was directed to form part of the legal judgment in certain cases, as well as dissection—the latter being performed at the expense of the county in which the crime was committed, and usually costing £40.

On the 20th of June, 1786, amongst several others executed at the same time at Newgate was William Smith, for coining and counterfeiting a half-penny. In later years the effect of these severe punishments was, that juries would not convict, and thus the cruelty of the law was evaded. The penalty of death being inflicted for stealing to the amount of 40s., the jurymen would assess the value of the goods stolen at 39s., merely to save the lives of the prisoners; these verdicts at times were most ridiculous. There is a case on record where a man was indicted for stealing jewellery of the value of more than £300, yet the jury assessed the value of it at 39s., merely to save the prisoner's life.

For numerous offences, burning in the hand certain letters with a hot iron, in addition to imprisonment, was imposed. This punishment continued till 1829, and in the docks of some old assize-courts there yet remain the post and iron rings by which the sufferer was secured while the operation was performed, as directed by the law, in open court. Clipping the ears and slitting the nose were also at one time modes of punishment. In 1802 Colonel Despard, with six fellow conspirators, was decapitated on the top of Southwark Gaol for high treason, after having been hung half-an-hour; there was hissing and hooting when the Colonel's head was exhibited as the head of a traitor. In 1820 two men were placed on a hurdle and dragged through the streets of Stirling to be executed; after hanging half-an-hour they were cut down, and the hangman commenced hacking off their heads in a most clumsy manner. The cries of the spectators against this butchery were loud and long; the heads were, however, severed from the dead carcases and proclaimed as "the heads of traitors." The decapitator quickly retreated from the scaffold, amidst the loudly expressed execrations of the assembly. In the same year the Cato Street conspirators were executed at the Old Bailey, London. There was an immense crowd; the ceremony of decapitation excited general disgust; the chopping off dead men's heads was looked upon as an ugly farce. But enough has been said, and perhaps too much, about such barbarities. They have now, all of them, been expunged from our statute-book; and the wonder is, that they remained there so long. At the present day, although by the strict letter of our law two or three offences are still made capital, the punishment of death is never inflicted unless for wilful murder—all lesser crimes being visited with penal servitude, imprisonment with or without hard labour, private whipping, and fines.

It would be neither interesting nor profitable to run through the long catalogue of lesser crimes and misdemeanours and their punishments. All of the slightest atrocity were visited with death; the rest with certain corporeal indignities —with fine and imprisonment, or with imprisonment alone. The practice of transportation

did not commence until 1590, and was for long afterwards extremely limited. Until the time of George IV., stealing from the person or from a dwelling-house to the value of 40s., horse, cattle, and sheep stealing, returning from transportation, forgery, uttering forged instruments, coining, highway robbery, and a vast number of other crimes were all legally punishable with death; and in most cases that penalty was inflicted.

Aylesbury being the county and assize town, and the place where the county prison is situate, sentences passed on criminals were generally carried out there, but it was not always so. In extreme cases of murder, the criminals were executed and gibbetted at, or as near as could be, the spot where the crime was committed. In the year 1736 Marshall and Marsh, two ruffians, convicted of the murder of Mr. Pontifix, a farmer, at Downley, were executed in the Rye, at Wycombe, on a gibbet 28 feet high; they were afterwards hung in chains; the concourse to witness the execution was immense. In 1740, a man of the name of Randall, a murderer, was to have been executed on the Rye and gibbeted there; booths and stalls were erected in anticipation of the event, as though a grand gala was about to take place. The culprit was, however, hung at Aylesbury, which caused a disturbance at Wycombe, the mob being highly indignant and disappointed at not enjoying the scene. Corbet, for the Bierton murder, was gibbeted at Bierton in 1773, near the place where he committed the crime, and this is the last gibbet we meet with in Buckinghamshire. The place where this gibbet stood is still known as Gib Lane.

Floggings also were frequently administered at the places where the cause for correction occurred; thus men were publicly flogged at Wycombe, Brill, Chesham, Olney, Buckingham, Amersham, and several other places; the same rule was also followed in the use of the pillory. The punishment of the stocks was purely local; every village was bound to keep a pair of stocks, under a penalty of £5 for the omission.

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE STOCKS.

As parish stocks still exist in several villages, or their disappearance has been recent, it is hardly requisite to give the readers of the present day a description of their construction. Their formation was somewhat after the principle of the pillory, viz., orifices to confine the limbs. The pillory was elevated and formed to imprison the head and hands, whereas the stocks were on a level with the ground, and used for the purpose of confining the legs. Of all the modes of punishment, stocks may be classed amongst the most ancient. Job, in entreating to know God's purpose in afflicting him, exclaims "Thou puttest my feet also in the stocks." In the Acts of the Apostles, we read that the gaoler, when he had Paul and Silas in prison, in order to keep them safely, "thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks." The punishment was common in "fair Greece" thousands of years ago. The stocks in use were of three kinds. Those termed *Chœnikes*, from their shape—a kind of shackle or

stock; the other the *xulon*, from being constructed of wood. This was of two kinds; the first somewhat resembled our pillory, being a wooden machine bound with iron, placed on the neck of a criminal, and depriving him of all power of moving. The others were pierced with five holes, through which the head, arms and legs were passed. Madmen, as well as others, were thus confined. Herodotus tells a story of a Spartan King, who, being insane, was confined in this way and destroyed himself in a horrible manner. He tells another story of a man, who, when thus confined, contrived to get hold of a knife, and, having cut off the flat, middle part of his foot, extricated the remainder, and made his escape, and afterwards procured a wooden foot. Both the "Chœnikes" and the "Xulon" are mentioned by the great Greek comic poet, Aristophanes, who flourished about 427 A.C. In his "Plutus" he couples "Chœnikes" with "Pedai," fetters. In his "Knights" the "Xulon" is twice mentioned. In the latter part of his play he says that the prophecy that Athens must be guarded by a "wooden wall and iron towers" is to be thus interpreted, viz., that a certain person is to be guarded by the iron bound "Xulon," "pierced with five holes." Again, in his "Clouds," the neck "Xulon" is mentioned. Again, in that abominable play the "Lysistrate," the pierced "Xulon" is spoken of. It is said to be the punishment so often alluded to by Andocides. Shakespeare makes frequent references to the stocks. He introduces them in his plays of "The Merry Wives," "Comedy of Errors," "Taming of the Shrew," "All's Well," "Richard II." and "Coriolanus."

Stocks were, towards their last years, mostly used as a mode of punishment for the suppression of drunkenness. In James II.'s reign a drunkard was fined 5s. for the first offence, to be levied on his goods; if he had no goods he was confined in the stocks for six hours, during which time he was subject to the jeers and taunts of an assembled crowd. Stocks were usually so constructed as to serve both for stocks and whipping post. The post which supported the stocks on one side, being made sufficiently high, was furnished near the top with iron clasps to fasten round the wrists of the offender, and hold him securely during the administration of his punishment. Stocks usually had four orifices, so that two men might be stocked at the same time. In some of the old representations of stocks, men are secured by one leg only, and then one pair of stocks would hold in safe custody four prisoners.

The stocks were used at the discretion of the parish constables, without the intervention of a justice of the peace or any other authority. "I was like to be apprehended for the Witch of Brentford; but my admirable dexterity of wit, my counterfeiting the action of an old woman, delivered me; the knave constable had set me i' the stocks, i' the common stocks for a witch."—*Merry Wives*, Act v.

Beggars, or, as they were usually termed, vagabonds, were stocked—

> Like silly beggars,
> Who, sitting in the stocks, refuge their shame.
>
> *Richard II.*, Act v.

At Aylesford, in the sixteenth century, thirteen men and women, stout and valiant vagabonds, were stocked and whipped severely. At Thame also some "proper stoute abbey men took their stocking and whipping verie ill."

This assumed power of the village Dogberry often led to public squabbles. In 1825 a man at Waddesdon was needlessly interfered with on a doubtful charge of drunkenness, and consigned to the stocks; he, however, managed to floor both the constables in their attempt to confine him, and they had to obtain further assistance before they could succeed in securing him. In 1839 another man was stocked at Waddesdon; he feigned illness, and was released; he immediately took to his heels and gave the constables the slip. This was the last time the stocks were used in that village. In June, 1844, a man was stocked for two hours at Quainton for drunkenness, and in 1845 a drunkard was so punished at Amersham, and in 1846 two men were stocked at Reading. The stocks generally stood in the most conspicuous part of the town or village. At Little Kimble they were erected close to the entrance to the Churchyard; they were taken down a few years ago. Stocks still exist in the village of Dinton. A man was placed in them a few years ago for drunkenness, but, to the credit of the villagers, it ought to be stated that the delinquent was not a parishioner of that place. Stocks are also to be seen at Thornborough, Leckhampstead, and other villages in Buckinghamshire; at West Wycombe there is a relic of the old Village Stocks still in existence, affixed to one of the uprights which support the ancient building known as "The Loft," at the entrance to Church Lane. At Aylesbury there were two pairs of stocks; not that the excessive drunkenness of the town required both of them, but, being two Manors, the Lord of each manor had to provide stocks. One pair stood close to the west side of the Market House; this pair was in the chief manor. There was another pair in the Buckingham Road, near the field then known as Bull Close, which part of the town is in the Manor of the Rectory; this pair was mostly patronised in later years. When an improvement was made in that vicinity the stocks were removed a short distance, and for years had as their nearest and appropriate neighbour the parish pound; both these establishments disappeared about the same time. The stocks were seldom used of late, and it is more than forty years since this punishment was resorted to in Aylesbury. On one of the latest occasions two drunkards were stocked at the same time. There was, however, one case of a drunkard being subsequently stocked. Stocks were standing in London in 1826. A man was punished for drunkenness by being exhibited in the stocks at Andover in 1863; another at Newbury as late as the year 1872. After four hours the latter was released, and, picking up the stool on which he had been seated, took refuge in a beerhouse. So very seldom are stocks now resorted to, that as a mode of punishment they may be said to be obsolete.

THE DUCKING, OR CUCKING STOOL.

John Fitz-Geoffrey, Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury in the year 1263, was called upon by *Quo Warranto* to show his right to that manor; he pleaded the grant of Henry

II. to his ancestors, with right of gallows, tumbrel, pillory, &c., &c. The tumbrel is the old name for the cucking stool, which, under the ancient law, "ought to be in every manor or liberty that hath view of frankpledge, for the correction of scolds and unquiet women." During the middle ages, the corporations of towns and lords of manors had the right of independent legislation within their own liberties or manors, and they took cognisance of many offences which were not provided against by the law. Hence, various modes of inflicting punishment came into usage, which, with the gradual disappearance of the last traces of the medieval manners, have become obsolete. Many years have passed away since an offending woman was subjected to that most disgraceful of trials, the cucking stool. The tumbrel was a moveable ducking stool on wheels, on which the offender was drawn round the town, and it could also be used for ducking purposes. The designations "cucking" and "ducking" stools in course of time became synonymous; the terms were used for the instrument employed for punishing scolds, no matter whether married or single. A woman convicted of being a common scold was sentenced to be placed on the tumbrel or ducking stool, and when so placed she was publicly plunged or ducked into a stream of water as her punishment. One of these tumbrels, the remains of which were kept in Warwickshire, is described as consisting of a long beam resting on an upright post moving on a fulcrum; the one end extended far into the water, and at the other end was fastened a rope, so that when the scold was safely secured in the stool she was swung round and dipped into the water, and the dipping was repeated according as her crimes merited.

Lysons gives an extract from the accounts of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the year 1572, relating to the cucking-stool there, which had wheels:—"The making of the cucking stool, 8s.; iron-work for the same, 3s.; timber for the same, 7s. 6d.; three brasses for the same, and three wheels, 4s. 10d." At Banbury the cucking stool and the pillory stood near each other, at the lower part of the Market Place, where was also a horse pool, and there are several entries in the town accounts of the middle of the sixteenth century relating to them. In fact, nearly all parish records during the sixteenth century and the commencement of the seventeenth contain entries relating to these implements of punishment. The practice of ducking continued through the whole of the seventeenth century, and the name, no longer understood in its original form, began to be changed to ducking stool. Instances of this punishment being put in practice occur as late as the middle of the last century. In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" an extract is given from a London newspaper of the year 1745, stating that "Last week a woman that keeps the Queen's Head alehouse at Kingston, in Surrey, was ordered by the Court to be ducked for scolding, and was accordingly placed in the chair, and ducked in the River Thames, under Kingston Bridge, in the presence of two or three thousand people." The guilty individual appears to have been often carried to the place of punishment in procession by the mob. In 1579, the Oxford Corporation ordered "that the Chamberlens of this Cytie shall cause a cuckingstole to be made upon

wheeles, that hit maye be drawen from place to place, to punish suche women as shall undecentlie abuse any person of this citie by words; and this to be done before Mydsomer next." Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, who died in 1782, has left a curious account of the punishment as he had seen it inflicted in his day. He says:—"In my time, when I was a boy, I lived with my grandmother in the great corner house at the foot, 'neath the Magdalene College, Cambridge. I remember to have seen a woman ducked for scolding. The chair was hung to a pulley fastened to a beam about the middle of the bridge, in which the woman was confined, and let down three times, and then taken out."

That the ducking stool was once a mode of punishment at Aylesbury is without doubt. Although there is no record of its being brought into requisition, it was at times required, as doubtless there were unquiet women at Aylesbury as at other places. Certain it is that the Aylesbury ducking stool was preserved, as a curiosity, with great care, long after its disuse. There is some doubt as to whether the name of Duck End did not originally have some connection with the ducking stool. Duck Lane, or Dukkinge Lane, now St. Peter's Street, Great Marlow, was so called because it led to the old wooden bridge, which there crossed the Thames, and from the centre of which scolds were wont to be "ducked" in the river.

Leominster is one of the last places where the ducking stool is heard of in England. In 1809, a woman of the name of Jenny Pipes, *alias* Jane Corran, was paraded through that town on the ducking stool, and ducked in the water, by order of the magistrates. In 1817, a woman named Sarah Leeke was wheeled round the town of Leominster in a chair, but was not ducked, as the water was too low. Since that time the use of the chair has been laid aside, and it is now the object of curiosity, rather than of fear, to any of the spectators.

THE PILLORY.

No instrument seems, in by-gone days, to have been more thoroughly appreciated and maintained as a mode of punishment than the pillory; and from the universality of its acceptance throughout the world, its ingenious varieties, and constant, uniform tendency, it approaches as near as possible to a law of nature. In order to attract the greatest contempt in the most public and conspicuous way upon an offender, to rivet the gaze of the rabble upon him, and to expose him helplessly to their derision, their kicks and cuffs, few instruments so rude as these in structure have done so much rough work in their time. The pillory was usually a combination of planks, constructed to inclose the head and hands of the prisoner in a fixed position, so as to expose him to the public gaze, and attract public contempt; and a license was allowed to bystanders, which was largely taken advantage of, to throw filth and rubbish at his head. The punishment of the pillory was very early in full working order in England. Coke says it was used by the Saxons. Fraudulent bakers and butchers were specially ordered by the assize of

bread and of bakers to be set in it; and in that age, all nations deemed it the suitable punishment for false weights and measures. Robert Lloyd* thus describes the pillory in his epistle to Churchill :—

> Thus should a wooden collar deck
> Some woeful squire's embarrass'd neck,
> When high above the crowd he stands,
> With equi-distant sprawling hands,
> And, without hat, politely bare,
> Pops out his head to take the air.
> The mob his kind acceptance begs;
> Of dirt, and stones, and addled eggs.

The disgraceful manner in which culprits were at times treated when in the pillory formed no part of their sentence, and it must have been an illegal procedure. In the early years of the pillory nothing is recorded of the savage assaults that accompanied the punishment in subsequent times of its use. Poor old Keach, of Winslow, refers to his position in the pillory as being made a "public gazing stock," but not a syllable is mentioned as to any ill-treatment by the mob, which, had it been legal, would certainly have been awarded in his case. The original intention of placing a man in the pillory was that only of making him a "public gazing stock," exhibiting him to the scorn of the crowd as a punishment for the offence of which he had been convicted. This idea is strengthened by a case in the year 1732, when a man was killed in the pillory in London—pelted to death; the coroner's jury found a verdict of "Wilful murder by persons unknown."

The punishment of the pillory was on the principle of mob law. A culprit was awarded a degree of praise or ill-treatment in accordance with his popularity or unpopularity with the mob, not according to his crime. Defoe, the offending satirist, stood in the pillory on the three last days of July, 1703, before the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, near the Conduit in Cheapside, and at Temple Bar. His reception by the mob was very different from that accorded to the anti-Jacobite Fuller, a scurrilous rogue. The author of the "True Born Englishman" was a popular favourite, and his exhibition in the pillory was an occasion of triumph and not of ignominy to him. A ring of admirers was formed round the place of punishment, and bunches of flowers instead of handfuls of garbage were thrown at the offender. Tankards of ale and stoups of wine were drunk in his honour by the multitude whom he had delighted with his racy verse and charmed by his bold defiance of the authorities. The enthusiasm was increased by the timely publication of a "Hymn to the Pillory," in which Defoe boldly declared the iniquity of his sentence, and pointed out to the Government more proper objects of their severity. He said "Atheists ought to stand there, profligate beaux, swindling stock-jobbers, fanatic Jacobites, and the commanders who have brought theEnglish fleet into disgrace." As for him, his only fault lay in his not being understood; but he was perhaps justly punished

* This "Bob" Lloyd was a most intimate friend of Wilkes and Churchill; he was son of Dr. Lloyd, of Waddesdon; was one of the members of the Hell Fire Club; he died a prisoner in the Fleet Prison in 1764.

for being such a fool as to trust his meaning to irony. On the other hand, a man pilloried in London in 1763 was killed by the illusage of the mob. In 1765, when Wilkes's publisher was pilloried in Westminster, not a hand dared to be lifted to injure him, and, whilst he stood exposed, £200 was collected, and was then and there presented to him. In another case, in 1780, a man died in London from injuries received whilst in the pillory. In 1807, at Winchester, a man was sentenced to the pillory, and rather than face the expected cruelty he hanged himself in the gaol.

In the latter part of the last century the pillory was in frequent use, especially in London. In July, 1779, four women were sentenced to stand in it four times in London. At the Bucks Summer Assizes of 1800, John Brooks was convicted of corrupt perjury in giving evidence for the defence of Richard Ferguson; he was put in the pillory at Buckingham, on the 23rd July, 1800, and on the second day of the next Assizes, in March, he was pilloried at Aylesbury; he also was imprisoned for twelve months in Aylesbury Gaol, and fined twelve pence. At the March Assizes of 1810, John Carey Cole was indicted for felony; his trial was postponed in consequence of the absence of an unwilling witness. He was, however, kept in prison until the next Assizes in 1811, when he was tried, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in Aylesbury for one hour on a market day, between the hours of twelve and two o'clock, and also to be imprisoned for three years. Cole, unfortunately for himself, was extremely unpopular with the mob, and he suffered for it. For days before his public appearance in the pillory filthy garbage of all kinds had been stored; the contents of stale hogtubs, rotten eggs, dead cats, and every matter of an offensive kind was accumulated for the purpose of pelting at the miserable culprit; he was disgracefully used, and left the pillory half dead.

This Cole was, in the first instance, sentenced to death, but reprieved. Every preparation was made for his execution, and his coffin made. Not being required, however, it became the perquisite of Jemmy Tucker, who was to have officiated as "Jack Ketch." Two of Jemmy's sweeps consequently went to the prison to claim it, tossed it about, and made fun over it in the Market Place; they offered it to March, the pawnbroker, and wanted to raise a loan on it, which was declined. Jemmy afterwards used it as a manger in his stable, where it did duty for a long time. Eventually it was sawn up to assist in the formation of a garden fence, the coffin nails remaining to identify it for years after.

The pillory at Aylesbury, when last used, stood somewhere midway between the newly erected clock tower and the County Hall; it was a moveable structure, erected only when required, and then put up in different places according to circumstances, but always in the vicinity of the gaol. Its use was by no means frequent, and in the latter years of its existence it was a novelty. A few aged persons still remember its being in use. This account of the punishment of the pillory is left us by the late Mr. John Gibbs, in

his notes on Aylesbury in his early days; it relates mainly to the case of Carey Cole, which he witnessed :—"The pillory on this occasion was erected near the north corner of the then cattle market. It was of considerable height, and had a platform on which stood a post. On this post was placed a plank or screen, with openings for the neck and wrists. The culprit was forced to put his head and hands through these orifices, the screen was then shut down and fastened, fixing him in a helpless condition, with his face and hands on one side the screen and his body on the other. There stood the miserable being for an hour, subject to scoffs, ridicule, and ill-treatment. The platform was made to turn round, and an official was stationed to keep it moving. This was for the purpose of presenting the wretch's front to every part of the crowd, giving all an opportunity of 'shying at him,' thus increasing the degradation and pandering to the amusement of the crowd. It is with shame I feel compelled to remark that the same low-minded spirit which in the 'upper classes' dictated this execrable mode of punishment was displayed by the 'lower classes'—the 'mob.' All appeared to rejoice in having an opportunity of degrading a fellow creature, and gratifying their malicious and vicious propensities. Upon this occasion, the crime for which the miserable culprit suffered so excited the popular hatred that for days previously a stock of rotten eggs and every other description of filth and putridity they could obtain was collected. With these, and also with more dangerous missiles, the poor, wretched being was pelted and bedaubed. Every good hit from his persecutors, which caused extra pain or inconvenience, produced groans from him, but peals of laughter and loud huzzas from the excited and savage populace."

Even as late as the year 1814, the sentence of the pillory was awarded in the case of Lord Cochrane, who was unjustly convicted as being a party to an attempt to defraud the Stock Exchange. Lord Cochrane's parliamentary colleague, Sir F. Burdett, told the Government that if that degrading punishment should be attempted, he would take his stand by Lord Cochrane's side. The authorities wisely took the hint, and no pillory followed. The pillory kept its position as a legal punishment till it gradually became obsolete; and in the dawn of the reign of Queen Victoria it disappeared from the statute book. It was in 1837 Her Majesty gave the Royal Assent to a number of Bills that had been passed near the close of the last Parliament of William IV.; and among them was "An Act to Abolish the Punishment of the Pillory."

The frame-work of the Aylesbury pillory was kept for many years after its disuse; it was deposited for a long time just within the entrance to the County Hall, near the bottom of the principal staircase. What eventually became of it is not known.

THE GALLOWS, THE GIBBET, THE DROP.

The last mode of death-punishment left to us is that of hanging, and this system is

modified as far as it possibly can be. The apparatus for inflicting death by hanging is as it always was, viz., two upright posts with a transverse beam, from which the culprits are suspended. This mode of carrying out the sentence of death has of late years been a subject of study. Formerly the work was clumsily and carelessly performed, death being caused by strangulation, and not by the dislocation of the vertebræ; consequently it was not instantaneous. A case is recorded in 1802, at Aylesbury, where it was evident that death did not take place for at least fifteen or twenty minutes after a poor wretch had been suspended. In 1767, a man was hanged at Cork, but after six hours he recovered, and he went to the theatre the same night.

The primitive gallows was probably the stout arm of a tree, as in many old references the "gallows-tree" is mentioned, as is also "Tyburn-tree." Previously to a cart being provided at executions, two ladders were used. One was mounted by the executioner, the other by the culprit. The culprit, after a given time, was expected to throw himself off the ladder, but it required courage to do so, and he would frequently continue praying and supplicating for an hour or so, with the halter round his neck. In such a case the executioner would suddenly throw over the ladder on which the culprit stood, and the miserable scene was soon ended. The gallows was usually erected at the outskirts of a town; the culprit was taken to the place of execution in an open cart, sitting on his coffin and riding backwards; he was tied up to the cross beam, the cart was then moved on, and the body was left swinging within easy reach of the assembled crowd; it was no unusual occurrence for the bystanders to seize the legs of the poor wretch and bear a weight upon them in order to quicken the operation, and put a more hasty end to his death struggles.

When the gibbet had somewhat fallen into disuse a horrible substitute followed, that of the judge adding to the sentence of death, the order for the body to be handed over to surgeons for the purposes of dissection. If anything could add to the misery of a criminal in hearing his doom, it was that addition. It was also severely felt by the relatives of the culprit. There are cases recorded where altercations took place at the foot of the gallows, and regular scrambles and fights occurred for the possession of bodies after they had passed the manipulation of the hangman, the friends of the culprits taking one side, in order to bury the bodies, the surgeon's mob the other, to secure possession of them for dissection.

The old-fashioned gallows was erected on ground, level with that occupied by the populace; there was no guard whatever to prevent the assembled crowd pressing close to it. In 1754, two men were executed at Oxford for a highway robbery. Charles I. had granted a charter to the professors of physic of the University, giving over to the surgeons of that establishment, when required for the purposes of dissection, the bodies of culprits executed. On this occasion the professor, in pursuance of the charter, demanded one of the bodies. The usual demand warrant was made out and delivered to the Sheriff and served upon the Under-Sheriff, and all the legal formalities

complied with. After the usual period of hanging, the Under-Sheriff with his assistants proceeded to hand over the dead body as directed, but they were opposed by the crowd; there was a regular battle between the contending parties; the mob were armed with clubs, hangers, knives, and other weapons; they defied the Sheriff's authority and menaces; the Riot Act was twice read; still the mob would not yield, and eventually carried off both the dead bodies in triumph and handed them over to their friends for burial. Another gallows scene was enacted in 1763, when a woman of the name of Dagoe was hanged at Tyburn for robbing her lodgings. At the place of execution she got her hands loose, struggled with the executioner, and almost beat him down; she disposed of her hat, clothes, and cardinal in spite of him, and gave the money away amongst the crowd, thus depriving Jack Ketch of his perquisites.

Silas Told was an unassuming prison missionary — a devout Wesleyan. From his narrative we obtain some insight into the horrors of Tyburn executions. Told penetrated the cells of condemned malefactors about to die, and administered consolation to them to the best of his ability, in their last hours. Few, if any, records show, more shockingly than his, the state of the prisons, of the penal laws, and the barbarous concomitants of the executions in the age in which he lived. He quotes the case of John Lancaster, who, with seven others, was executed at Tyburn. After the eight had hung the usual time and were cut down, there was no one to claim the body of Lancaster; consequently a "surgeons' mob" ran off with it. A few minutes later a party of sailors arrived with the intention of obtaining the dead body; they followed the "surgeons' mob," and after a fight obtained possession of it; eventually, being weary of their burden, they threw it down on a door step and there left it. This caused great confusion; on the occupier of the house opening the door she found the corpse to be that of her own son! He also relates the case of a young woman executed on Kennington Common; he accompanied her; the popular fury was so great that he had to protect himself by walking between the Sheriff's horse and the victim's cart, the Sheriff doing all he could to shield him from personal danger. The poor wretched woman reiterated her innocence in her last moments, and it was the firm belief of the Sheriff, of Told, and many others that she really was innocent of the crime for which she suffered. Told relates another illustration of the times, the case of a poor man who was hanged for demanding sixpence! This man had a sick wife, in a starving state; he was, with his family, turned out of his house; not knowing what to do, and without the means of purchasing a morsel of food, a sudden temptation entered his mind; he accosted two women in the street, and demanded money of them; one gave him twopence, the other fourpence; they related the fact to a constable who was passing at the time, and the man, who had made no attempt to run away, was taken into custody; he confessed his crime and wept bitter tears of repentance. After conviction an appeal was made for him to the privy council; unfortunately he was hastily confounded with a noted highwayman of the same name,

and sent to the scaffold. Told, after considerable searching, found the wife of the miserable sufferer in a wretched abode, and learned that, in the midst of her many sorrows, she was about to give birth to another child.

In some cases where there was no one to claim the bodies, or there was no demand for them for hospital purposes, they were allowed to remain absolutely naked under the gallows until some charitable person paid for their removal, or the inhabitants, to get rid of the stench of the decaying corpses, caused a hole to be dug for interment, without the intervention of any authority. Executions were continued at Tyburn until the year 1783. The processions to that place never had any solemnity attached to them. The heroes of the day were often, says a popular writer, "on good terms with the mob, and jokes were exchanged between the men who were going to be hanged and those who deserved to be." There was a remarkable procession to the Aylesbury gallows in the year 1736. Philip Thomas, condemned for horse-stealing, sent to the Under-Sheriff and begged hard that he might not be carried to the place of execution in a cart, choosing rather to go on horseback. The Sheriff said he might go any way he would, provided he were secured, and accordingly he was conveyed to the gallows on horseback, dressed in his shroud, with a pair of white gloves on, a crape hatband tied with a white favour, a nosegay in one hand and a book in the other. He was accompanied by a bevy of young women, bearing garlands before him, to Bicester Road, where he was executed. He died very hardened and resolute. He was buried on the Sunday night following, in Aylesbury Churchyard, being carried to the grave by six young men, and his pall supported by six young women, dressed in white, and chosen by him for the purpose, being those who went with him to the gallows.

A hundred years ago the gallows was in constant use. In 1785, ninety-six felons were hanged at the Old Bailey between the months of March and December. On the 10th January, 1787, eighteen malefactors were hung at Newgate at one time, and on the 26th of April following, fifteen others were executed at once, one of which number lost his life for stealing a gown and an apron. Townsend, an old Bow Street officer, was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1816, upon the subject of executions; in his evidence, he said that on one occasion Lord Chief Justice Eyre, in his charge to the grand jury at Hertford, thus addressed them, "You have heard my opinion as to the enormity of the offences committed; be careful what bills you find, for if the parties are convicted of capital offences, I have made up my mind, as I go through the circuit, to hang every one." He did so, sparing neither man nor woman. "We," says Townsend, "never had an execution wherein we did not grace that unfortunate gibbet at the Old Bailey with less than ten, twelve, sixteen, or twenty wretches; I may say forty, for in the year 1783, when Serjeant Adair was recorder, there were forty hung at two executions." He further stated that in his time he had known seven persons (four men and three women) hanged together for one offence, that of robbing a pedlar. A few years later, the gaoler of Newgate, being asked by the Recorder how many could be

hanged together upon the new drop, coolly replied, "Well, your worship, we *can* hang twelve, upon a *stretch* ; but we can't hang more than ten *comfortably !*"

The following is the description of the mode in which executions were conducted at Aylesbury. It was written by the late Mr. John Gibbs, who was frequently an eye-witness of the scenes there :—

"I now proceed to describe the rude and barbarous manner of conducting executions in my young days. Very soon after the assizes, divine service, called the condemned sermon, was held in the County Hall, in open court. The Rev. Mr. Hopkins was then the gaol chaplain. On those occasions large congregations assembled, mostly out of curiosity to see the wretches who were so soon to die. The gallows stood about two furlongs below the Town's End, on the left-hand side of the road to Bicester, then called the 'Gallows-road.' About eight o'clock in the morning of the execution large crowds of persons, of all ages and both sexes, were seen thronging the prison doors. The javelin men appeared in full dress. A common dung cart, with a little clean straw and a form in it, was backed up near to the prison door (generally by Jemmy Tucker). The prison doors opened, a rush was made by the populace to obtain a sight of the poor felons, who were brought out ready pinioned and placed backwards in the cart; the clergyman then seated himself between them ; in that state they were drawn slowly through the town. I remember two poor mortals in particular who sang verses supplicating mercy all the way to the gallows. The hymn generally sung was that known as 'the Sinner's lament,' and is to be found at the end of the Psalms in the Prayer Book ; the favourite verse was the following—

Mercy, good Lord, mercy I ask ;
This is the total sum.
For mercy, Lord, is all my suit ;
O, let Thy mercy come !

A large crowd of spectators always followed the miserable cavalcade. Arrived at the place of death, the cart was drawn under the gallows, the clergyman offered his last consolations, and the executioner, generally an untaught hand at his detestable calling, at the same time fixed the ropes according to the number of his victims. The poor, miserable creatures were then directed to stand upon the seat in the cart. After a delay in adjusting the felons, the cart was drawn from under them, and thus they were launched into eternity. I have noticed with horror the double fall given, first from the seat to the bed of the cart, and then from the cart to the length of the rope. The bodies at first swung backwards and forwards, until the rude hands of the crowd steadied them, and at the same time some of the bystanders attempted to check the struggles and convulsions of expiring nature, by hanging to the legs of the dying men. This tragedy was repeated twice in a year."

The old parish registers of Aylesbury, in the list of burials, tell a fearful tale of the havoc made by the common hangman in former days. His trail is plainly to be noted following the Spring and Summer circuits of the judges. Entries of the burial of the bodies of criminals, three or four at a time, are found year after year, until the reading of the catalogue becomes sickening and repulsive. Here are a few cases out of the many executions at Aylesbury ; they show from what comparatively trivial crimes lives were forfeited. James Perkins was at the Midsummer Assizes, 1800, convicted of a robbery on the highway ; he obtained two half guineas and a seven-shilling piece ; although he

had secured a respite for 10 days by the intercession of the Under-Sheriff, who failed to obtain a reprieve, he was executed on the 15th of August. At the Spring Assizes of 1801, John Wilson was hanged for stealing a horse, and at the same Assize, Thomas Benyon was also hanged for stealing *one* sheep at Great Brickhill. At the March Assizes, 1808, John Haynes was hanged for horse-stealing. At the March Assize of 1806, Richard Hayes, for stealing seven sheep, was as usual hanged at the gallows in Bicester Road; David Butler, found guilty of stealing a mare, was hanged at the gallows at the same place, being the last executed there.

The gibbet and the gallows were both in use at the same period, but the gibbet is not so ancient as the gallows. The gibbet played a secondary part in an execution. The victims of the gallows in ordinary cases were suspended for one hour, after which their bodies were disposed of in various ways; if friendless and forsaken, they were buried under the gallows; others were handed over to their friends, or buried behind the church of the place where they were executed. The gibbet was resorted to only in extreme cases of murder; it secured for a long time the remains for publicity and was designed to promote general reformation; in fact, the exhibition on the gibbet was a greater punishment to the living than to the dead. On the gibbet the bodies were left to hang an indefinite time, and to be "hung in chains" was frequently a part of the sentence of brutal murderers. A frame-work of iron was prepared, to hold the body together as long as possible, and the miserable spectacle remained in the most public thoroughfare, until the rotting limbs dropped away one by one, and eventually disappeared. The gibbet was generally erected near the spot where the crime for which the culprit had forfeited his life was perpetrated, or at some public place by the highway; it must have been an intolerable nuisance, and an object of terror to all nervously disposed passers-by.

In "Local Occurrences," under date of April 3rd, 1763, we meet with the fact that gibbets were almost as plentiful as ornamental trees by the wayside; this entry is recorded—"All the gibbets on the Edgware Road, on which any malefactors were hanging in chains, were cut down by persons unknown." The last gibbet we read of in Buckinghamshire was that erected at Bierton for the man Corbet, convicted of the murder of Farmer Holt, referred to in the last chapter. It stood at the east end of the village, near where the road leads to Hulcot. Here, within sight of the passengers on the high road, hung the rotting remains of the malefactor, until, limb by limb, it fell from decay or was eaten by birds or vermin. Remains of this instrument of death stood for a quarter of a century, and then did duty as gate-posts on the farm of Mr. Dickins; probably fragments of it may yet be preserved in the village. A gibbet was erected at Leicester in 1832; it was 30 feet high, and was used on the occasion of the execution of Cook, the murderer of Mr. Pass. In the same year a man was hanged on a gibbet at Stoke-on-the-Tyne, and the gibbet remained until the year 1856, when it was demolished.

The drop is so called from the arrangement of its machinery. When all is ready,

a bolt is drawn, the floor of the machine drops, and the culprit falls perpendicularly. Immediate dislocation of the vertebræ is caused by the fall, and death is supposed to take place instantaneously. When the drop was first brought into use a fall of two or three feet was supposed to be sufficient to produce immediate death ; experience proves that a more lengthened fall is requisite, and of late some seven or eight feet have been tried, the effect of which has been that in most cases not a movement of a muscle of the culprit has been observable after the falling of the drop, death being momentarily caused. It is deeply to be regretted that the punishment of death, although not now a public exhibition, cannot be accounted amongst our obsolete punishments.

The drop at Aylesbury was erected about the year 1809. It was fitted up in a balcony then attached to the central upper window of the County Hall, and was somewhat in appearance like an old-fashioned four-post bedstead. When first used it was merely a frame of bare wood fittings ; black curtains were afterwards added to the sides ; it was guarded in front by chains. Its fall produced a sound like a piece of artillery, and the departure of a human being was announced by a dreadful crash ; this was afterwards obviated by cushions being placed to catch the falling machinery ; it was a hideous piece of mechanism ; its erection in so central a position was protested against.

At the March Assizes in the year 1810 Needle Chamberlain was convicted of forging a bill of Exchange to the amount of £26 5s., with intent to defraud William Rickford, of Aylesbury, banker ; he was sentenced to death, and was the first to suffer on the new drop. He was executed on the 27th of March, 1810 ; commiseration was evinced for him, and great efforts were made by the prosecutor and others to save his life. At the March Assizes of 1812, Joseph Escile, aged 25 years, and a boy of the name of John Escile, aged 15 years, were condemned for stealing a colt ; the boy was reprieved, but the man was hanged. At March Assizes, 1813, John Pearse, charged with house-breaking at Great Horwood, was executed ; he died very penitent, and met his death with great fortitude. On the 7th of March, 1814, William Kipping was tried at Aylesbury, before Sir Vicary Gibbs, for a felonious assault, and was executed on the 1st of April following. At Buckingham Assizes, in 1816, Thomas Raisin, convicted of the murder of Elizabeth York in Shabbington Wood, near Thame, was ordered to be executed, and his body to be dissected according to the statute, which sentence was carried out on the 2nd of August. At the same Assizes, William Hawkins and Thomas Thorp, convicted of felony, were executed at Aylesbury on the 16th of August following. Thorp's body was taken away by his friends, Hawkins was buried in Aylesbury Churchyard at 2 o'clock, the knell tolling for him, and the funeral service being read by the Rev. J. E. Sabine ; this was the first time the burial service was ever read over a felon at Aylesbury. At the March Assizes, 1819, a woman was executed for poisoning her husband. At the Summer Assizes in the same year Thomas Mitchell was convicted and executed on the charge of *attempting to murder* ; he was tried under Lord Ellenborough's Act, for cutting and maiming ; after hanging one hour his body was

given over to his friends. Some more recent cases will be found in the chapter under the head of "Remarkable Trials."

As soon as the drop had fallen, or even before, the town was inundated with "dying speech" men. These were hawkers of speeches made or supposed to have been made, or which ought to have been made, by the culprits in their last moments. Whether they were or not was of little consequence. These dying speeches were mostly concocted by printers, and sold by hawkers by thousands. They professed to give "a full, true, and particular account of the life, trial, confession, and execution," and generally ended with a doggerel rhyme, the head of the broadsheet being ornamented with a very rude cut representing an execution. For many years these vendors of dying speeches disappeared, but they suddenly made a re-appearance on the occasion of an execution at Aylesbury in 1880, when their trade was found to be as flourishing as ever, and customers were found anxious to purchase trash, supposed to be the dying speech of the culprit. Moses Hatto was hanged on the 24th of March, 1854, for a murder at Burnham Abbey; he was the first executed at the drop over the gateway entrance at the new gaol on Bierton Hill. The last public execution at Aylesbury took place there in the year 1864.

As to the effects of public executions in the reformation of those who witnessed them, the following facts are recorded. At Lancaster Assizes in 1806, Edward Barlow, who had officiated as common hangman for 20 years, and had executed 84 criminals, was himself sentenced to death for horse-stealing. In March, 1814, Charles White was executed at Reading for horse-stealing; in 1812 he had a son hanged at Aylesbury; the old fellow stood amongst the crowd to see the execution as an ordinary spectator, and witnessed the awful scene with the greatest composure. The populace were so incensed against him that but for the interference of the Aylesbury constables his life would have been in danger; he had three sons under sentence of death at one time. Private executions have, it is to be feared, led to an increase in death punishments. In 1870, six persons were executed in England; in 1871, three only; yet in 1881 there were eleven hanged; in 1882, thirteen; and in 1883, fifteen, whereas, according to the annual diminution in public executions, there should have been none.

It is surprising to observe how pertinaciously superstition clings to the minds of the lower classes. There are some who yet have belief in the efficacy of a dead man's hand for the cure of certain diseases. We have done with "touchings" by Kings and Queens; it is but little complimentary to them to find that the miraculous power supposed to be attached to royalty only, should be transferred to the hand of an executed felon. When executions were more frequent it was no extraordinary circumstance for people to travel miles to Aylesbury in order to have the hand of an executed criminal passed over the afflicted parts of their bodies. The applicants were in most cases females, who were disfigured by goitre (tumorous affections of the neck), wens, &c.; in cases of scrofula it was looked upon as an unfailing remedy. At executions at Aylesbury, groups of

females might be seen waiting at the County Hall steps until the bodies of the criminals were cut down and removed into the hall, their object being to have their swollen necks rubbed by a dead man's hand as a cure. In April, 1845, there was an execution at Warwick of a man named Crowley for murder. Scarcely had the soul of the deceased taken its flight than the scaffold was crowded by women afflicted with wens in the neck, white swellings in the knees, &c., and upon those afflicted parts the cold, clammy hand of the dead criminal was passed to and fro, for the pecuniary benefit of the executioner. In 1853, according to a statement made to Mr. Henderson by the Rev. Canon Tristram, the body of a suicide who had hanged himself in Hesilden Dene, not far from Hartlepool, was laid in an outhouse awaiting the coroner's inquest. The wife of a pitman at Castle Eden Colliery, suffering from a wen in the neck, according to advice given her by a "wise woman," went alone and lay all night in the outhouse, with the hand of the corpse on her wen. She had been assured that the hand of a suicide was an infallible cure. Readers were not surprised to learn that the shock to the nervous system from that terrible night was so great that she did not rally for some months, and eventually died from the wen. In the History of Lancashire, the famous "dead man's hand," which was formerly kept at Bryn Hall, receives considerable attention, and its strange story is known beyond the county. The hand is said to be that of Father Arrowsmith, who was put to death for his religion in the time of Charles I.; it was carefully preserved in a white silk bag, and many diseased persons resorted to it, and numerous are the cures said to have been effected by the saintly relic. "We are told," says Mr. Dyer, "of a woman who, afflicted with the small-pox, had this dead hand in bed with her every night for six weeks, and of a poor lad who was rubbed with it for the cure of scrofula." In the year 1864, after an execution at the Aylesbury Prison, a man, accompanied by his son, made a formal application to the gaol authorities for his son to be allowed to be touched by the hand of the dead criminal, as a cure for scrofula; the applicants had walked from Winslow on this ridiculous errand, but at the prison door were very properly repulsed.

Whatever virtues and powers were supposed to be possessed by the "dead hand," it was far excelled by the "hand of glory." The hand of glory must have been the hand of a murderer. It was used as a candlestick, and it was requisite that the candle it held should be composed of the fat of a murderer, scooped from under the wayside gibbet, and the wick formed of the criminals' hair. It was believed that wheresoever anyone went with this dreadful instrument, the person to whom the candle was presented would be deprived of all power of motion. Further, it was supposed to give illumination for the purposes of those who held it, but to be invisible to all others. In making use of this candle, it was requisite, after many mystical ceremonies, that it should be placed between the marrowless fingers of the hand. Traces of this superstition are to be found in Ireland. The *Observer* of January 16th, 1831, printed the following paragraph :—"Some thieves attempted to commit a robbery on the estate of Mr. Nabber, of Loughscrew, county

of Meath. They entered the house *armed with a dead man's hand*, with a lighted candle in it, believing in the superstitious notion that a candle placed in a dead man's hand will not be seen by any but those by whom it is used, and also that if a candle in a dead hand be introduced into a house it will prevent those who may be asleep from awaking."

Sir Walter Scott introduces the hand of glory as a foreign charm. It figures in *The Antiquary*, where Dousterswivel asserts that the monks used the hand of glory as a spell, to conceal treasures.* Southey also adverts to it in "Thalaba," and it is placed in the hands of the enchanter King Mohareb, when he would lull to sleep Zohak, the giant keeper of the caves of Babylon.

Thus he said,
And from his wallet drew a human hand,
Shrivelled, and dry, and black,
And fitting, as he spake,
A taper in his hold,
Pursued, "A murderer on the stake had died;
I drove the vulture from his limbs, and lopt
The hand that did the murder, and drew up
The tendon strings to close its grasp.
And, in the sun and wind,
Parched it, nine weeks exposed.
* * * * * *
This, when the keeper of the cave shall feel
Maugre, the doom of Heaven,
The salutary spell
Shall lull his penal agony to sleep,
And leave the passage free."

WHIPPING AT THE CART'S TAIL.

Whipping was a favourite punishment in the county of Buckingham for many small offences. Perhaps this practice received an impulse from a certain Justice who is recorded to have resided near Beaconsfield, Sir George Jeffreys. His seat was at Bulstrode. Here is a specimen of a whole class of entries—"Kellham Hebbes and William Bates having been convicted of theft, it was ordered that they and every of them be made fast to the breech of a cart, and stripped naked from the wast upwards this present fryday about one of the clock in the afternoon, and whipt from the Mercatt howse in Chesham to the greate Elme att ye upper end of the street, and so down to the Mercatt place againe, until their bodye be bloody, and so to be discharged, paying their fees." This was in the year 1683. At the sessions for the county of Middlesex, held on 12th October, 1725, Eleanor, the wife of James Knight, was convicted upon an indictment against her for keeping a disorderly house at Isleworth, and was ordered to be whipped at the cart's tail from Brentford Bridge to the Market Place, and round the said market and back again to the said bridge on a market day, until her body be bloody.

* "Why, my goot Master Oldenback, you will only laugh at me. But de hand of glory is vary well known in de countries where your worthy progenitors did live—and it is the hand cut off from a dead man, as has been hanged for murther, and dried very nice in the shmoke of juniper wood—then you do take some of the fatsh of de bear, and of de badger, and of de great eber, as you call the grand boar, and of de little sucking child as has not been christened (for dat is very essentials), and you do make a candle and put it into de hand of glory, at de proper hour and minute, with de proper ceremonish, and he who seekth for treasurish shall never find none at all."—"DOUSTERSWIVEL," in *The Antiquary*, Chapter xvii.

The public flogging of criminals was continued till within a comparatively recent period. It was an unequal punishment, depending much upon the caprice of the administrator of it. This is evident from a letter the poet Cowper wrote to the Rev. John Newton in 1783, in which he gives a humourous account of a public flogging at Olney. A fire took place there, and in the confusion a man stole some iron work. He was sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail from the Stone House to the High Arch, and back again. Cowper gives this description of the flogging :—

"The fellow seemed to show great fortitude ; but it was all an imposition. The beadle who whipped him had his left hand filled with red ochre, through which, after every stroke, he drew the lash of the whip, leaving the appearance of a wound upon the skin, but in reality not hurting him at all. This being perceived by the constable, who followed the beadle to see that he did his duty, he, the constable, applied his cane, without any such management or precaution, to the shoulders of the beadle. The scene now became interesting and exciting. The beadle could by no means be induced to strike the thief hard, which provoked the constable to strike harder ; and so this double flogging continued, until a lass of Silver End, pitying the pitiful beadle, thus suffering under the hands of the pitiless constable, joined the procession, and, placing herself immediately behind the constable, seized him by his capillary club, and, pulling him backwards by the same, slapped his face with the most Amazonian fury. This concentration of events has taken up more of my paper than I intended, but I could not forbear to inform you how the beadle thrashed the thief, the constable the beadle, and the lady the constable, and how the thief was the only person concerned who suffered nothing."

Cowper is not alone in his charge of partizanship against the dispensers of public justice in cases of whipping at the cart's tail. The same charge has been made at Aylesbury. There is no doubt but that officials were open to being "palmed." It is reported that on one occasion the "Jack Ketch" of the day was very formal in administering his strokes. He flourished his "cat" over his head with "one ! two ! three !" and in his exuberance, his whip flew out of his hand, across the Market Place, and before he could return to his position, the cart, which of course did not stop, had reached the turning point ; there is no doubt but this was all planned, to save the culprit, and for a consideration. On another occasion, when Jemmy Tucker was officiating, a poor fellow came under castigation, to whom Jemmy owed a private grudge. The fellow had all the law allowed him, and a little more. After the cart had returned to the gaol door, Jemmy gave another stroke, exclaiming "One for luck !" The culprit took no notice, but upon his hands being freed from the cart, he planted a sanguinary blow between Jemmy's eyes, which laid him flat on the gaol stones, and as he passed into the gaol he exclaimed "One for luck, Jemmy." The whipping distance at Aylesbury was not accurately defined, but generally extended from the gaol door to the Crown Inn signpost (which then stood out in the street) and back again ; at times the distance was exceeded, and the George Inn was reached. Subsequently, the punishment was, in some cases, restricted to a distance of fifty yards.

At the Lent Assizes in 1801, Robert Aldridge, for stealing beans, was imprisoned

one week, and publicly whipped at Aylesbury. At the same Assizes, Ann Stagg, from Stoke Poges, was whipped in the prison at Aylesbury, on conviction of having stolen two game hens; this is the last case recorded of a female culprit being whipped. At the Midsummer Assizes of 1804, William Minning and William Osborn, on conviction of a felony, were sentenced to a public whipping; Minning was whipped at Aylesbury, on a market day, and Osborn was also thrice publicly whipped there during a three years' imprisonment. At the same Assizes, two men of the name of Timms, convicted of stealing a shirt, were publicly flogged at Buckingham on a market day. At the Assizes in 1809, Richard Clarke was convicted of stealing certain wooden levers, valued at one shilling; he was imprisoned for one month, fined twelve pence, and publicly flogged at Amersham, on a market day. At the Summer Assizes in the same year, Edward Cox, being convicted of bigamy, was publicly whipped at Aylesbury, and, in addition, had two years' imprisonment in Aylesbury Gaol. At the Lent Assizes in 1813, Charles Froud, convicted of stealing fowls at Iver, was twice publicly whipped at Aylesbury, and also suffered two years' imprisonment. At the same Assizes, John Gildar was sentenced to be publicly whipped in Aylesbury Market for stealing a bushel of wheat at Long Crendon, valued at 15s.; he also had one year's imprisonment. At the Midsummer Assizes, in 1813, William Barrett underwent a public whipping in Aylesbury on a market day, for obtaining goods under false pretences. At the Assizes at Aylesbury, in 1815, Robert Webb was flogged a distance of 50 yards, in the Market Place, and at the same time William Garnett suffered a like punishment. At the March Assizes, 1816, Thomas Wall, a boy aged 13 years, was whipped a distance of fifty yards in the market town of High Wycombe, for stealing a watch out of the shop of William Ball, the elder. In April, 1821, Joseph Jones, for misbehaviour in service, was whipped; and at the same time, Joseph Francis, for stealing wood, underwent one month's imprisonment, and was thrice publicly whipped. At the Easter Sessions, Thomas Payne was sentenced to imprisonment, and to be twice publicly whipped. Also, at the same Sessions, John Stevens, for stealing wood valued at 1s., was publicly whipped. In 1823, a man was thrice whipped at Aylesbury for damaging an oak tree, and in the same year soldiers were publicly flogged. In November of that year a detachment of the 58th Regiment of Foot marched into Aylesbury on the Saturday, aud remained until Monday morning, when they departed on their route for Brighton. Another detachment, which had halted at Buckingham on Saturday and Sunday, reached Aylesbury on Monday afternoon, and departed on Tuesday morning on the same route as the first detachment. Reports were prevalent during the week that the second detachment had behaved in a riotous manner during their stay at Buckingham; their behaviour was not of the best kind, from the circumstance of several privates receiving fifty lashes on their arrival at and departure from Aylesbury. There was a public whipping on a market day at Aylesbury in the year 1824. Reference has again to be made to the notes left by the late Mr. John Gibbs, who, on the subject of whipping at the cart's tail, says :—

"Another manner of punishing criminals guilty of minor offences, and which

had a hardening and demoralising effect, was that of public whipping. I well remember that the first week after the Quarter Sessions, feelings of indignation were frequently aroused by the cries, oaths, screams, and groans of a fellow creature, passing up the public street, with arms stretched out, and partially naked, tied to the tail of a cart. In this posture he was whipped with a cat-o'-nine tails through the market until the blood trickled into his shoes. It was repeated on separate culprits several times in the same day; business frequently had to be suspended during the time these chastisements were taking place. Subsequently I have seen three or four prisoners at a time marched across from the prison to the cage, half naked; their hands were tied up to rings on each side of the door-posts, and then they received their whippings. The cruellest part of the proceeding was, that those punished last stood to witness the torture of their fellows undergoing the like punishment which awaited them. Some would receive the awarded number sullenly, and others rend the air with their prayers, oaths, or cries."

When flogging at the cart's tail was discontinued, public whipping was inflicted at the "old cage" door, a miserable little building which stood where the Clock Tower now is. Prisoners were brought out of the gaol ready stripped, and then fastened by cords round their wrists to rings in the door-frame of the cage; the infliction occupied but a few minutes. For some offences the punishment of flogging is still administered, but seldom resorted to, and the castigation takes place within the prison. The public flogging of criminals is now obsolete.

In September, 1849, the balcony in which the drop used to be erected was removed from the front of the County Hall, and in October, 1866, some ancient buildings in the centre of the Market Place were pulled down, and with them disappeared the old cage or temporary prison, together with the whipping posts, which formed a part of the frontage of it; these were the last relics of the old and barbarous modes of public punishments.

Chapter XLIV.—OBSOLETE SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

Cock-fighting—its antiquity—at Aylesbury races—Aylesbury Cock-pit—Cock-throwing—Shrove Tuesday—Cock-throwing in Aylesbury Churchyard—in Hale Leys—in villages—Badger-baiting—public badger-hole at Aylesbury—Dog-fighting—Duck-hunting—Bull-baiting—Bull-baiting at Aylesbury—Pugilism—at Aylesbury—Aylesbury races—The Morris dance—The Morris dance at Aylesbury—May-day—May games—May-poles—Rogation—Beating the Bounds.

THERE cannot be a more pleasing task for those who believe that human nature is progressive than to compare the past with the present, to compare the morality, the amusements, the tastes and general character of the people of the former period with those of our own times. The improvement is so evident that it is only here and there we meet with persons willing to dispute it. Few, however, appreciate the change as it deserves. The amusements of the people may be taken as a fair standard of their morality. When their recreations are of a sensual or brutal character, and we find intellectual pleasures neglected, we may reasonably conclude that their morals are not of the strictest kind. Comparing the early part of the century with the present period, we may congratulate ourselves on the improvement which has taken place. In some classes it is more obvious than in others, but all have evidently improved. It is, however, to the middle and working classes—the great body of the people—that these observations will principally apply; and in the change that has taken place in their amusements there is indeed cause for congratulation. The beastly and disgusting sports in which they formerly indulged have given place to recreations of a much more enlightened and rational character. It is sad to think that what are called "Old English Sports" were in many cases so tainted with cruelty to inoffensive and innocent animals. Persons still living recollect when many of the inhabitants of Aylesbury habitually indulged in cock-fighting, bull-baiting, dog-fighting, duck-hunting, badger-baiting, cock-throwing, pugilism, and the like vulgar and degrading exhibitions.

COCK-FIGHTING.

One grand feature in the Aylesbury race-week of former days was the cock-pit. "Cocking as usual" formed the most prominent feature in the broadsheet announcing the fixtures for the races; cock-fighting was the usual afterpiece of the day. The Aylesbury cock-pit was in the upper floor of the ancient Market House, and here, after

the racing, large parties of the gentry of the neighbourhood assembled to take sides in a cruel sport, in which they would win or lose large sums of money in betting on a favourite bird—sport which, in the present day, the veriest blackguard would be ashamed of; and, further, he would be amenable to the law for indulging in it.

The barbarous pastime of cock-fighting claims the sanction of high antiquity; it was practised at an early period by the Grecians, and probably still earlier in Asia; it is of very long standing in China; the Romans patronised it. In the reign of Edward III. cock-fighting became a fashionable English amusement, and was taken up more resolutely than it formerly had been, but it was soon found to be productive of pernicious consequences, and was prohibited in 1366, by Proclamation; it afterwards ranked with other idle and unlawful pastimes. Notwithstanding the game was degraded and discountenanced, it maintained its popularity, and, in defiance of all temporary opposition, descended to modern times. King Henry VIII. erected a cock-pit at his palace at Whitehall, and James II. indulged in cock-fighting twice weekly. There was a good deal of knavery carried on at these cock-pits. One Sir Thomas Jermin was great at cock-fighting, and renowned for his game birds; he once sent his man with a dunghill cock, neatly trimmed for the battle, and the company, knowing the owner, bet heavily on the cock, whilst Jermin's man bet against him, and of course came away with his money doubled, for the cock, after three or four brushes, showed a pair of heels, and everyone wondered to see a cock belonging to Sir Thomas cry *craven*.

There were regular establishments for the breeding and training of these game fowls for the purpose of fighting. In 1754 a main of cocks was advertised to be disposed of to the highest bidder, also a brood of game hens. In 1755 a main of cocks was announced to be fought; "twenty-one cocks on each side upon the main; for five guineas a battle, and fifty guineas the main." In the same year, at Nottingham races, a main of cocks was fought, consisting of 48 battles, for 20 guineas a battle, and 400 guineas the main. It was nothing unusual after a day's race for a main of cocks to be fought for stakes amounting to 300 or 400 guineas. The system of cockfighting, known as the Welsh main, was a disgrace to humanity. It consisted of a certain number of pairs of cocks,say sixteen; they fought until half of them were killed; the sixteen conquerors were then pitted a second time; the eight survivors a third time; the four a fourth time; and the remaining two a fifth time, so that thirty-two birds were inhumanly tortured for the sport and pleasure of the spectators, in which an enormous sum of money would be won and lost in betting. In the ancient representations of cock-fighting there are no indications of the artificial steel and sharp spur; this addition to the cruelty of the game is supposed to have been unknown to original cockfighters. Sometimes these spurs were of silver. The grand day of the year for cock-fighting was Shrove Tuesday; it was, however, practised all the year through, and was the principal amusement at village feasts, cocking being usually publicly announced before the feast-day, in order that a large company might be got together. Without a cock-fight Hartwell fair would have been deemed a sham and Bierton feast a failure.

To show the brutalizing effects of these cruel sports, the case of John Ardesoif may be quoted; he was a great cock-fighter; a young man of the upper class, of large fortune, and in the splendour of his carriages and horses rivalled by few country gentlemen. His table was that of hospitality.

Can such be cruel? Such can be
Cruel as Hell; and so was he
A tyrant, entertained
With barb'rous sports, whose fell delight
Was to encourage mortal fight
'Twixt birds to battle trained.

He had a favourite cock, with which he had won many profitable matches. The last bet he made upon this bird he lost, which so enraged him that he had it tied to a spit and roasted alive before a large fire. The screams of the miserable animal were so affecting that some persons who were present attempted to interfere, which exasperated Mr. Ardesoif to such a degree that he seized the poker, and with the most furious vehemence declared he would kill the first man who interfered; in the midst of his fury and passionate assertions he fell dead on the spot; this was in 1789, and it is upon this occurrence that Cowper's poem the "Cock Fighter's Garland" is founded.

Strange to say, cock-fights were in many instances the sanctioned sport of public schools, the master receiving on the occasion a small tax from the boys under the name of cock-penny. Perhaps this last practice took its rise in the circumstance of the master supplying the cocks, which seems to have been the custom in some places in a remote age. Such fights regularly took place till the middle of the eighteenth century, the master presiding at the battle, and enjoying the perquisite of all the runaway cocks, which were technically called *fugies*. As late as 1790, the minister of Applecross, in Ross-shire, in the account of his parish, states the schoolmaster's income as composed of two hundred merks, with 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. per quarter from each scholar, and the cock-fight dues, which are equal to one quarter's payment for each scholar. In the early part of the present century there were cock-fights in most large towns. In the year 1834 a main of seven battles was announced to take place at the Dolphin Inn, Buckingham, at two guineas each battle, and five guineas the main. Only three battles were concluded, in which each party had a bird tortured to death. This is about the last public cock-fight we have recorded in this neighbourhood. In 1840 a cock-fight took place at the "Two Brewers" public-house, in Back or Buckingham Street, Aylesbury. As was nothing uncommon, the owners of the cocks fell into dispute, and in this melée one of them had an arm broken.

COCK-THROWING.

If the opposing of one cock to another could be esteemed a national sport, what shall be said of a custom much more inhuman, and much more barbarous—that of throwing at harmless birds with clubs, and ferociously putting them to a painful and lingering death? The date of the introduction of the game of cock-throwing or cock-

slinging as a pastime in this country is uncertain; that of its discontinuance is much more recent than many suppose.

It is said that when the Danes were masters of England, a massacre of a party of them was designed but frustrated by an unusual flutter and crowing of cocks, by which the Danes were disturbed. To revenge themselves the English instituted the custom of knocking cocks on the head on Shrove Tuesday, the day on which they had been frustrated by them. The sport, at first only indulged in in one city, soon became general. Another author states that in our wars with France our ingenious forefathers invented this emblematical way of expressing their derision and resentment, and to exasperate the minds of the people against that nation.

In February, 1755, the public papers noted it as remarkable that "there never were fewer cocks thrown at than on last Shrove Tuesday, which it is to be hoped is from a general conviction of the great cruelty of a diversion which has exposed us to the ridicule of other nations." There are persons who yet remember cock-throwing being a popular diversion throughout this district. It was generally indulged in at Shrove-tide, and was not only commonly practised at Aylesbury, but to a considerable extent at the feasts in the villages in the neighbourhood. Hale Leys, Aylesbury, in the early part of the present century was a meadow, and having a near and ready access from the centre of the town it was the rendezvous for idlers; it was here that the cock-throwing matches were usually held. It is difficult to believe that another favourite place for cock-throwing at Aylesbury was in the Churchyard avenue leading to the sacred building. Unwritten evidence will have it that it was so, and the statement has been handed down by oral testimony, which may be accepted as correct. The early accounts of the Aylesbury churchwardens would probably contain some reference to such a circumstance in some shape or other; unfortunately they are not forthcoming. The High Wycombe Church accounts of the date of 1774 give undoubted testimony that it was not unusual for cock-throwing to be held in the inclosure of the Churchyard. It was at that period denounced by the churchwardens, as this entry in one of the parochial account books will prove:—"1774—Feb. 14.—Paid Daniel Pearce for Crying down the Cocks being thro'd at in the Churchyard, &c., on Shrove Tuesday, 3d."

Cock-throwing was continued in rural villages after it had been abandoned in towns. At Quainton it long survived. A description is here given of the proceedings by an eye witness—"I remember the sport of cock-throwing very well, if sport it could be called. A cock was provided by two or three promoters of the game; three cudgels were also obtained; these were about 2½ feet long. The thrower was charged 2d. for the three throws. If he was marksman sufficient to strike the bird down and could reach the spot where it fell, and jump over it before it could recover its legs, he was adjudged the winner, and the cock was his. The sport, however, did not cease, as the new owner became the vendor of the cudgels, which he sold out again, and the

torture of the poor bird continued. Cock-shying was invariably held on Shrove Tuesday. There was cock-throwing at Quainton on Shrove Tuesday in 1844 ; the sport was looked forward to with pleasure and delight by many of the young and older residents of the village and visitors, much to their shame. A game-cock gave better sport than a "dunghill," and was frequently trained for some days before the sport commenced, so that he might be in a better position to avoid the attempts of his assailants. The owner had a stratagem of tying a string to the leg of the bird, and by pulling it just as the cudgel was thrown would give the bird a chance to avoid it. I have seen the birds cruelly treated ; the very breath beaten out of their bodies. When they were thus spent and prostrate the owners would make a hole in the ground with a stick, into which the beak of the bird was forced ; this was supposed to restore animation and vitality, and if successful the bird was replaced, in order to undergo further torture, until death relieved it from the hands of its cruel tormentors. The sport would not cease until the poor bird was actually beaten to death." Yet this cruelty ranked amongst the sports and pastimes of our forefathers as rational and national!

BADGER-BAITING.

We read that the ancient Market House at Aylesbury, as one of its appendages, had a badger-hole, or place assigned for the public baiting of badgers ; this shows that the pastime must have been a very popular one. The badger-hole was constructed in order to afford better effect to this diversion, as it gave the animal a dark retreat and a somewhat more advantageous position than his assailants. The object of the performance was to show the pluck of the dogs engaged in it. The assailants took their turn in entering the badger's hole, and only one dog was allowed to go in at a time. A cur could not be prevailed upon to enter the dark apartment ; at times a junior pup was induced to go in, when, being seized by the badger, he would set up a sad howl, and make the best shift he could to get out. An old stager would fearlessly go in, approach the animal without the least timidity, fasten firm hold of him, and bring him out to daylight. This was "drawing the badger," and the successful exploit of the dog would give universal satisfaction to his backers, who had no feeling of compassion whatever towards the harmless creature they were assisting to torture. The badger, being endowed with a tough hide and a coating of long hair, has astonishing powers of endurance, and thus he was made the object of cruel sport. Badger-baiting, once so prevalent in the rural districts, is now almost unknown.

Those who consider the badger as a stupid and insignificant animal have only to see him on the occasion of a battle with dogs to be convinced of his strength and courage. Chained by the hind leg, and cooped in an old barrel with the head broken out, the poor animal was brought on to the village green on the annual feast day, and successively baited by all the dogs of the neighbourhood, an umpire being elected to administer a kind of justice between the owner of the badger and the proprietors of its antagonists. Stakes were generally taken and forfeited—paid by the former if the dog drew the

badger, and by the latter if the badger resisted their efforts, or sent them off limping and howling from the wounds he had inflicted. On one occasion a badger having dismissed a number of dogs, bleeding and cowed, from his den, and his keeper having pocketed as many half-crowns, his own dog (one of the best known baiters in the district) was let loose on the badger, which, being worn out by his former conflicts, was, after a short struggle, drawn from his den. When out, the dog proceeded too incautiously to turn him over, and in so doing received a mortal wound. This so enraged the exhibitor, that the poor badger was thrown amongst the other dogs and torn to pieces, against the remonstrances of the spectators, whose sympathies were now on the side of the sufferer; a quarrel ensued, and broken heads and blackened eyes terminated the disgraceful scene. The last public badger-baiting in this district, found recorded, took place at Marsh Gibbon feast in 1826.

Badgers have now become exceedingly scarce; the hand of cultivation has passed so thoroughly that a badger is now very rarely to be found, and it may be said with pride that culture of another kind has made such progress that if the animal did now exist in scores, no man would bear the odium which the inhumanity of badger-baiting would bring down upon him.

DOG-FIGHTING.

There is one feature pervading the whole variety of the dog family—faithfulness to man, and to a considerable extent this feeling is reciprocal, for of all domesticated animals the dog is the most popular favourite. All the species are somewhat inclined to pugnacity, but the breeds disposed to litigation are those of the terrier, bull-terrier, and bull-dog. The bull-dog was the favourite combatant in the old times of dog-fighting, a sport which, now nearly obsolete, was at one time very popular. Dog-fights by special appointment were of frequent occurrence and of a public character, the announcement of a battle bringing together hundreds of those who could take a pleasure in such a cruel and degrading sport. The conflict was, in fact, a money affair, the dogs being backed, in some cases for large amounts, by their respective admirers. They were matched according to age, weight, and size; the more bloody the conflict the more satisfactory was the sport to the spectators. The struggle was mostly a protracted one, the dogs being parted time after time as occasion offered, petted, refreshed, and nurtured, in order to renew the conflict when time was called. The competing animals would punish each other in a most shocking manner before either would give way, and a drawn battle, in order to save the lives of the poor beasts, was by no means a rare occurrence; many conflicts have been brought to a close by the death of one of the competitors. The defiance of danger in the English bull-dog is proverbial; he is the boldest and most obstinate of all dogs, and has been known to hold his adversary so determinedly that his legs have been cut off without making him desist.

The promoter of a dog-fight in the present day would very properly be denounced

as a blackguard, and looked upon as a person whose acquaintance should be shunned and his company avoided. Dog-fights were at one time very common in the public streets of Aylesbury; subsequently they took place in more secluded places by appointment. Here again the towns were in advance; dog-fighting in the villages round was continued long after it had ceased in the highways of the town. At Brill, in 1843, a day was set apart for dog-fighting; one match was made for £50, and half-a-crown was charged for admission to witness it. The principal promoter of the entertainment was the parish constable.

BULL-BAITING.

According to Haydn, bull-baiting was introduced into Britain from Spain and Portugal, being equivalent in those countries to the gladiatorial tournaments once prevalent in imperial Rome. It is mentioned by historians in 1209. During the reign of Elizabeth, bull and bear baiting were the fashionable amusements of the day. The hounding of savage dogs appears to have been one of the chief means used to irritate baited bulls, and instances are mentioned where these infuriated animals have killed some of their inhuman assailants, and then lain down and expired in the midst of their torments. A description, by an eye-witness, of a noble bull-baiting is here given :—

"The bull was dragged or forced into the circle and fastened by a rope round his neck, the other end being fixed to a ring firmly fixed to a plug let into the ground. The animal walked coolly round the circle as far as the length of rope would admit, and then commenced lashing his sides with his tail, and stamping with his fore-feet as though preparing himself for the fray. A fine two-year-old dog was the first that was turned in upon him. He rushed up to the bull's head, and made a desperate snatch at his nose; but the bull, who had placed his curled head close to the ground, and almost between his forelegs, by a slight but most effectual jerk, loosened the hold the moment it was effected, and whirled the dog to a very considerable height. He fell, however, within a yard of the bull's heels, and immediately crept, unperceived, beneath his belly, through his forelegs, and nabbed him by the nether lip. The bull was somewhat startled at feeling the dog's teeth rioting in his beef so soon again, in a quarter too from whence he least expected it. In the twinkling of an eye the dog was hurled out of the circle by a desperate tossing of the bull's head. The noble fellow, however, continued to elude the many snatches made at him by the spectators, and crawled up towards the death-striking horns again. The bull met him half way, and, placing his head askance, gored him very severely in the shoulder, and would certainly have sacrificed this fine fellow to his rage, had he not been instantly relieved, and the bull's attention forcibly diverted to another quarter. The play now went on in gallant style; the old bull's head appeared scarcely to move while he sent between two and three dozen dogs successively in the air, to the infinite alarm of their owners, who often essayed to catch them in their arms as they 'toppled down headlong' to the earth. Some of the noble-hearted animals, after receiving repeated gores and infuriated tosses, still tottered up to their punisher, and fell under his feet, where they were almost trampled to death, still, however, endeavouring to clutch their terrible opponent by the jowl. After another irregular and very short contest with fresh dogs, the bull had a very protracted breathing time, and he was just about to be led off the ground unpinned, when a lanky, wire-haired, dingy red-coloured dog was brought to the extremity of the circle. The ugly, lurcher-looking beast went resolutely up, and, without encountering a single repulse, effected a hold on the bull's snout. The enraged bull tried all his old arts to disengage himself from the dog's

grip; he tossed him furiously upwards against his keen horns, beat him from side to side tremendously on the ground, trampled on him, gallopped round the ring, lay down, rose up again in an instant, bellowed with vexation, pain and fury, renewed the dreadful beating, trampling, and tossing; but it was all to no purpose—the ugly mongrel-looking dog stuck to him with a most inconceivable and matchless pertinacity; and at length the old bull reluctantly gave in, and suffered himself to be quietly led round the ring by his brave but plain-looking conqueror."

In April, 1800, in a debate in the House of Commons, a Bill for suppressing bull-baiting was supported by Sir William Pulteney, Mr. Sheridan, and Sir Richard Hill. It was opposed by Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Canning, and lost by a majority of two. Mr. Wyndham said that, if the Bill before the House should be adopted, he should, for the sake of consistency and the character of Parliament, conceive it his duty to move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit hunting, shooting, fishing, and all the sports of the field practised by the higher orders. There was a further debate in the House on the subject of bull-baiting in 1802, when Mr. Wyndham again defended the sport; in the course of the debate he was supported by Canning and opposed by several members, the best known of whom were Wilberforce and Sheridan.

In Wycombe this so-called sport was regularly exhibited, and very serious disturbances frequently resulted from the proceedings. The favourite spot for baiting bulls was at the top of the High Street, in front of the Falcon, near the Town Hall, and a ring for the purpose has existed there within the present century. When a bull was to be baited, the animal was brought to the place of torture, fastened with ropes, or otherwise confined. The owner of a bull-dog present in the crowd might set his dog at the bull by paying a shilling each time the dog made a set at it, and if the dog pinned the bull he was entitled to five shillings.

On the 14th of November, 1820, there were great rejoicings at Aylesbury consequent on the abandonment of the trial of Queen Caroline; the chief part of the amusements of the day consisted of a bull-baiting on the Market Place. The favourite spots for these exhibitions were Kingsbury, in front of the County Hall, Temple Square, and the Market Hill. Money was collected to buy a bull on a fair-day, and the baiting took place afterwards. When the baiting was over the beast was killed and sold at a low price. These spectacles were attended by all sorts and kinds of people, and the riff-raff of the town. On one occasion there was a bull-baiting in Dropshort, or Stock Lake, near where is now the level crossing of the N.W. Railway. Among the spectators was the Governor of the Gaol, and as he had a notorious character named Showler in durance vile at the time, who was the owner of a famous bull-dog, he sent to him to know if he would lend him the animal in order to try its prowess. The man complied with his request, and the dog was set at the bull, which he managed to pin very cleverly. The ringleaders in the affair were brought before the magistrates; some were fined, others sent to prison. Addressing the Gaoler, Colonel Browne, the Chairman, who was very much opposed to the sport, said—"It's of no use to send you to prison, Sherriff, because you are there already; you must be fined." And fined he was.

The last public bull-baiting in Aylesbury took place on the 26th Sept., 1821. The more peaceable inhabitants had long made up their minds to put a stop to the disgraceful sport. Steps were, therefore, taken on this occasion, and at the Epiphany Sessions of 1822 Robert Bonnick and others were indicted for a riot in assembling on the highway at Aylesbury, for the purpose of baiting a bull. Some details of the evidence at the trial will give a description of the nature of the sport:—

"William Cross, constable of Aylesbury, was called. He said on the 26th Sept., in consequence of instructions received from Colonel Browne, he went to Mr. Thorp's (the butcher) slaughter-house; saw Slaughter, William Adams, and Richard Bonnick there, and several others with a bull, preparing to bait it; told them it was Colonel Browne's directions that the bull should not be baited in the town of Aylesbury, or in the highways; Thorp said witness had nothing to do with it. They took the bull towards the town's end, on the Buckingham Road, near to the pound, and asked witness if they might stake it there; he told them no, they might take it to some field and bait it. The bull was afterwards brought and fastened to the pump rail in Kingsbury, and baited there. Witness desired them to desist, or they would be indicted. Burnham said they had a right to bait it, and would so long as they pleased; they then set up a great shout, and dogs were let loose on the bull. About a quarter of an hour afterwards the bull was run down the street in ropes, about 150 persons following it; a great noise was made. Saw the whole of the prisoners baiting the bull—some holding the ropes, and some standing ready to catch the dogs if thrown into the air; Thomas Bonnick was walking round the outside, doing nothing, as he was fearful of the assistant overseer, being a pauper. All were active; none more active than the prisoners at the bar. After they had baited the bull, they went round the Market Place, holding him with two ropes, one on each side. They then ran the bull into Walton Street, and returned by the Oxford Arms and Bull's Head, and kept running him along; Peyton had hold of one rope then. Saw persons shutting up their shops; it was unsafe for anyone to pass, and people took refuge in the shops, or in any place out of the way of the bull and the mob.—Sir John Dashwood asked witness if the bull was under the control of the persons?—Yes; but when the dogs were at him they had hard work to hold him. At election times formerly there had been bulls baited—sometimes there were four or five dogs at the bull together.—The Jury returned a verdict of guilty against the whole of the prisoners, but recommended them to the mercy of the Court on the ground that they did not know it was unlawful to bait a bull in the town.—Fined 1s. each, seven days' imprisonment, and to enter into their own recognizances to keep the peace for one year in £40 each."

Notwithstanding this conviction another attempt was made to have a bull-baiting in some secluded part of the parish. Caution at this period was requisite. The ring-leaders were, however, fished out by the vigilance of Mr. Cross, and at the following Petty Sessions the bullards were fined by Colonel Browne, and this was the last we hear of bull-baiting at Aylesbury. In Sept., 1822, a case of riot at an attempted bull-baiting was brought before the Aylesbury magistrates, and Lord Nugent, then one of the members for the Borough, expressed himself against curtailing the amusements of the people. Colonel Browne was very anxious to put a stop to these brutal exhibitions.

As late as the year 1826 there was a bull-baiting at Thame; the ringleaders were, however, prosecuted and fined. In 1828 we read—"A bull-baiting, which the degeneracy

of the English people from the spirit of their ancestors is gradually rendering obsolete, took place at Oakley feast. The sport on this occasion appears to have lost none of its ferocious features. The dogs seized the bull, which was a fine, fat beast, in the most interesting manner possible to the bullards, and the bull in return tossed the dogs delightfully, until, like the foolish animal he was, he became quite spent and exhausted, when some of the humane spectators, with a feeling that it is pleasing to contemplate, gave him some gin and beer. The bull, notwithstanding, most ungratefully continued dull and spiritless, and would yield no more sport by tossing the dogs, however much he was bitten. The drama was in consequence concluded by cutting the bull's throat on the spot as a reward for his obstinacy. The pleasure of the day was much heightened by a man being tossed by the beast; his neck, however, was prevented from being broken by his being caught by some of the spectators, of which there were many hundreds. Two other bulls were baited in the same neighbourhood on the same day."

DUCK-HUNTING.

Duck-hunting was another barbarous sport, one of which in the present day we hear nothing; it maintained its popularity at Aylesbury long after cock-fighting had ceased. It was a sport which might be carried on quietly in out-of-the-way places where water existed, and was a favourite pastime for Sunday mornings. The usual rendezvous was a part of the canal at some distance from the town. As in all other heartless and cruel sports the victim was unfairly treated. It was the custom to set several dogs to hunt one duck, so that the poor bird had but small chance to escape its pursuers. The essentials to a good duck-hunt were a large pond or lake, a tough old mallard, amphibious terriers, and boys *ad libitum*. If the duck was quick enough to dive when the dog made a snap at it, it escaped; if not, it was caught and mangled. Generally, though, for a while it might manage to avoid its pursuers by diving; its sojourns under water through fatigue would become shorter by degrees, till at last, from sheer exhaustion, it would fall a victim. The dogs were not allowed to destroy the duck if they could be prevented; but the poor exhausted bird would be "bagged" for a future Sunday morning. Duck-hunting was really a tame and insipid affair; the hunter had nothing to do but stand on the edge of the water, encourage his dogs, and watch the fate of the dying duck; there was no excitement whatever in it. The original sign of the present Nag's Head public-house in Cambridge Street was the Dog and Duck, probably having some reference to the sport of duck-hunting formerly carried on in the pits and ponds then existing in that locality.

PUGILISM.

The brutal exhibitions of pugilism received a great impetus by being at one time patronised by Royalty. In 1788 the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., graced by his presence an elegant display of the "noble art of self-defence" at Brighton. His Royal Highness was fortunate in his visit on this auspicious occasion, as he not only

witnessed a bloody strife between two fellow creatures which lasted an hour, but also, in the end, that of seeing one of the combatants killed on the spot. The Prince intimated his intention of never again patronising the "fancy," at least by his presence.

Every district, and it may be said every town or village of any note, had its pugilistic champion. In the latter part of the last century great displays were made on the occasion of a public fight, and bets to the amount of thousands of pounds depended on the issue of a contest of this nature. The sporting periodicals of the day abound in descriptions of these battles, the details being given at great length, and the result of every round carefully registered in minute details.

A pugilistic encounter in the year 1808 put the whole of this district into the utmost confusion. It was the memorable meeting between the famous John Gully and Gregson, a description of which appeared in an article in the *Morning Chronicle* of that year. The day fixed was Wednesday, May 10, and the "tip" was to repair to the confines of the counties of Bedford and Bucks, about a couple of miles from Woburn. Information of this reached the Chief Magistrate, the Marquis of Buckingham, and he gave notice that the meeting would be stopped. Accordingly we read:—"Some hundreds, whose leisure and disposition prompted them to be in action, started on the Saturday and Sunday previous, and secured beds and stabling in all the villages and hamlets contiguous to Woburn. The town of Woburn was on Monday in continual motion, all was uproar and confusion, people of all ranks continually arriving on foot, on horseback, and in carriages of every description, and all seeking accommodation, which only a few comparatively could find. The Marquis of Buckingham did not fail to exert himself for the fulfilment of his threat; all the magistracy of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, at the head of their constables and *posse commitatûs*, with a subsidiary force of volunteers from the surrounding districts, appeared determined to resist this unlicensed incursion into their territories, and to stand an insurmountable barrier to the amusement. The Dunstable Volunteers were out very early on the Monday morning, with drums beating, colours flying, cartouch-boxes doubly provided, bayonets fixed, and all in awful military array. The peasantry were shaking with fear, supposing the French had landed. The Marquis was firm in his resolve to prevent the battle taking place within his jurisdiction. Eventually the whole of the tremendous gathering moved like a cloud of locusts; they made for the park of Sir John Sebright, in Herts, a distance of seventeen miles from Woburn, the whole extent of which was covered by one solid mass of vehicles and passengers. Broken-down carriages obstructed the road; knocked-up horses fell and could not be got any farther; a guinea a mile was offered for conveyance, and many hundreds of gentlemen were happy in being jolted in brick carts for a shilling a mile. The fight lasted an hour and a quarter, Gully winning in the twenty-eighth round, and afterwards returned to town in Lord Baraymore's barouche."

At the coronation of George IV., 1821, an unarmed force was retained "to preserve order." Cribb, Spring, Belcher, Carter, Richmond, Ben Burn, Harmer, Harry Lee,

Tom Owen, Joshua Hudson, Tom Oliver, Harry Holt, Crawley, Curtis, Medley, Purcell, Sampson, and Eales, with Jackson at their head, all pugilists, formed the corps, dressed as royal pages. One gold coronation medal was given to the boxers; they raffled for it at a dinner. Tom Belcher won it and wore it. At Bent's election at Aylesbury, boxers and bullies were imported into the town from London, "to assist in keeping the peace."

In the "Aylesbury Diary" of 1823, we read that Young Dolly Eldridge fought a battle with Jack Slaughter, and that Jack was the victor, although Young Dolly had previously been the champion of Bucks. They were both Aylesbury men. In order to evade the constables, the fight took place at Hulcot trunk, which borders Hertfordshire. The Bucks constables then having no jurisdiction in the adjoining county, this spot was selected so that in case of an interruption by the officers of Bucks the combatants and their admirers had only to adjourn a few paces into the next shire, and continue the battle without interruption. In the same year Young Dolly was again vanquished by Bromley, the gardener. These provincial combatants were only enjoying one of the most popular diversions of the day, and imitating the failings of the upper classes. In the following year three encounters were recorded in this district, with fatal results, as in each case one of the combatants was killed outright, one victim being an Eton scholar. In 1826, Bob Keep and Gilpin, the baker, had a set-to at Aylesbury. Bob stood an hour's hammering, and then gave in. There was a mob of five hundred spectators on this occasion.

These boisterous proceedings frequently occurred at Aylesbury; seldom a fair or market day passed without a pitched battle taking place. In one of these encounters some of the bystanders, thinking the combatants had sufficiently punished each other, sought the assistance of the constable to put an end to the battle. That functionary arrived with a great appearance of consequence, and stepped into the middle of the ring, as supposed, to put an end to the fight. To the surprise of some, he, however, exclaimed, "Hammer away boys, the first man who strikes foul shall win the bracelets" (handcuffs). So the fight continued under the auspices of the guardian of the public peace. In the year 1830 there was a grand battle at Hanslope between Simon Byrne and Sandy McKay, for £200 a side. In the 31st round Sandy came up as bold as a lion, Simon jobbed him terrifically, and catching his head under his arm he fibbed him in the ribs with his right hand with killing severity—in fact he did kill him; both fell, and McKay never rose again. Byrne was tried for killing Sandy, but acquitted.

PROCESSIONING.

Processioning, beating the bounds, perambulations, &c., have the like meaning—that of traversing the limits of a parish, manor, or other property, in order to see that no encroachments are made thereon. In Chapter xxxv. processioning is treated as a religious custom, which undoubtedly it originally was, but, like many others, it became diverted into a secular one. The churchwardens' accounts show that parish peram-

bulations were continued at Aylesbury until the year 1767. The inclosure of Aylesbury Common Field is dated 1771, a date somewhat earlier than others in the Buckinghamshire district. Inclosures superseded perambulations ; there is no longer any need of the formality, as every man's property is now distinctly marked out by hedge and ditch, and parish boundaries minutely indicated upon maps. Withers, in his "Emblems" (1667), gives the object of processioning :—

> That ev'ry man might keep his own possessions,
> Our fathers us'd, in reverent Procession,
> With zealous prayers, and with praiseful cheere,
> To walke their parish-limits once a yeare ;
> And well-known markes (which sacrilegious hands
> Now cut or breake) so bord'red out their lands,
> That ev'ry one distinctly knew his owne ;
> And many brawles, now rife, were then unknowne.

In the year 1756, the processioning at Aylesbury lasted two days, when twelve men were engaged for some duties not explained, and for which they were paid twelve shillings, being 6d. each per day, probably in addition to good feasting during the time. To show it was looked upon as a holiday, and that some fun was carried on, the boys had fourteen shillings thrown amongst them, to scramble after ; and it appears that the churchwardens had horses provided for them at the expense of the parish. Ten years later charges were made on account of the processioning, but on that occasion the boys had to put up with scrambling for seven shillings only, but a sum of fifteen shillings was paid for making crosses at "ye end of the wayes and carrying beer in ye fields, also to Walton." In 1767, the processioning cost eleven shillings, besides paying for beer and collecting arrears from foreigners. Five years later, the Common Field was inclosed, and nothing more is recorded respecting processioning. Although long obsolete at Aylesbury processioning is continued in many places. At Waddesdon it is still held annually as a religious observance. "Processionings" continued in Wycombe till 1829, and were generally expensive affairs. In 1767 the expenses were £4 18s. 8d. ; in 1774, £3 9s. 5d. ; in 1777, £3 6s. 11d. ; but in 1798 it cost no less than £13 7s. 6d., thus apportioned :—

	£	s.	d.
Processioning ye parish	6	11	2
Processioning dinner	5	12	4
Men's breakfasts, dinners, beers, &c.	1	4	0

In 1806 it was £8 3s. 1½d. The perambulation of the parish always occupied two days.

THE MORRIS DANCE.

It is considerably more than half a century since the Morris was danced in the streets of Aylesbury. This dance was once a popular and fashionable pastime ; in later years it became itinerant and deteriorated, the Morris dancers performing in towns and villages for the sake of money or ale. It does not require an extremely aged person to recollect the dancers capering about our streets. As the pastime is now nearly

obsolete, indeed quite so in our own immediate neighbourhood, it would be as well to record some notes respecting it. It was originally a May-game, and the characters were dressed as Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, the Fool, Little John, Tom the Piper, and Maid Marian, sometimes Will Scarlet, not forgetting the Hobby-horse; the party, however, does not appear to have been limited, and it varied in the number of its members from five to ten performers. The origin of the dance is ascribed to the Moors, although the genuine Moorish dance was very different to the European Morris. The English were famed for these and such-like diversions; the old and young followed them. As to the characters represented, Maid Marian is supposed to be the mistress of Robin Hood, properly Friar Tuck should appear in full canonical tonsure, with a chaplet of white and red beads, expressive of his great humility. He is "A Friar of the Order Grey," and is supposed to represent the chaplain to Robin Hood. The fool appeared with all the badges of his office, the bauble in his hand, and a cockscomb-hood with asses' ears on his head, and several bells attached to different parts of his grotesque dress; his tricks were exceedingly barbarous and vulgar; they disgraced the most despicable Jack Pudding ever exhibited at Bartholomew fair. Scarlet and Little John were companions of Robin Hood. Tom Piper's bonnet was red, faced or turned up with yellow; he wore a red garment like a short cloak; his hose were also red, garnished with yellow lace; he was the musician of the company, and the dance was led by his tabor and pipe. The hobby was a spirited horse of pasteboard and wicker work; the master was expected to display feats of legerdemain to amuse the company. One pair of legs served both for man and horse; and the steed held in his mouth a ladle, into which the spectators were solicited to deposit their contributions. The doublet of the man was bi-coloured, red and white. Attached to the dresses of all the Morris there was a profusion of bells, which kept up a perpetual jingle during the evolutions of the players.

Many old church accounts refer to the Morris. The churchwardens' accounts of Kingston-on-Thames, in the time of Henry VII. and VIII., have several entries relating to it; the like references are found in the ancient church accounts at Reading and Abingdon. In the year 1608, amongst other church goods. the parishioners of Great Marlow were possessed of:—"Item—Fyve payr of garters and bells. Item—Fyve coats and a fool's coat. Item—Fower feathers." These Morris coats and dresses were lent out to the neighbouring parishes, and are accounted for until the year 1629. The last Morris dance performed in Aylesbury would be about the year 1826, since which period it has altogether vanished.

MAY-DAY.

The most reasonable explanation of the origin of May-day games is given by Mr. Borlase, in his account of Cornish May customs; he says, "This usage is nothing more than a gratulation of the return of spring, and every house exhibited a proper signal of its approach, to testify their universal joy at the revival of vegetation." It was customary in the sixteenth century for the middle and humbler classes to go forth at an early hour of the

morning of May-day, in order to gather flowers and hawthorn branches, which they brought home about sunrise, with accompaniments of horn and tabor, and all possible signs of joy and merriment. With these spoils they would decorate every door and window in the village. In the reign of Henry VIII. the heads of the Corporation of London went out into the high grounds of Kent to gather the May, the King and his Queen, Catharine of Arragon, coming from their palace of Greenwich, and meeting these respected dignitaries on Shooter's Hill. The fairest maid of the village was crowned with flowers, as the Queen of the May ; the lads and lasses met and danced and sang together, with a freedom which we would fain think of as bespeaking comparative innocence as well as simplicity. Tennyson, in "The May Queen," sets forth the joy of the village maiden on the eve of her enthronement :—

> You must wake and call me early, call me early, mother, dear ;
> To-morrow 'll be the happiest time of all the glad new year ;
> Of all the glad new year, mother, the maddest, merriest day ;
> For I'm to be Queen o' the May, mother, I'm to be Queen o' the May.

The early books containing the Aylesbury Church accounts are lost. That earlier books did once exist is without doubt, as in an old volume amongst those now preserved "the old church books" are referred to in showing a balance of the churchwardens' accounts ; probably they contained references to May-day customs, as at subsequent dates the observances of processioning are not overlooked. Fortunately we obtain from a near village what is lost at Aylesbury. The accounts of the churchwardens of Wing, extracts of which were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by F. Ouvry, Esq., S.A.. give us a valuable insight into the May-day customs of the sixteenth century. The election of the Lord and Lady of the May for Wing village for the year was a subject of importance, which occupied the attention of parishioners in public vestry. A fine of 3s. 4d. for the behoof of the church was levied on those who refused to serve as lord, "to be levyed uppon the said yonge men and theyr fathers and mastyrs wherere the just default ca be founde, and evry mayde refusyng to be lady for the sayd purpose to forfet unto the sayde vse xxd., to be levyed in lyke order as is before expressed." Further extracts follow :—"1565—It. Thys yere above written was Harrye Kene chosen lorde and refused and so payde to the churche iiis. iiiid." "1566—Robarte Rychardeson, the servante of Thomas Lygo, was then chosen lorde, and Kateryn Godfrey, lady." "1567—It. This yere above written was Clement Marcer lorde, srvnt to Robarte Goodman, of Wynge, and Jane Franklen, of the same, ladye." These entries were continued for some few years, but in 1578 this entry was made—"This psent yere 1579 (probably should be 1578) ther was no May ale made, for that Waters' howshold was vesyted wh sycknes and suspected wh the plage." In 1595 is this entry—"It. Pd for takyng down the May-poles and lainge ym up, xd." "1599—It. Pd for a bord that was lost at the Maye, vid." Not content with garlanding their doors and windows, these merry people of the old days erected poles as lofty as the masts of a ship, on which they suspended wreaths of flowers, and round which they danced throughout May-day.

The Puritans, those most respectable people, always so unpleasantly shown as the enemies of mirth and good humour, caused the village May-poles to be uprooted, and a stop put to all these jollities. The May-pole has vanished, and, like many ancient customs, that of celebrating May-day is fast going into oblivion. For some years May-day was observed as a holiday for milkmaids, particularly in Scotland. Now, the principal observers of May-day are the chimney-sweeps, but the anniversary of the day cannot be said to retain the innocency and simplicity of former years. Jack-in-the-Green, a fiddler, a man dressed in female apparel, and half-a-dozen sweeps with scrapers and shovels are but a sorry substitute for the Lord and Lady of May and the village May-pole of old. Children's garlands are no longer artistic combinations as they used to be, but partake more of the character of floral mops, and are borne not for the purpose of celebrating the return of Spring, but as a pretext for obtaining money. The ceremony, which once was an emblem of innocency, joy, and pleasure, has dwindled down to an intrusive nuisance to householders. May-day as a public holiday is obsolete in the district of Aylesbury, but is still observed in some places with all its old familiar formalities and pleasures.

HORSE RACING.

Racing will never be ranked amongst obsolete sports and pastimes. So long as there are horses to ride and men to ride them, so long will races continue. Still a peep into the racing arrangements of our predecessors will not be unacceptable. Aylesbury was famous for its races—flat races—as long as 200 years ago; the favourite spot on which they were then held was Quainton Meadow. In 1684 the following notice appeared in the newspapers of the day:—"A plate to be run for in Quainton Meadow near Ailesbury in Bucks, the day before the last Thursday in August, which will be worth near £40. The weight 12 stone; every horse, mare, or gelding that runs for the plate must be showed, and have his name entered at the George Inn in Aylesbury, between the hours of 3 and 5 in the afternoon on Thursday before the last Thursday in August; otherwise shall not be permitted to run; nor no horse, &c., that will not be sold for 35 guineas before starting or that has run for any other plate, or for any sum of money above £20. The winning horse, &c., to be sold to the second for 25 guineas. And there will be another plate of £10 value the last Thursday in August. The weight 11 stone." Again in August, 1700, this notice was published:—"A plate of £10 value will be run for on Quainton Meadow in Bucks the last Friday in this Month; the horses to be shewn and entered the Wednesday before they run, at the George Inn at Aylesbury, where a good Ordinary will be kept. Every horse to carry 10 stone weight, and the winning horse to be sold to the subscribers at £10." Aylesbury races were continued in Quainton Meadow for a number of years; they were exceedingly popular, and drew a vast number of visitors, not only from the neighbourhood, but from many miles' distance.

A gentleman who made a tour throughout England in the year 1725 said—"It was my hap formerly to be at Aylesbury, where there was a mighty confluence of noblemen and gentlemen at a famous horse-race at Quainton Meadow not far off, where was then the late Duke of Monmouth, and a great many persons of the first rank, and a prodigious concourse of people. I had occasion to be there again in the late Queen's reign, and when the same horse-race, which is continued yearly, happened again, and then there was the late Duke of Marlborough, and a like concourse of persons of quality; the reception of the two dukes was mightily differing, the last duke finding some reasons to withdraw from the public meeting, where he saw he was not liked to be used as he thought he had deserved." The Duke of Wharton, of Upper Winchendon, was the promoter of these races. A splendid course was laid out in Quainton Meadows, and some fine horses were year after year brought together. Indeed, it is said that the breed of Wharton's celebrated roans may be traced to the present day.

In 1754 the races were held at Haydon Hill; they occupied two days. There were on this occasion eleven entries, besides those for the town purse. Mr. Horne's "Turk" won the £50 prize, and Mr. Heath's "Grey" took the town purse. On the second day Leath's "Maggot" and Meredith's "Midas" competed for the town purse, and there were three good heats; the first was won by "Maggot," and the second by "Midas;" in in the third "Maggot" took the "rust," and bolting out of the course left the race to "Midas." At the ball each night in the Sessions House there was a very brilliant appearance of the nobility and gentry, and everything is reported to have been carried on with the greatest harmony. The races were usually held in the month of August, and under these conditions:—A Gentleman's Purse of Fifty Pounds, for any horse, mare, or gelding, that has never won fifty pounds, and has never started for any prize, except a hunters' plate, matches excepted, and has been used as a hunter for the greater part of the last season; the best of three heats, four miles each heat; six-year-olds carrying 11 stone, aged horses 12 stone. Each horse to pay one guinea entrance if a subscriber's, and if a non-subscriber's three. On the second day the Town Plate was run for; this was also of the value of fifty pounds for any horse, mare, or gelding that had never won a King's plate; four-year-olds to carry eight stone; five-year-olds, nine stone; six-year-olds, ten stone; and aged horses, ten stone ten pounds, bridle and saddle included. Each horse to pay one guinea entrance if a subscriber's, and if a non-subscriber's three. Each horse to be entered at the Crown Inn, in Aylesbury, before the Clerk of the Course, between the hours of two and eight in the afternoon; and to stand, from the time of entrance, at the house only of such person as subscribed at least ten shillings to the Town-purse. Double entrance allowed at the post, if the horses were properly qualified. If but one horse entered for either of the two purses, he received ten guineas; if two horses, five guineas each; and the entrance-money returned, and the purse not run for. No smith could plate any horse, &c., without subscribing at least half a guinea to the Town-purse. No booths, or stalls, to be erected on the course but by those who

subscribed to the said Town-purse ; also there were ordinaries at the White Hart Inn and at the George, a ball each night, and the common announcement, " Cocking as usual." In 1755 the races were held in the same place, when Churchill's " Joyless" won the plate, and Lord Craven's " Frosty Face" the stakes. On the second day Lord Craven's " Anthony" won the Town-plate. Subsequently the races were again removed, and held in Weedon field. They were not fully patronised in the later years of their existence, and about 1815 were altogether discontinued.

Chapter XLV.—ROADS, CONVEYANCES, CANALS, RAILWAYS.

Roman Roads—The miry ways—Bequests to improve them—State of High Roads—Ancient modes of travelling—State of local roads—Sir Hugh Clopton—Ancient conveyances—Gentlemen's travelling equipages—The Aylesbury coach in 1659*—Flying coaches—Aylesbury coach in* 1712*—Stage waggons—Perils of the road—The old coach—The modern coach—Aylesbury canal—Aylesbury railways.*

OF the Roman roads in Britain the most conspicuous was the Watling Street, or Irish Road, leading from Richborough, in Kent, to Chester, and thence into Wales, terminating at Holyhead. This Way was formed upon the track of a British road, and bears a modern form of the Saxon name, Guethlinga. At Dunstable, where the Watling Street crosses the Icknield Way, it is identical with the great North Western Road through Bucks, and, passing through Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford, Shenley, Stony Stratford, leaves the county at Old Stratford, a quarter of a mile north-west of Stony Stratford.

If we glance from the northern to the midland portion of Bucks, another ancient road is distinguishable, commonly named the Akeman Way. It enters this county from Hertfordshire, a little westward of Tring, and pursues a direct course by Aston Clinton towards and through the town of Aylesbury, on leaving which it passes in a generally straight direction by Waddesdon to Bicester. Other authorities place the true Akeman Way higher in the county, and give its course as from Bedford, by Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford, and Buckingham, to Alchester. Traces of a Roman road, under the usual name of Portway, are visible in the vicinity of Stone and Hartwell ; and if we connect this with the fact that many Roman relics have been found in that neighbourhood, there seems little room to doubt that Aylesbury itself stands on a Roman road of a very distinct character.

The Icknield Street or Way may be termed the road of the Iceni, from which ancient Celtic tribe it derived both its name and origin, for under its various provincial designations of Acknell, Hackney, or Ikenild Way, the true name of the ancient inhabitants of the East Coast of Britain is sufficiently apparent. The Icknield Way still preserves its original features as a British Trackway, as distinguished from the Roman road; and, as a proof that it does so, the characteristics which distinguish the Roman from the British Way may be cited from a good authority. The British Ways

are not paved nor raised, nor always straight, but often wind along the top or sides of the chains of hills which lie in their course. They do not lead to Roman towns nor notice such towns, except when placed on the sites of British fortresses. They are attended by "tumuli," like those of the Romans, but usually throw out branches, which, after running parallel for some miles, are re-united to the original stem. Now in all and each of these particular features the Icknield Way is conspicuously British. Thus the road of the Iceni, still bearing with the name its ancient British peculiarities, appears to have been made originally for commercial purposes, and led through districts probably then, as now, thickly populated. This distinction between the Roman and the British Ways is shown in a paper by the Rev. W. J. Burgess, A.M., published in the "Records of Buckinghamshire," in which Leland's "Itinerary," and Clutterbuck's "Hertfordshire" are referred to. Chauncy, another Herts historian, is of opinion that the "Icknall" is an old Roman Way, whilst Lysons remarks that "it passes many camps and earth works, but, unlike the roads known to be Roman, never bends towards them, or seems to have any connexion with them."

In Buckinghamshire this road keeps the edge of the Downs and skirts the Chilterns, through Aston, Halton, and Wendover, and runs through Ellesborough and the Kimbles to the foot of White Leaf Hill in Monks Risborough, whence it bends southward of Princes Risborough. Leaving Bucks at the parish of Bledlow, it enters Oxfordshire near Chinnor. Considered in its Bucks section, this ancient Way is full of antiquarian interest. It was anciently designed for the exchange of the corn and cattle of the East with the mineral riches of the West of England. It is attended in this neighbourhood by a branch or parallel road called the Lower Icknield. It passes near to many British works with which it communicates, as Cholesbury Camp, Ivinghoe Beacon, Aston Hill, Long Down Camp, Kimble Castle, or the Castle of Cymbeline, White Leaf Cross, Princes Risborough Castle, Grims Dyke, and the Bledlow Cross. It is attended by many "tumuli," some of conspicuous size, as on White Leaf Hill. It has either attracted population to its line of transit or has been the means of retaining it in situ, its course being studded with picturesque churches and villages, in the proportion of a parish church to every successive mile.

Our own miry ways must not be confounded with the ancient Roman roads. The Roman engineers were very particular in securing a firm foundation to their highways, which was done when necessary by ramming the ground with small stones and fragments of brick or other hard material. The Romans had a system in their road making, the English had none. The state of the public roads in former days, the ancient modes of travelling, the lumbering vehicles and clumsy horses used by our forefathers, would of themselves form the subject for a very readable volume. Our miry ways were one of the numerous troubles of our predecessors, and many benevolent persons, probably much inconvenienced by the miserable state they were then in, either bequeathed monies for their improvement or attempted to improve them during their lives. In 1457

Edmund Brudenell, Lord of Stoke Mandeville, bequeathed £40 to help repair the highways between Stoke and Aylesbury, towards which sum he willed that "his gold cup, two silver basins, his great piece of gilt plate and cover, and three silver candlesticks be sent to the tower of London to be melted down." In the will of Sir Ralph Verney, dated A.D. 1478, in which he is described as "Knyght, citezein, mercer, and alderman of the Citee of London," is the following item, amongst many others of a like kind—"I bequethe to the reparacione and amendying of noyous and ruynous weyes nere aboute Aylesbury and Flete Merston, to be doone by the discrecions of myne executours, x.*li.*" The Hampdens, of Hartwell, were amongst those who took great interest in the improvement of the highways of the neighbourhood. William Hampden, who inherited Hartwell in 1479, attended to that estate beneficially, and especially in the means of intercommunication. There is abundance of evidence that the ways, paths, and highways of this district were then so bad as to be scarcely passable. Between Aylesbury and Hartwell there was a portion of the road so flooded at times as to be dangerous to travellers. Hugh Clopton, a celebrated engineer, constructed a firm road of three miles from Aylesbury towards London, and then made a causeway from Aylesbury, "over the valley gravel to the fields of the Manor of Hartwell." This work is now well known as the Hartwell Causeway, and the construction of it is duly chronicled on Sir Hugh's elaborate monumental slab in the Guildhall Chapel of Stratford-on-Avon. In 1493 John Bedford, of Aylesbury, gentleman, bestowed the proceeds of his estates to the parish of Aylesbury, partly "to be devoted to the perpetual amendment of the highways in and about Aylesbury, as needs require;" and in 1760 Simon Miles gave 16 acres of Land and two tenements to repair the highways belonging to Walton hamlet only, and not to Aylesbury. We have no need to express our surprise at the retinue of servants and the number of horses required by gentlemen when on their journeys over roads in the state they were in a century and a half or two centuries ago. The assistance of several men was frequently brought into request, as in passing or meeting another vehicle it was necessary to lift one of them bodily out of the ruts of the road; drawing either out of the track was an impossibility. Running footmen were usually sent in advance of gentlemen's carriages to forewarn any one travelling in an opposite direction to take the first opportunity of breaking out of the usual track, so as to allow the advancing carriage to pass. These footmen carried long poles for the purpose of assisting the carriage out of the bogs, holes, and dangerous places with which the roads then abounded. It is to this state of the roads we trace the old-fashioned system of attaching bells to the harness of the horses, to give warning to make preparations for the approach of the team from an opposite direction, a system which has but a few years since died out.

In 1680 the best of the public roads were so bad that in the dusk of evening it was hardly possible to distinguish them from the then unenclosed heath; travellers would lose their way between such important towns as York and Doncaster. Pepys and his

wife, travelling in their own coach, lost their way between Newbury and Reading. The firmer portions of the road were so narrow that one vehicle to pass another had to plunge into a quagmire in the fear of remaining there until helped out; thus there were frequent quarrels between carriers as to which should break the way. Gentlemen's coaches were constantly stuck fast until a team of cattle from a neighbouring farm released them from the slough. Between London and Ware floods were frequent, and at times travellers had to swim for their lives. In other districts they were delayed for days together in bad weather. Market towns were in the winter season inaccessible for weeks. In 1703 it took six hours to make an advance of fourteen miles, and that by a royal personage, with the best of horses that could be obtained, and it was necessary that a body of sturdy men should attend on each side of the coach in order to prop it up. A letter, written by a traveller at that period, has been preserved, in which he informs his friend that during fourteen hours he never alighted from his coach, except when it was overturned or stuck fast in the mud. Soon after the Restoration the state of the roads attracted the attention of Parliament, and an Act was passed imposing a small toll on travellers and goods for the purpose of repairing them. This innovation was resented; toll-gates were destroyed; troops had to guard them, and much blood had to be shed before so good a system could be generally introduced. There are sufficient instances upon record to show that to a late period of the last century, the highways, even in the immediate neighbourhood of London, were in a neglected and frequently almost impassable state for vehicles of any description.

Two roads of the class formerly termed mail coach roads lead through Aylesbury. One from London to Birmingham leaves the Bath road at the 18th mile-stone from London, then passes through the Chalfonts, Amersham, the Missendens, and Wendover to Aylesbury; thence to Hardwick, Whitchurch, Winslow, Buckingham, and Tingewick, at a little beyond which it enters Northamptonshire. The ancient course of the road from Aylesbury to Buckingham left Hardwick, Whitchurch, and Winslow on the right; passing through East Claydon, and between Steeple Claydon and Padbury, and on to Buckingham. Another mail coach road from London passes through Watford, Berkhampstead, Tring, and Aston Clinton to Aylesbury; these two mail coach roads formerly united at Walton, and, threading the town as one road, again divided at the north end of it, one going to Buckingham as before described, the other to Waddesdon, Bicester, and Banbury. In 1826 a new line was formed, joining the Tring and Berkhampstead road at Broughton Pastures, the two roads being again united in the centre of the town; this line forms the street now known as the "New Road." There was also a coach road from Oxford to Cambridge, passing through from Thame, by Haddenham, and on to Bierton, Rowsham, Wing, Leighton Buzzard, and Hockliffe, to Bedford and Cambridge. The road from High Wycombe to Aylesbury, through Bradenham, the Risboroughs, the Kimbles, Terrick, and Stoke Mandeville, was projected as a turnpike road in 1795; about 40 years before this the present road between High Wycombe and West Wycombe had been made by Lord Despenser.

Notwithstanding the early periods in which bequests were made for the improvement of the roads and highways, they remained in a miserable state for some generations after. It was not until the present century was well advanced that a thorough reformation of them was commenced in earnest. A gentleman, who has been dead but a few years, in giving an account of a journey from Leighton to Aylesbury, states that the ruts in the road were so deep that wheels were useless; the post chaise in which he travelled being dragged along at a snail's pace after the manner of a sledge. Another traveller says that in 1812, having a load of grocery to take from Aylesbury to Princes Risborough, he, at Askett, had to leave one-half behind, and make a second journey for the remainder, notwithstanding that he had the assistance of two good and able horses. The road between Aylesbury and Bicester was in the winter under water for half-a-mile together; an aged man, not long deceased, related that in his early days the road between Waddesdon and Bicester could not even be traced, and travellers took the route which appeared to them to be the most promising. Mr. Priestly, in his survey of Buckinghamshire, dated 1813, states that "the roads of this county are extremely bad, having ruts so deep, that when the wheels of a chaise fall into them, it is with the greatest danger that an attempt can be made to draw them out; nay, instances may be produced where, if such an attempt is made, the horse and chaise must inevitably fall into bogs. In riding from Risborough to Bledlow, my horse fell into a bog up to his chest. In the road from Turweston to Biddlesden, I twice lost myself by such roads: the distance is not three miles; and yet though I left Turweston by eleven o'clock, I was unable to reach Biddlesden before three. The difficulty in finding the way from Fenny Stratford to Whaddon was such that, without a guide, I could not have surmounted it. From Winslow to Wing it was no less; and had it not been now and then for a colony of gypsies, I might have been obliged, in more instances than one, to have taken refuge in a milking-house for a night's lodging." In the year 1815 Mr. McAdam undertook the improvement of the public roads generally; he had the satisfaction of seeing his system of "macadamising" commonly adopted. Government made him a grant of £2,000, and also repaid him a large outlay he had made in perfecting his plan; he attained the reputation of one of the most honourable and disinterested of men; he died in 1836.

When a mode for extending turnpike roads from the metropolis to distant parts of the country was in agitation, the counties in the neighbourhood of London petitioned Parliament against it, alleging that the remoter counties would be able, from the comparative cheapness of labour in them, to sell their produce in London at a lower rate than they could do, and that their rents would be reduced and cultivation ruined by the measure. Luckily this interested opposition proved ineffectual. Paley, in his "Moral Philosophy," confutes this argument—"In the neighbourhood of populous and trading towns the husbandmen are busy and skilful, the peasantry laborious, the land is managed to the best advantage and double the quantity of produce raised from it. Wherever a thriving factory finds means to establish itself a new vegetation springs up around it. I believe it is true that agriculture never arrives at any considerable, much

less at its highest degree of perfection, when it is not connected with trade ; that is, when the demand for produce is not increased by the consumption of trading cities."

CONVEYANCES.

It may be inferred that the horse-litter and the chair were the most ancient modes of conveyance employed by persons of rank in this country, and that they were rarely, if ever, used but on occasions of ceremony or in cases of sickness. It would seem that coaches were unknown in England before the middle of the 16th century ; and, according to Stow, the first coach used here was built in 1565, by Walter Ripon, for the Earl of Rutland. For some time after the introduction of carriages, their weight, the clumsiness of their construction (being without springs), and the state of the roads prevented their being commonly employed in journeys. In the correspondence of Sir George Ratcliffe occur many proofs of the serious inconvenience that attended travellers in the early part of the seventeenth century, at which time the communication between the north of England and the universities was kept up by carriers, who pursued their tedious but uniform route with whole trains of packhorses, and to their care were consigned not only the packages but very frequently the persons of young scholars. Wood, in his Diary, mentions a stage coach, under the year 1661, and six years afterwards he travelled to London from Oxford by such a conveyance ; the journey occupied two days,* and it shows the more serious light in which travelling was regarded two centuries ago that, notwithstanding the many attractions which London held out to a person possessing his antiquarian zeal and habits of research, Wood, though residing within 60 miles of the capital, had attained his 35th year before he visited it.

An early mention of public coaches is made by Sir William Dugdale in his Diary, from which it appears that there was a Coventry coach in 1659 :—"May 2nd.—I set forwards towards London by Coventre coach." Under date of June 28th, 1662, he speaks of travelling with his man by Aylesbury coach ; January 30th, 1663, "by St. Alban's coach to London ;" April 9th, 1667, "to Woburn by Chester coach ;" July 16th, 1679, "out of London by the stage coach to the Earle of Aylesburie's house at Ampthill." The new style of travelling soon grew into popularity, and was in the very earliest days patronised by people of quality ; but a letter from one Edward Parker to his father at Preston, in Lancashire, 1663, does not say much for its convenience :—"I got to London on Saturday last, but my journey was noe ways pleasant, being forced to ride in the boote all the waye. Ye company yt came up with me were persons of greate quality, as knights and ladyes. My journey's expense was xxx.*s*. The travel hath soe indisposed me yt I am resolved never to ride up again in ye coach."

* Here is the copy of a card issued in 1848 as a memento of the pace of a Great Western train between London and Didcot. The pace chronicled is at the rate of 67·95, or, allowing for starting and stopping, more than 68 miles an hour :—"Great Western Railway broad guage engine, 'Great Britain,' accomplished the fastest journey on record, — namely, from Paddington to Didcot, 63¼ miles, in 47 minutes. The train was the 9.15 express to Bristol, and consisted of four carriages and van, and was driven on May 11th, 1848, by J. Michael Almond, driver ; Richard Denham, fireman." Thus a journey which once took 48 hours can now be accomplished in 48 minutes.

Coaches had their opponents; petitions were got up by interested parties and presented to the King praying that no public coach should have more than four horses; that they should perform but one journey per week, and be limited to travel not more than thirty miles a day. Amongst other fallacies it was argued that coaches tended to destroy the breed of horses; render the people effeminate; lower the value of land; knock up the calling of watermen, "who are the nursery for seamen, and they the bulwark of the kingdom;" lessen His Majesty's revenues; and injure every trade in the country. "The people become weary and listless when they ride a few miles, are unwilling to get on horseback; not able to endure frost, snow, or rain, or to lodge in the fields. There is such a lazy habit of body upon men that they, to indulge themselves, save their fine cloathes, and keep clean and dry, will ride lolling in one of them, and endure all the inconvenience of that manner of travelling rather than ride on horseback." It was further alleged "that gentlemen and ladies without any servants consume little drink on the road, yet pay as much at every inn as if their servants were with them; which is the tapster's gain and His Majesty's loss." The clothier and hatter were injured, "for when men rode on horseback, they rode in one suit and carried another to wear when they came to their journey's end or lay by the way. But in coaches a silk suit and an Indian gown with a sash, silk stockings and beaver hats men ride in; and carry no other with them, because they escape the wet and dirt which on horseback they cannot avoid; whereas, in two or three journeys on horseback these clothes and hats were wont to be spoiled, which done, they were forced to have new very often." The drapers "sold more linnen, not to sadlers to make up saddles, but to travellers for their own use, nothing wearing out linnen more than riding." But not only was every trade in the country being ruined, but the morals of the age were in danger: "For passage to London being so easy, gentlemen come to London oftener than they need, and their ladies either with them, or, having the convenience of these coaches, quickly follow them. And when they are there they must be in the mode, have all the new fashions, buy all their clothes there, and go to plays, balls, and treats, where they get such a habit of jollity and a love to gaiety and pleasure that nothing afterwards in the country will serve them, if even they could fix their minds to live there again."

In 1667 improvements had been reached, as a "flying coach" was started in that year to run from Oxford to London in one day. It left Oxford at six in the morning, and reached London at seven in the evening; this was then thought to be a marvellous performance in the annals of travelling; it was only attempted in the summer months, being suspended during the winter. The following is a copy of an announcement published in 1678:—"These are to give notice, that a stage is set up for carrying of letters from London to Bedford, by the way of Brickhill and Ampthill, three times every week, and back again, from Bedford to London, by the same way. The post-house at Bedford is kept at the Swan Inn, and the letters to Ampthill and places adjacent will be left at the White Hart in Ampthill, and the post-master will call on his return to London at the same places for all letters that shall be directed for London, or any other

post upon that road." Although no mention is here made of passengers, it is probable that both passengers and letters were conveyed by this "stage."

An Aylesbury coach again existed in the year 1712, as shown by some extracts from a manuscript in the possession of F. D. Hibbert, Esq., of Chalfont House, Gerrard's Cross, intituled, "John Sanders, his book, 1712. The account of my travils with my Mistress:"—

"Aug^{t} ye 1. She went in y^{e} Alsebury coach, and I on y^{e} outside, we din'd at y^{e} Crown at Uxbridge, & went that night to S^{r} Richard Holford's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, waar we ware welcomely received, but found my Lady in aweful condision; we stayed thare til y^{e} 11 of August, then my M^{rs} went with S^{r} Rich^{d} & Lady in their coach, and I on y^{e} outside for Avebury, we set out on Tuesday, and din'd that day at M^{r} Bolding's, at y^{e} Crown at Slow one mile from Windsor; I saw y^{e} Castle as I past y^{e} road. I lay that night at y^{e} Bare, at Reading, which is a large town, and four Churches in it, it is a good place for trade, y^{e} river of Thames come to it, it is..... miles from Slow.

Y^{e} 12 we din'd at M^{r} Phillips at y^{e} Bare in Spinumlands, in Nuberry parrish, whare was y^{e} great fight in y^{e} sivil wars, four noble Dukes thare killed and caried into that very house whare I dined, it is.....miles from Reading. As I first neare Nuberry I see y^{e} feilds whare many brave Inglish men weare killed, & much blood was spilt thare. We lay that night at M^{r} Shropshiers at y^{e} Angel in Malbourrow, it is a pretty Town, and a good market, 5 miles from Avebery."

From John Sanders' book some idea of the general state of the roads and the perils of travelling in his day may be obtained:—

"Aug^{t} y^{e} 22, 1712, Jac. Rose rid before my M^{rs} and I carried her portemantow on Sir Rich: punch nag, we rid by Alcannons, that is 5 miles from Avebery. In the lane that turned towards Worton we came to a great depe myer a crosse y^{e} lane, we had no way to ride by, so was forced to pass through it, my M^{rs} got safe through it by God's great mercy, though with great difficulty to y^{e} horse, and daineger to herself, I rid through after, but my horse flundred so very much that his tackel broke, and downe came y^{e} portmantow, and I had a very daingous fall, but God preserved me that I had no hurt. then we rid through Worton, whare I met with a very sevil man w^{h} put my tackle to rites."

In May, 1734, there appeared an advertisement of a Newcastle Flying Coach:—"A coach will set out towards the end of next week for London or any other place on the road. To be performed in nine days, being three days sooner than any other coach that travels the road; for which purpose eight stout horses are stationed at proper distances." Nine days from Newcastle to London, being three days quicker than any other coach of the time! In 1742 another feat was announced; the Lichfield and Birmingham stage coach left the Rose Inn, Holborn, London, on Monday morning, and reached the Hen and Chickens Inn, Birmingham, on Wednesday for dinner; the same afternoon it proceeded to Lichfield. On the Thursday afternoon it left Lichfield on its return journey, halting at Birmingham for breakfast; it reached London on the Saturday night, thus exhausting just one week in a journey from London to Lichfield and back.

In 1754, the Bedford stage undertook (if God permit), by starting from that place at five in the morning, to reach London the same night, probably meaning within the 19 hours. It left London at four in the morning on its return journey. Another coach, also from Bedford, undertook "to fly" to London and back twice in a week! At this period the Kettering stage also began "to fly;" it left Kettering in the morning, stopped at Bedford on the first night, and reached London next day; "this feat," said the public announcement, "will be performed (God permitting) by Thomas Collis, of Kettering." In 1755 the "Flying" stage-coach left Northampton at three o'clock on the mornings of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and reached London the same days; it returned on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. The fare was 12s., 20lbs. of luggage was allowed, and 1d. per lb. was paid for all over that weight.

Clippings from old newspapers show further difficulties in travelling in the last century; these are copies of advertisements :—"A partner is wanted in a post-chaise to Bedford, to set out on Saturday, Sunday, or Monday next. Enquire at the bar of Symond's Inn Coffee House in Chancery Lane, between four and five in the afternoon." "A gentleman, having business at Chester, would be glad of a partner in a post-chaise, to set out three or four days hence at farthest. If the person whom this may suit will call at Great Tower Hill Coffee House any day, from eleven to two, between this and Monday next, and enquire for A. B., he will be attended."

The travelling equipages of gentlemen of position in the olden times were grand and ostentatious; great show was made. When Earl Kerry, afterwards Earl of Shelburne, of Wycombe, was High Sheriff of Kerry, he received the Judges of Assize at the bounds of the county in a most magnificent manner attended thus :—Two running footmen led the way, being clothed in white, with their black caps dressed with ribbons, and red sashes; four grooms leading four stately horses, with their caparisons, their manes and tails dressed with roses of red ribbons; a page in scarlet, laced with silver, bearing the Sheriff's white rod; the High Sheriff in scarlet, his sword hanging in a broad shoulder belt of crimson velvet, covered with silver lace, mounted on a beautiful horse, having a Turkish bridle, with reins of green silk intermixed with gold, the caps and housings of green velvet, almost covered with gold lace, and bordered with a deep gold fringe; two trumpeters in green suits, profusely laced with silver; twelve livery men in the colours of the family, mounted on black horses, with long tails, which, as well as their manes, were decked with roses of red ribbons, the caps and housings being a centaur in brass, which is the crest of the Fitzmaurices; each having a brace of pistols and a bright carbine hanging on his right side; the Earl of Kerry's gentleman of the horse, mounted on a fine black horse; the steward, waiting gentleman, and other domestics, all in exceedingly grand array. The cavalcade were all of the Earl's own family, and mounted out of his stable. After these followed the gentlemen of the county, who were very numerous, with about twenty led horses, with field-clothes, attending them. One of the last of our local gentry to uphold the ancient dignity in travelling was Ralph, second

Earl Verney, of Claydon House, the hero of the great political county contest in 1784. Lavish in his personal expenses, and fond of show, he, to the splendour of a gorgeous equipage, attached musicians, constantly attendant upon him, not only on State occasions, but in journeys and visits, and had a brace of tall negroes with silver French horns behind his coach and six, perpetually making a noise like Sir Henry Sydney's "trompeters" in the days of Elizabeth, "blowing very joyfully to behold and see."

In 1770 an Act was obtained for making a turnpike road from Aylesbury to Bicester, and in 1795 the first stage-coach from London to Bicester was established; it passed through Aylesbury. In the House of Commons attention was now called to the rapid travelling of the Edinburgh Mail as jeopardizing the lives and limbs of those happening to be crossing the road when the mail was passing. This rapidity averaged about eight miles per hour.

Tom Hood, in one of his comicalities, asks "If the coach goes at six at what time goes the basket?" Travellers of the present day would not understand this question, and would fail to see the connection between a coach and a basket. It must be explained that the basket was a part of the coach, and it may be described as the third class or cheapest compartment. The ancient stage coach was a most unwieldly and cumbrous vehicle; the body used to swing on bow springs; the basket was entirely detached from the body, but fixed on the hind axle; it was square, and made of wicker-work, hence the name. The poorer class of travellers occupied the basket, and were stowed away with the luggage; as the basket had not the comfort of springs, and the roads were in a deplorable state, the occupants had the most miserable accommodation; a journey from Aylesbury to London then occupied the whole day. The earlier Aylesbury coach went to London one day, and returned the next; persons going there on business would be absent four days at least. Leaving Aylesbury on Monday, their business might be transacted on Tuesday, but on Wednesday, the coach, instead of being available for their return, would be making its journey from Aylesbury to London; thus there were no means of returning home until the Thursday.

In 1820 a coach ran between Reading and Aylesbury, leaving Reading on Mondays and Thursday, and returning to Reading from Aylesbury on Tuesdays and Fridays; where it went in the meantime no one knows. In the same year the inhabitants of Aylesbury were startled by a proposition to run the "Old Aylesbury Coach" to London and back the same day, by leaving the George Inn, Aylesbury, at six o'clock a.m., and the Old Bell Inn, Holborn, on its return, at a quarter before one. This feat was performed by Messrs. Dale and Tollett, coach proprietors, under the superintendence of Thomas Wootton, their coachman. This was thought to be a wonderful attempt. On the first evening of the coach being due, much anxiety was evinced as to the success of the experiment. A great crowd awaited its arrival at the Bell corner, and some could scarcely believe their eyes when the coach appeared in view. The

coachman received a regular ovation, the crowd following the vehicle and cheering most lustily. A journey from Aylesbury to London, and a return on the same day, was an event never before heard of.

The improvements in the state of the roads and competition amongst coach proprietors greatly accelerated communication, and travelling comforts vastly increased. In course of time the lumbering old vehicle, with its "basket" and clumsy horses, was superseded by the neat four-in-hand coach, horsed with good cattle, a smart coachman, and a guard in livery, who was generally a dexterous performer on an eight-keyed bugle. The name of Joseph Hearn, the coach proprietor, must always be associated with the improved condition of travelling between Aylesbury and the metropolis. His "Dispatch," driven by Mr. James Wyatt, was the essence of punctuality. In the villages through which it travelled people set their clocks by it, and old women put their swimmers into the pot when it passed their dwellings; it was considered the best timekeeper on the road. The Dispatch was for many years the favourite Aylesbury coach and Mr. Wyatt was the most popular of coachmen. So long as he held the reins, the most nervous old lady, however unused to locomotion, felt every confidence, and travelled in comfort. He was held in universal respect, and on his leaving the box-seat the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood gave him a substantial proof of their regard. The great innovator, Steam, in course of time, supplanted Mr. Wyatt, despatched the Dispatch, and we had to bid adieu to one of the most cherished institutions of our youthful days—the stage coach.

Aylesbury was by no means deficient in coach accommodation, as, in addition to the Aylesbury Dispatch, there were the Birmingham and the Kidderminster coaches passing through the town at midday and the mails at midnight; there was also a coach running from Oxford to Cambridge, and returning on the following day. More than a dozen coaches passed through the town within the twenty-four hours.

PERILS OF THE ROAD.

However inconvenient it may have been to travel from one part of the country to another, our ancestors had a further trouble of which we of the present day know nothing—the difficulty in the transport of heavy merchandise. Formerly, before the construction of canals, the only method of transport of cumbrous goods was by the road-waggon, a very slow, expensive, and uncertain mode of conveyance; indeed, before the formation of local canals, some commodities could not be obtained at all in places at a distance from the localities in which they were produced, owing to the difficulty in transit. These road-waggons frequently conveyed articles of value, and great confidence had to be placed in the waggoners to whom these cargoes were intrusted. Passengers also travelled by these slow conveyances when their places of destination could not be reached by coach, or a saving could be made in money at the expense of time. Road-waggons were constantly subject to pilferings, and innumerable complaints were made by the owners of goods sent by them as to their losses. Probably, in many

cases, the passengers were dishonest and pilfered during their journeys, indeed travelled for the purpose of purloining. The waggoners were frequently suspected of being in league with the thieves. Highwaymen would at times stop and overhaul these conveyances, stripping the passengers of all the money and portable articles they possessed. One of these waggons made stated journeys between Bicester and London, passing through Aylesbury. In the year 1726 the name of the waggoner was Robert King; he was in league with some highwaymen, and when he expected an unusual cargo of valuable goods he would give intimation of it to them. A highwayman of the name of Drury was one of his principal confederates. King was a fellow of a most despicable character. On one occasion he gave information to Drury that a gentleman would be travelling in his waggon the next day, who would probably carry a large amount of money with him. Drury waylaid the waggon, as arranged with King, and robbed the passenger of two hundred and fourteen guineas. As he took coin only, he thought himself safe from detection; he was, however, taken, tried, convicted, and executed for the robbery, and to the last stated that he had no intention whatever of committing the crime for which he suffered until King proposed it to him, and that his life was sacrificed through taking the waggoner's advice.

If the accounts of the perils of the road to which our ancestors were subject were not duly authenticated, there would be a difficulty in receiving them as true. Travellers by any conveyance, public or private, had to be well guarded and armed, and even then they ran a great risk of being plundered of all they possessed. Mounted highwaymen and marauders infested every main road; the waste tracks on the great routes to London swarmed with them. There was not a more dangerous part of the London road than Gerrard's Cross Common in this county. The public authorities were at a loss how to deal with these plunderers, and it was thought that in some cases the keepers of the road-side inns connived with them. "The road," as it was termed, which meant robbing on the road, was followed as a profession. John Evelyn, in his Diary, relates how, near Bromley, he was robbed, in 1652, by two cut-throats, who afterwards bound him hand and foot, and left him helpless by the road-side; this was in the day time. Subsequently one of the robbers was taken for some other offence, and, refusing to plead to the indictment, was pressed to death by order of the authorities.

Notices similar to the following are frequently to be met with in old newspapers:— "On the 25th of October (1681), a gentleman was robbed, about eight or ten miles beyond Uxbridge, in Ailsbury Road, by three highwaymen, who took from him a brown bay gelding, about eight years old, near 15 hands high, his mane hanging upon the near side, and having no hair on his foretops, his neather-lip a little falling, and under-legg'd behind; he is an able broad sett gelding; also he had two coats taken from him, one a cloth coat lined with scarge, and in the inside there is a hole about the bigness of a halfe-crown; the other a stuff-camblet; with several pieces of gold and silver. Whoever can give notice of this gelding, let them send to Mr. John Woodworth, at the White Horse,

in Friday Street, London, shall have 20s. reward." Evelyn, in his diary, in November 1692, again notes a signal robbery, in Hertfordshire, when those conveying the tax money from the North to London were waylaid; after taking the treasure the robbers killed all the horses of those whom they had robbed in order to hinder pursuit. In the year 1735 a coach and six was attacked near Kensington Gravel Pits by two highwaymen: the gentleman and ladies in it had provided themselves with purses containing a few shillings and halfpence, and affected so much reluctance to part with them, that the fellows gave them the watchword and rode off. The company were greatly pleased to think they had tricked the highwaymen, and, believing themselves out of further danger, were taking their money out of the places where they had concealed it, when the fellows, having discovered the cheat, rode back, made them all alight from the coach, and robbed them of £70. A very cruel act is alleged against two highwaymen connected with a coach robbery at this period. Their names were Udal and Raby. Having stopped the St. Alban's coach on its way to London and robbed the passengers, they immediately put spurs to their horses and rode off; they had not gone far when Udal remembered that he had noticed that a lady in the coach had a remarkably fine ring on one of her fingers. On this Raby rode back; the lady being unwilling to part with her favourite ring, the remorseless villain drew a knife and cut off her finger for the sake of the paltry prize. Udal ended his career on the gallows at Tyburn in 1738, in the 22nd year of his age.

Further exploits of highwaymen in this district are recorded. On the 27th January, 1754, one man stopped the Oxford, Newbury, and Abingdon conveyances, and robbed all the passengers, returning each enough to defray the expenses of the journey; he then rode leisurely away. John Curtis was this same year executed at Aylesbury as a highwayman; he was a native of Langley, Herts; was but 20 years of age at his death, and had been concerned in many highway robberies, in addition to the one for which he was executed. In the same year four conveyances were robbed near Slough by a single highwayman. Whilst he was robbing the two last, two post-chaises came up, which he ordered to stop. After he had plundered the public conveyances he robbed the passengers in the chaises and rode off. At the March Assizes at Aylesbury in 1755, a man named George Davis was convicted of robbing the Bristol mail some years previously; he was ordered to be executed and afterwards hung in chains on Holtspur Heath on the road leading from High Wycombe to Beaconsfield, being in the neighbourhood of many of his exploits. In 1755, the Warwick stage, travelling from Wendover to Aylesbury, was attacked in mid-day by a single highwayman; there were six passengers, he robbed all of them, and then rode off with about £10 as his booty. In the reign of George II. a noted highwayman of the name of Mansell Sainsbury resided at Banbury; he made "the road" his profession, and was a terror to the neighbourhood, robbing all passengers of any conveyances he possibly could; he was a well-known householder at Banbury, and resided at a corner house between the north side of the Market Place and Parson's Street in that town. After many hair-breadth escapes from justice, he was taken when asleep in a corn field at Bodicote; it was

popularly reported that his faithful horse made several unsuccessful attempts to awaken him on the approach of his pursuers. He was executed at Aylesbury. In 1775 the Norwich stage-coach was attacked by seven highwaymen, three of whom were shot dead by the guard, but his ammunition failing he was killed in return; the remainder of the gang then robbed the passengers of all they had. In 1784, Joseph Radley, who was under 18 years of age, was executed at the gallows, at Aylesbury; the following is his own account of his exploits as a highwayman:—

	£	s.	d.
From Councillor Dallas, in Kensington Gardens	4	14	6
Earl of Buckinghamshire, ditto	36	15	6
A clergyman and his lady, ditto	7	7	0
An old gentleman, ditto	1	8	0
Another person, ditto, a watch and 2s. returned			
Barnet Road, two ladies in a post-chaise	26	5	0
Ditto, two ladies and one gentleman in a post-coach coming to London, two twenty-pound notes, 17 guineas and a half, 19 shillings, two Spanish dollars, three pocket pieces, a lady's gold watch, a silver one, and some trinkets, amounting, in the whole, to about	75	0	0
Between Twyford and Reading, 2 gentlemen and 3 ladies, in a coach	5	5	0
Near Bagshot Heath, a gentleman & lady, in post chaise, a watch, &c.	12	12	0
Mr. ——, of Argyll Street, and his lady, in a post-chaise	17	5	0
Near Bagshot Heath, a gentleman in a post-chaise	3	3	0
A Quaker, in a post-chaise, near Henley, of a watch, &c.	3	3	0
Two foreigners, in a post-chaise, on the Bath Road	16	6	0
Forged upon a certain lady, in keeping by Lord ——, for	17	0	0
Feather-bed Lane, near Stokenchurch, three ladies in a post-chaise, an enamelled ring, one gold ditto, and 10s. in the whole	1	5	0
A man, near Epsom, of	0	2	6
Near Kennington Common, a gentleman and two youths, in a post-chaise, in gold and silver, about	3	0	0
Barnet Road, a gentleman and 2 ladies, in a coach, a gold watch, &c.	4	14	6
Epping Forest, a gentleman and lady in a coach	12	12	0
Ditto, the same morning, an old clergyman	2	10	0
Henley, four officers in a post-chaise	19	19	0
Park Lane, Hyde Park, a gentleman in a coach	7	7	0
An old lady, in a coach, near Dunstable	26	5	0
Bath Road, near Burnham, for which he was tried, and condemned, for robbing two ladies of a watch, with a gold seal and a small picture, a ring, and one guinea	4	0	0
	£308	8	0

After his apprehension for this last robbery, he made his escape, and was at large five weeks, during which time he committed six trifling robberies, and also several others, he said, not worth mentioning.

In the year 1800 Richard Ferguson was hanged at the gallows at Aylesbury for highway robbery. He was known as "Galloping Dick;" was a noted highwayman, and was convicted of robbing one Thomas Buckland of £14; he was brought from Newgate,

where he was in charge for some other robbery, and tried at Aylesbury. He was so well mounted that overtaking him after a robbery was looked upon as an impossibility. When young, his father died and left him £57 in money; he then obtained a situation as postillion at an inn in Piccadilly. Once as he was out with a gentleman, the chaise was stopped by that noted highwayman Abershaw and another; they were disguised by having crape over their faces; Abershaw stood guard over Ferguson whilst the other man robbed the gentleman, after which the two men rode off. The wind blew the crape off Abershaw's face, through which cause Ferguson had a good view of his features and immediately knew him. This circumstance caused Abershaw considerable uneasiness, as he knew he was entirely in the hands of Ferguson; he therefore sought an interview with him, and made a proposal that he should join them in their exploits; this was agreed to, and he was admitted into the fraternity. Ferguson continued his employment as post-boy; his part in the proceedings was to "put up" robberies, which meant that, whenever he had passengers to convey, he would give information to his confederates, as to time and place, thus playing into their hands. The scheme was highly successful for a while, and Ferguson received shares of the plunder to a large amount. Abershaw was hanged at Kennington Common for murder in 1795. So recently as the year 1826, a daring attempt was made to rob the Champion Coach near West Wycombe; two fellows commanded the coachman to stop and deliver up his money; he drove very fast down Dashwood's Hill, and one of the horses fell. The coachman was fired at, and the men mounted the coach to rob it. The guard had no firearms; the thieves, however, not succeeding in their object, made off.

CANALS.

The Bridgewater monument, so conspicuously placed on the summit of the Ashridge Hills as to be visible in many places in the Aylesbury district, and for a number of miles round, is erected in memory of Francis Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater, who was born in 1736; he was the youngest son of Scrope, fourth Earl and first Duke of Bridgewater, by Lady Rachel Russell, daughter of Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford. On the side of the column facing Ashridge House is the following inscription:—

In honour of
FRANCIS, THIRD DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER,
Father of Inland Navigation,
1832.

On a brass plate on the right of the entrance, and inside the erection, is the following inscription:—

"This column was erected conformably with the intention of John William, Earl of Bridgewater, according to the testamentary direction of Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgewater, and with the approbation of Charlotte C. Anne, Countess of Bridgewater, in honour of Francis, third Duke of Bridgewater, who, by devoting the energies of his mind to the accomplishment of the most splendid works of inland navigation, opened a new field to national industry and rendered the most important services to the common interests of his country."

The Duke of Bridgewater, as expressed on the monument, is known as "the father of British Inland Navigation." After great trouble and expense he, in 1758-9, obtained an Act of Parliament for the construction of a canal from his coal mines at Worsley to Manchester, which enabled him to commence the first navigable canal constructed in Great Britain in modern times.

The introduction of noble inventions holds by far the most excellent place among human actions. This was the judgment of antiquity, which attributed divine honours to inventors, but conferred only heroic honours upon those who deserved well in civil affairs. Whoever rightly considers it will find this a judicious custom of former ages, since the benefits of inventors may extend to all mankind, but civil benefits only to particular countries, and these civil benefits seldom descend to more than a few ages, whereas inventions are perpetuated through a course of time. The Duke had the good fortune to possess in James Brindley, his engineer, a man whose genius was unfettered by commonplace rules, and one who was exactly fitted to carry into execution a project not only perfectly novel at the time, but which even at the present day would demand the highest practical science. The Duke, assisted by Brindley, entered into further enterprises connected with the formation of canals; he was also a zealous promoter of the "Grand Trunk Navigation." In 1762 he obtained further powers for opening water communication with Liverpool by the river Mersey, and subsequent Acts of Parliament enabled him to complete his designs. In the construction of his great works he exhausted his credit to the utmost, but in the end his heirs reaped the advantage of his energies. He did much to promote the public prosperity by opening up a fresh source of national enterprise; he died in 1803.

Following the example of the Duke of Bridgewater other canals were constructed, and within forty years of the opening of his waterway no less than 165 applications were made to Parliament for Acts for cutting canals in Great Britain, at an estimated outlay of £30,000,000. The Oxford canal, constructed under the superintendence of Brindley, was finished in 1790, and was opened with great rejoicings; it materially affected Aylesbury; coals and heavy goods were brought by it to within 25 miles of the town, the intervening distance being accomplished by road-waggons. The main supply of coals for Aylesbury was then obtained from Oxford. In the year 1799 the Wendover Branch of the Grand Junction Canal was completed, which was a great advantage to this district. The traffic in coals and heavy goods was transferred from Oxford to Wendover Wharf, within five miles of Aylesbury. The Aylesbury Branch canal was finished in the spring of 1814, and opened in the month of March in that year, a year noted for its intense and prolonged frost. This branch is also a collateral cut from the Grand Junction, joining the main canal at Marsworth.

The Grand Junction Canal was projected in 1792, but was not completely finished until the year 1805, although several detached parts were available for traffic; it joins the Oxford Canal, at Braunstone, in the county of Northampton, and its whole length is

93¼ miles; there are on it 102 locks, and 209 bridges, exclusive of those which are on the branches. At Cosgrove, 26½ miles from Braunston, the Buckingham collateral cut joins the main canal. At Fenny Stratford, the locks begin to ascend, and continue on the ascent till they reach the Tring Summit, a distance of 16½ miles. The whole rise is 159 feet. At Marsworth, 54 miles from Braunston, the Aylesbury Branch joins the main canal, and at the northern extremity of the Tring Summit, 55 miles from Braunston, the Wendover collateral cut joins it also. The Tring summit is remarkable for a deep cutting 2¼ miles in length, and at its greatest depth about 35 feet. At the commencement of this cutting is situated the Bulbourne Head. At Cowroast the locks begin to descend, and continue on the descent till they join the Thames at Brentford, a distance of 35¾ miles. The fall from the Tring Summit to the Thames is 400 feet, by 57 locks. At the distance of 87¼ miles from Braunston, the Paddington Cut joins the Grand Junction. The Northampton collateral cut is 5 miles in length, in which there are 17 locks, and 15 bridges. This canal joins the river Nene at Northampton. The Buckingham arm is 11 miles in length; on it there are two locks and 32 bridges. The Aylesbury arm is 6¼ miles in length; on it there are 16 locks and 18 bridges. The Wendover arm is 6¾ miles long; on it there are 11 bridges and no locks. A branch canal once united Newport Pagnell with the Grand Junction; this branch, which joined the main canal at Linford, has been unused for some years, indeed has been partly filled in, and a portion of it utilised in the formation of the Newport Pagnell branch railway. The Paddington Branch is 13½ miles long; on it there are 32 bridges, but no locks. Near Paddington the Regent's Canal joins this branch.

Prior to the opening of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, coals were retailed at Manchester at 7d. per cwt.; after its completion the price was not only reduced to 3½d., but 120lbs. were given to the cwt. The carriage by river from Manchester to Liverpool was 12s. per ton; by land it was 40s.; on the Duke's canal it was 6s. The opening of the Aylesbury Canal had a like effect on costs for carriage; before it was constructed the retail price of coal was 2s. 6d. per cwt., which was afterwards reduced at least one half. Wherever a canal exists all classes in the neighbourhood benefit by it. Although to some extent superseded by railways, canals still form valuable commercial arteries of communication throughout the country, and are available for the conveyance of cumbrous merchandise where rapid transit is not essential. Before railways existed canals were at times used for the conveyance of passengers and the carriage of fat stock to the London markets. In 1806 a boat went up the Grand Junction Canal out of Northamptonshire, with a cargo of 100 live fat sheep for the London market, and it was 53 hours making its journey of 95 miles; the experiment was considered a success, and a boat was intended to be sent up weekly. In 1822, 600 men of the Foot Guards travelled from Liverpool to London by canal; the speed was about two miles an hour. In 1823, 750 Grenadier Guards travelled by the same conveyance on their way from London to Ireland; they occupied 30 boats. Pauper emigrants were sent from Aylesbury, making their way to Liverpool by canal boats.

The construction of the canal was an event of great importance to Aylesbury; its opening was the occasion of a general half-holiday amongst the townsfolk. This branch not only connects the town by a waterway with other towns in the district, but by the Grand Junction forms a link with London, and with other canals in the North. By this new source Aylesbury obtained what it never before possessed, viz., means for the transport of heavy merchandise to and from all parts of the country. Canals, as the predecessors of railways, did good service in their day. They created internal trade, facilitated the introduction of foreign merchandise into, and the exportation of produce from, the interior parts of the country. To agriculturists they were, and indeed still are, a great boon. Manure, marl, lime, and all other bulky articles which cannot possibly bear the great expense of cartage are by them transported from one district to another at a very light cost; thus poor lands are enriched, and barren lands brought into cultivation, whilst hay, corn, and other produce can be carried to distant places at a comparatively nominal charge.

THE AYLESBURY RAILWAYS.

Railways were first made use of in this country as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they were employed in some of the Newcastle collieries. The rails were at that time made of wood, and a description of them as so constructed in the year 1676 will be found in the life of Lord Keeper North—"The manner of the carriage is by laying rails of timber from the colliery to the river, exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts are made with four rollers fitting those rails, whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw four or five chaldron of coals; this is an immense benefit to the coal merchants." These railways, for a long time, made but little progress in improvement, and were confined to the use of collieries and the conveyance of heavy loads from a higher to a lower level. Mr. Stephenson, who has been called the father of modern railways, tells us that between five and six tons of cast-iron rails were made by the Coalbrook Dale Iron Company in 1767, "only as an experiment, on the suggestion of one of the partners." It was not until 1804 that Trevithick brought into use the steam engine as a locomotive power. The first Act of Parliament for sanctioning the formation of a railway was passed in the year 1801. In 1821 an Act was obtained for making the Stockton and Darlington Railway, and this was the first constructed public railway upon which locomotive steam engines were used as a motive power. The views of the projectors of this railway were limited to the conveyance of coals and minerals; it was opened in 1825, and did more than any of its predecessors in showing the capabilities of a railway for passenger as well as goods traffic; its Act allowed it to carry passengers. When the projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway were engaged in the execution of that work in 1825, the advantages of locomotive steam engines were so little and imperfectly developed that it was uncertain whether or not they should be adopted, but in 1829 the Company offered a premium of £500 to the

inventor of a locomotive to run on their line of railroad, which was awarded to Robert Stephenson for his engine "The Rocket."

The antipathy of ignorance to change of custom originates in the attachment to existing customs, merely because they do exist. The Italian peasants in a particular district loaded their panniers with vegetables on one side, and balanced the opposite pannier by filling it with stones; and when a traveller pointed out the advantage to be gained by loading both panniers with vegetables, he was answered that their forefathers had so prepared their produce for market; that they were wise and good men, and that a stranger showed very little understanding who interfered in established customs. The opponents of railways must have held similar ideas with these Italians. The objection to change which manifested itself on the improvements in the public roads, on the introduction of coaches, indeed against all innovations of ancient customs, re-appeared, and had to be combated on the introduction of steam as a propelling power.

In 1829, Mr. Goldworthy Gurney's steam carriage, constructed to travel on common roads, was attacked at Melksham on an experimental trip to Bath; the engineer and passengers were assaulted, and the carriage maliciously and greatly damaged; the mob was urged on by ostlers, innkeepers, harness-makers, blacksmiths, and other simple-minded people, who imagined that if such inventions as steam carriages were brought into use their crafts would be in danger. Five years after this occurrence, Mr. Gurney had to apply to the House of Commons for protection. The trustees of the turnpike roads over which he passed charged him exorbitant tolls, and, further, some of them placed large quantities of loose material on the roads for the express purpose of defeating him; he informed the House that he had spent £30,000 on the project without the least return. The same spirit was apparent on the introduction of railways. Enormous law costs were incurred by some companies in obtaining their Acts of Parliament, caused by the selfish opposition of landowners and others whose properties were likely to be affected by the formation of the proposed lines. There was the stale old cry, prophesying ruination to everybody. Horses it was said would be no longer wanted, consequently there would be no demand for hay, straw would be useless, oats and beans would cease to be grown; indeed land would become valueless and go out of cultivation. The Act for the construction of the London and Birmingham Railway was vigorously opposed, and on the first application to Parliament it was thrown out by the House of Commons. It was re-introduced and carried in the Session of 1833, and the line opened in 1838. The Great Western Company obtained their Act, after much opposition, in 1835, and that line was partially opened in the same year as the London and Birmingham, now known as the London and North-Western.

It is to the credit of the men of Aylesbury that they had greater foresight than some of their neighbours. Whilst the inhabitants of other towns in the Midlands, notably Abingdon, Northampton, and Oxford, were making battle with the threatened innovation of railways, the leading inhabitants of Aylesbury were welcoming the new

system of travelling. Even before the completion of the London and Birmingham railway the Aylesbury folks were found bestirring themselves to obtain a branch from it. In 1835 a meeting was held at the White Hart Hotel, Aylesbury, for the purpose of promoting the formation of a branch from Pitstone Green to Aylesbury, and a committee was formed to further the object. A short time after, another meeting was held, with Lord Nugent in the chair, and there were present—Sir H. Verney, Bart., Messrs. Medley, T. Tindal, Thomas Bell, John Gibbs, John Gurney, James Gurney, H. Hatten, A. Tindal, D. Reid, C. Horner, F. Wells, James Ball, Ryde, Mason, Pulver, and W. Lines. Notices to Parliament were arranged to be published at once, and £300 was subscribed towards the preliminary expenses. In January, 1836, at a meeting of the shareholders, it was announced that the capital required for the construction of the line would be £50,000. Mr. Hatten and Mr. A. Tindal were then appointed joint secretaries, and Robert Stephenson engineer. In May, the preamble of the Bill had been sustained in Committee of the House of Commons, and 1,500 shares were taken up. The works were proceeded with, and the Railway was opened for general traffic on the 10th June, 1839. Some long time before the opening, the Directors held a conference with the London and Birmingham Company at the Euston Station, which led to an offer by the latter to rent the Aylesbury line for the first five years at £2,500 per annum; the Aylesbury Company to be at the charge of maintaining the permanent way the first year. This arrangement was agreed to, and eventually that Company purchased the line from the original shareholders.

The Great Western main line, notwithstanding its distance from Aylesbury, eventually became connected with it. The first advance was by the branch extension from Maidenhead to Wycombe, followed by a further extension to Risborough, Thame, and Oxford. In 1863, the branch from Risborough was opened, by which the Great Western system reached Aylesbury. In 1872 an intermediate station between Risborough and Aylesbury was opened at Little Kimble. The Buckinghamshire Railway from Bletchley to Oxford, which was opened in the year 1850, again affected Aylesbury; a connexion was made with it by the construction of the Aylesbury and Buckingham Railway, which joins the Buckinghamshire at Verney Junction. This line was opened in September, 1868. Aylesbury is thus well supplied with railways for local purposes, but it still lacks direct communication with the Metropolis. This defect is likely to some extent to be obviated by the construction of a line from Aylesbury to Harrow, which town is connected with the Metropolitan railway.

The effects of the extraordinary improvements in the means of travelling have been as striking on the manners as on the industry of all classes. The remark that "man is the least transportable species of luggage" does not now apply. Railways have to some extent annihilated both time and space. Peculiarities of all kinds amongst distant residents have disappeared; everything is, as it were, brought to a level; the customs, fashions, and opinions of the metropolis are immediately diffused over every part of the

country, while those that originate in the latter powerfully influence the former. None have obtained more benefits from the introduction of cheap and rapid communication than the poor and working classes. Cheap transit has had a great effect on prices, and greatly lowered the cost of most of the necessaries of life, particularly fuel.

The railway net which now throws its meshes over Europe measured at the beginning of the year 1884, 2,466 miles more than at the beginning of 1883. To Germany belong 53,860 miles of railway, Great Britain and Ireland 45,268 miles, France 44,532, Russia and Finland 37,666, Italy 14,179, Spain 12,376, Norway and Sweden 11,967, Belgium 6,403, Switzerland 4,128, the Netherlands and Luxemburg 3,784, Denmark 2,700, Roumania 2,275, Portugal 2,241, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Roumelia 2,022, and Greece 33 miles, making a total of 248,433 miles of railway.

Chapter XLVI.—SOCIAL MATTERS.

Former sanitary state of towns generally—Pestilences—The Plague—Fevers—Cholera—Causes of these visitations—State of Aylesbury in former years—The late Mr. John Gibbs's description of it—Pigs the only scavengers—Visit of Inspector—Signs of improvement—Local Board of Health—Disposal of sewage—The A. B. C. process—Lighting—Ancient mode of public lighting—Efforts to light Aylesbury—Disputes on the subject—General Act—Inspectors of Lighting and Watching—Introduction of gas—Watching—watchmen—Sunday trading—Fires—Town police—County police—Water supply—Conduits—early Waterworks at Aylesbury—Brewery supply—Gaol supply—abortive schemes—The Chiltern Hills Water Company.

THE absence of every document relating to the once existing corporation of Aylesbury leaves the early history of the town in utter oblivion. No account of its local management earlier than the commencement of the present century exists. Probably its government was similar to that of most other towns under a municipality. Now and then odd scraps relating to it are met with, but no detailed information available for historical purposes can be traced.

SANITARY AFFAIRS.

As early as the 14th century the Legislature stepped in with a law to stay the waste of life by epidemics. It was not unknown to our forefathers that uncleanliness and pestilence were close cousins; and in the year 1388 a statute was made to enforce upon the people sanitary observances. This was the Act of 12 Richard II., cap. 13, "for the punishment of those who cause corruption near a city or great town to corrupt the air." It recites that "so much dung, and filth of the garbage and intrails, as well of beasts killed as of other corruptions, be cast and put in ditches, rivers, and other waters and places," that the air was consequently infected; maladies [malarious ?] and other intolerable diseases were brought upon the inhabitants and strangers; and some remedy for the evil was imperative. In the next century followed the Great Pestilence of 1410, postponing the Assizes generally, troubling and disordering all the social arrangements of the period, and ranging over a succession of years. The century gave birth, moreover, to a European epidemic desolating many lands. In England, before Bosworth Field (1485), the Sweating Sickness tracked the march of the invading army; and there was pestilence, also, in the wake of Flodden (1533). Pestilence was never long

absent. Ever and anon, in some incidental way, its presence was manifested. In a roll of accounts, or in a will hastily made, or in the course of a letter, there is allusion to epidemics that have no historical mention. Occasionally we come across great personages travelling about from place to place, in search of a Goshen where safety might be found. Pestilence was prevalent during all the later years of Elizabeth. It was so bitter and destructive at the time of her death that no Parliament was assembled for a considerable, time after the accession of King James; and when the Legislature came together in 1603-4, one of its early statutes was "An Act for the Charitable Relief and Ordering of Persons infected with the Plague" (1 James, cap. 31). The alarm inspired by the plague among our forefathers may be conceived of from the severity of the enactments; under which, in a visitation of 1611, the Corporation of Leicester proceeded to such extremities as actually to arm the watchmen with cross-bows and bolts; and in the accounts of the Chamberlains there is a payment "for boults for the watchmen to shewte att the visited people, such persons as would not be kept in theire howses!" All the records to the close of the reign of King James and in the early years of his son pale before the story of the Great Plague of 1666. "The long-absent disease showed itself at North Shields in October, 1635, and proved that it still preserved all its old malignity. The distinguished and the obscure—the poor and the rich—all contributed their quota to the long roll of the dead. Impartial was the path of the arrow at noon-day and of the pestilence by night, carrying terror to thousands of homes. There was panic for a season; but, as the epidemic ran its course, the alarm sobered down."

The thoroughfares of our old towns, in the absence of solid pavements, were apt to become noxious sloughs, the convenient receptacles of all manner of outcast stuff, and thus prejudicial to public health. Divine laws were disregarded. Epidemics were invited, and they came. The forerunner of the plague was the uncleanliness of towns—their reeking accumulations of refuse. These frequent visitations in the seventeenth century are to be ascribed to the dirty and slovenly habits of the people. The floors of houses used commonly to be formed of clay, strewed with rushes, under which accumulated, unmolested, ancient collections of spilt beer, grease, fragments of foul bones, the refuse of dogs and cats, and everything that was not only unwholesome but offensive. Other causes of the visitation were that the streets of most towns were narrow and tortuous; the houses were almost invariably built of a framework of timber, filled in with plaster; while, in front, storey projected over storey, until, in many cases, the inhabitants might literally shake hands with their opposite neighbours out of the topmost windows. The rooms were low, dark, and badly ventilated; and the overhanging houses prevented a free circulation of air in the streets. The highways were either badly paved or not paved at all. There was an entire absence of proper drainage. Filth and garbage, including dead animals, were thrown into the public streets; corn was winnowed there: and pigs roamed at large, turning up and feeding upon decaying vegetables and other refuse. Windows were not made to open; watercourses were converted into unwholesome ditches; towns were walled against currents of fresh air. Open sewers in the centre of the streets

slowly rolled their contents towards a polluted river. Pure water for drinking purposes was scarcely to be had. Meat was cheap, and this, highly seasoned with spices, was indulged in to excess. Intemperance in drink was also sadly common. Horticulture was still in its infancy, and thus there was a great scarcity of culinary vegetables. Salads were not procurable in England; it is reported that Queen Catherine had pot-herbs brought from Holland. A custom also prevailed of wearing immoderately warm clothing, especially on the head, so that no disease was more prevalent in England at this time than catarrh. The increase of population, at a time when no sanitary arrangements were dreamt of, paved the way for the spread of those many diseases which also marked the sixteenth century.

Aylesbury has been plague-stricken, fever-stricken, cholera-stricken, and has at intervals suffered much from visitations of the small-pox. In December, 1603, the plague broke out in the town with great virulence, and many of the inhabitants died of it; this visitation caused the greatest alarm and consternation. In 1604 the malady re-appeared; none could be induced to enter the town; business was ruined for a time, the market unattended, and the county election held at Brickhill. In this year more than 30,000 died of it in London. In the year 1665 a pestilence raged with much violence in Aylesbury, the hotbed of the disease being the prison, on which occasion there was a great mortality at that place; it has been already referred to. In this year the plague again ravaged London, where 68,596 died; it also raged with great violence in several villages in Bucks, particularly Lavendon, near Newport Pagnell, in which small village 50 died; also Fenny Stratford, where 139 persons died of it. In 1784 a "putrid" fever again raged in Aylesbury Gaol, and it spread through the town and neighbourhood; amongst others, Samuel Wheeler the parish clerk of Aylesbury, died of it, so did Joseph Topping the bellman, and several others.

In the middle of the last century Aylesbury suffered from a dreadful attack of the small-pox; visitations of this horrible disease have been frequent since. Inhabitants of the last generation describe the town as being completely deserted during these periods of sickness; people from the neighbouring villages could not be induced to come near the place until by authority the town was certified to be free from the infectious and virulent disease. The parish register shows that in the year 1747 there were 77 deaths in the town; in the year following no less than 236 occurred; this excess is ascribed to the fatality occasioned by the small-pox. The attack of the year 1734 was general all through the Midland counties, and is reported to have carried off its victims in large numbers. At Bedford the Clerk of the Peace gave official notice that the small-pox raged in that town to so alarming an extent that the Quarter Sessions were adjourned to Ampthill. In January, 1755, the minister, churchwardens, and overseers of Dunstable certified in the public papers that their town was free from the distemper. At Northampton the same step was taken to satisfy intending visitors, the document bearing the names of the Mayor, eleven clergymen, and the churchwardens. At Olney, the

Vicar, churchwardens, and overseers informed the public that the disease of small-pox had entirely abated in that town, and that the fair would be held as usual. In old newspapers notices are very commonly met with, drawn up in the most carefully worded style, and signed by all the officials, announcing that their town was entirely free from small-pox. In the year 1765 there was another visitation, of great virulence, at Aylesbury ; the overseers' account of that year shows the precautions taken to prevent the spread of the disease ; this item occurs :—"1765, May 1—Paid a man for stopping the players coming from Leighton, 2s." A large number of deaths are also recorded in the Parish Registers as having been occasioned by this visitation at Marlow, Hampden, and High Wycombe.

Outbreaks of the plague and sickness recurred at intervals. Even so late as the year 1780, there was a sad epidemic of fever in Aylesbury. As in previous cases, it first appeared in the Gaol and was called the gaol fever. It led to deplorable results ; a woman visiting her husband, a debtor in the Gaol, from Stoke Goldington, returned to that village, taking the infection with her. An outbreak followed, and was fatal to a great many of the villagers. In the year 1804 a fever again raged in the Gaol ; it was on this occasion that Mr. Cross, of Aylesbury, the constable, received instructions from the War Office to remove the Government ammunition, then stored in the Gaol, and deposit it for safety in the Parish Church! This was to prevent the communication of the disease to the army officials who had the care of it and consequently had to visit the Gaol.

The notes left by the late Mr. John Gibbs, referring to the state of the town in his younger days, give us a very good account of its sanitary condition at that time ; these notes were written in 1842 :—

"I recollect the year 1800. At that date the general state of Aylesbury was wretched as compared with its present condition. The footways with few exceptions were bad, neglected, and impassable ; allowed to go to decay, they were repaired in a very rough and ready manner. Kingsbury in wet weather was a morass, not ankle deep, but knee deep, in mud. Walton Street was no better. The outskirts of the town abounded in filthy ditches. A wide gaping ditch was open all down the west side of Walton Street, and on the east side so bad was the construction of the footway that a rail was requisite to keep foot passengers from tumbling into the road. Mr. Acton Chaplin, who then resided in this street, did much to improve it ; he inclosed the ditch at the lower and worst part. Opposite to the Bear Inn, where the brick wall now stands, was an open receptacle for the accumulation of filth of the whole of Walton Street. In other parts of the town there were ditches quite as offensive and objectionable. From the entrance to Upper Hundreds on the south side of the Bierton Road, all along to Dropshort, was a ditch which was a public eyesore. Another ditch formed the boundary of the Friarage, at least that part now known as the 'iron rails ;' this ditch extended from Rickford's Hill to the bridge at Brook Cottage, and in it was the accumulation of the refuse of a poor and thickly populated district of the town, and it was rendered more objectionable by the cesspools and duck-ponds attached to the duckeries then existing in that neighbourhood. This, the most untidy part of the town, was not inaptly called the 'Common Dunghill.' White Hill had a ditch on each side ;

that on the north continuing until it reached Brook Cottage, where it emptied itself into the mill stream. There were ditches on both sides of the Buckingham Road; that on the Church or Bull Close side emptied into Bull Pond; on the other side it was continued, running round the boundary of Dell's Mount, opposite the Infirmary. No one thought of entering the town by way of the Oxford Road, in fact from its miserable state it was impassable; the traffic then passed up Castle Street. White Hill was in a like state; the street leading from the Nag's Head Inn to the Buckingham Road was not considered public; it was with the greatest difficulty that foot passengers could make a way through it, from its bad state. Dropshort was a slough; I have frequently trespassed on the adjoining meadow by crossing it, to avoid being stuck in the mud there. In my young days, before the principal streets in the town were pitched by the Trustees of the Turnpike Roads, they were often ankle deep in mud; females without the aid of a pair of high pattens would not venture across them."

Some idea of the state of the roadway, even in the centre of the town, may be obtained from an entry in the "Aylesbury Diary" for the year 1790, from which we learn that "the Warwick Mail, in passing the Bell corner, ran against the rails there and was upset, the guard being pitched into Impey's hog-stye at the Bell." The hog-stye must have been in close proximity to the street, or the guard's aërial flight of a considerable distance. An aged person relates that he once accidentally dropped a shilling in the street, near the George Inn; the coin at once disappeared in the deep mud, and was never recovered.

The only scavengers employed at Aylesbury half a century ago were pigs; they were honorary public servants. As a rule, offal was flung from the dwelling-houses into the streets, to be devoured by these animals. It was found that the supply of refuse garbage thus distributed was fully sufficient to maintain a good array of these gratuitous helpers, and it was the practice of some of the inhabitants to purchase pigs solely for the purpose of turning them into the public thoroughfares to obtain their own living; the speculation was found to pay for a time. Eventually the army of pigs so increased as to become a public nuisance, and the parish authorities were constrained to put an end to this system of pig-farming. In 1826 a satirical writer spoke favourably of these pig-scavengers:—

"This leads me to state the great utility of pigs, especially in such a place as Aylesbury. Pigs, in this town, are very numerous; and, taking all circumstances into consideration, it is extremely fortunate they are so. Their utility would, indeed, seem to be recognised even by the constituted authorities; for pigs here are indulged with a licence beyond the law. They are allowed the whole range of the town, and they swagger, like London parish beadles, as if conscious of official importance. A stranger who sees them, and does not know that Aylesbury is not a corporate borough, might even imagine they belonged to the corporation. In a populous town like Aylesbury, every person must be aware that many nuisances will be accumulated. On a market day the offal from the butchers' stalls and the refuse of gardeners' baskets, together with the litter of straw and numerous other articles, furnish an abundant supply of putrefying ingredients. What, then, can be done to abate the nuisance? What more handy than to let loose the pigs on a market evening, and give them the run of their teeth? The Aylesbury market is held on a Saturday, and Saturday evening is not long enough, numerous as are the Aylesbury pigs, for all the leavings to be picked up. Some weeks

ago the churchwardens, at the instance of the district magistrates, had threatened an infliction of the penalties of the law on persons who violated the sabbath; but the pursuits of pigs are 'works of necessity and mercy,' and their prowling is connived at on a Sunday morning. At Aylesbury, the pig is the only creature who is allowed on a Sunday to 'carry on his worldy calling;' for in Aylesbury the pigs are the only scavengers! Abundant, however, as the pigs are in Aylesbury, and assiduously as they labour in their vocation, the litter so accumulates that, unless the pigs be assisted, the nuisances must remain, and appear to the pigs' disgrace. Why, then, are not the services of ducks, who are reckoned fellow scavengers with pigs, invited to help them to eat up the dirt? Aylesbury is certainly as famous for ducks as for pigs; but the ducks are generally confined at their rearing place, in that outlet of the town not inaptly named 'the Common Dunghill.' In pity to the pigs the ducks ought to be called in as their auxiliaries; otherwise, it certainly will happen, as has been occasionally intimated, and is, indeed, now currently believed, that if the ducks of 'the Common Dunghill' cannot come to help the pigs to clear the market place and streets, the market place and streets must become for the ducks, as well as the pigs, a Common Dunghill."

Aylesbury was in no worse state as to its sanitary matters than other country towns at the same period. According to Beasley, in his "History of Banbury," in that town, although a corporate one, the streets abounded with pigs. He states that it was a privilege enjoyed by a Banbury man, that if he found three swine lying anywhere in a row in a public street, he could, if disposed, drive away the middle one and take its place. Whether this right was limited to the members of the Corporation or extended to the commonalty the local historian does not inform us.

In November, 1831, the country was alarmed by the approach of cholera; it first broke out at Sunderland with great violence. In the early part of 1832 it spread to several other towns in the North of England, and on the 1st February in that year it had been fatal in 3,311 cases. It visited Rotherhithe, where many fatal cases occurred, and so great was the alarm felt in London that the serious attention of the House of Commons was given to the calamity. In June of the same year some cases had been reported in Aylesbury; 15 had occurred, out of which five had proved fatal. In July, 141 cases were reported, after which the disease abated; up to the 13th of that month the number of attacks reached 229, of which 50 were fatal, that being a much smaller proportion than in many other towns. As soon as the disease showed itself at Aylesbury a Committee of Health was established, and relief was given to the sufferers requiring it. The medical men of the town gave every attention to the cases; printed instructions were issued as to the establishment of rigid rules of cleanliness, and a general supervision of the purlieus of the town was established. Temperate drinking and well cooked food were recommended, careful diet was to be observed, and an abstinence from unripe fruit and vegetables advocated. The funeral processions of those who died of cholera were dismal sights; they took place at night, being preceded by a man carrying a lantern. The usual slow and solemn funeral procession was dispensed with; the interments being hurried over as quickly as possible. In many cases those buried at night had been apparently in good health in the morning of the same day.

Sufficient proof has been given that sanitary matters in Aylesbury were much neglected in former years ; there appears to have been no acknowledged authority to deal with this defect in management. Improved public cleanliness has kept pace with the march of civilization, and we have now learned that good and efficient drainage, an abundant supply of good water, and a careful supervision in sanitary matters lead to the prolongation of human life. Science has also come to our aid, and we now know that cleanliness, sufficiency of clothing, simple food, and pure air are the great requisites by which health can be secured ; that innocent cheerfulness, while not necessarily connected with a reprehensible levity, is one of the strongest sanative powers—the powers which enable us to resist disease.

The general management of sanitary affairs, such as it was, continued for years under the superintendence of two parish surveyors ; but it was found that a more competent authority was needed. At a vestry held in 1842, these surveyors were superseded by an elected board of nine members, but little improvement followed. In December, 1848, Mr. Ranger, one of the Inspectors under the new Health of Towns Act, visited the town and opened an inquiry in the County Hall ; his report, being published, recommended an outlay of £17,000. This took the parishioners somewhat by surprise, and several public meetings were held on the subject of better sewerage and other town improvements. It was evident that decisive steps must be at once taken. After a great deal of discussion and recrimination a large meeting was held in the County Hall in September, 1849, when a Local Board of Health was elected, consisting of Mr. John Dell (chairman), Messrs. Z. D. Hunt, H. Watson, Robert Dell, Robert Gibbs, John Gunn, James Grace, and John Gurney. This was the first Board elected. Mr. Watson was appointed clerk, which occasioned one vacancy, and Mr. A. Tindal was added to the Board, being the next highest on the poll of the parishioners.

This new Board superseded the parish surveyors, also the Inspectors of lighting and watching ; indeed, with the exception of the management of the poor, it became the governing power of the town. The great defect with which the new authority had to contend was that of imperfect sewerage. No regular system of town drainage existed. The old sewers terminated in different outskirts of the town, but mostly discharged themselves into the mill-stream ; indeed, new sewers were constructed by the Board with the like termination. The additional amount of sewage consequent upon an increase in the population materially polluted the stream ; owners and occupiers of lands adjacent to it complained ; legal proceedings were threatened, and eventually an injunction was granted to prevent its further pollution. The Board of Health were now under the necessity of providing other means for the disposal of the town sewage. Several schemes were propounded, amongst others irrigation ; but it was thought the situation of the town and the general nature of the adjoining land were not suitable to that system. Further, the cost of its adoption was alarming to the ratepayers. By the plans laid before the Board an estimated outlay reaching £10,000 would be required.

When in the year 1870 the sewerage of the town approached completion, the Phosphate Company and the Native Guano Company put themselves in communication with the Local Board of Health ; and though the original intention of the Board had been to adopt the lime process, and the Works were constructed with that process in view, the Native Guano Company succeeded in obtaining a lease of the Works, for the purpose of dealing with the sewage by what is known as the A B C treatment. The process is here described. The sewage is conducted to the premises of the Company through a large culvert, which is the outlet of the town sewerage system. The brown, strongly odorous liquid passes from the culvert into an open "cross-cut," the name given to a long trench of mason-work, four feet wide, and allowing a stream of four inches deep ; and this cross-cut runs down past the ends of three tanks. Almost as soon as the sewage is received into the cross-cut there is let into it, from above, a stream of inky blackness that has been brought underground from a grinding and mixing-house. This stream is the "B C"—blood, charcoal, and clay, ground together, and mixed in water. This at once neutralises the smell, and from that initial point the whole process is free from any odorous effluvium whatever. Two or three feet farther on from the B C stream, a slightly-tinted stream of solution of sulphate of alumina, the " A" of the title, joins the sewage, which then flows on in the cross-cut, its course being deflected from side to side at every six feet by boards that extend obliquely in the direction of the stream across two-thirds of the channel, by which deflection is secured the thorough mixing of the compound. At the three tanks are watergates, to regulate the ingress of the fluid from the cross-cut. When the black liquid has been delivered into the tanks, chemical action sets in, and the alkaline matter of the sewage decomposes the sulphate of alumina, which separates in flocks, and each particle seizes hold of, and drags down with it, a particle of nitrogenous impurity. Then, too, the albumen which is in the blood coagulates by the action of the alum, and, joining with the alumina as it descends to the bottom, it makes a sort of net-work of fibres, dragging down out of the solution still more putrescible constituents. If the chemical action were limited to this, then the deposit would be so light in character that a very slight agitation of the water would cause turbidity, and the process would be to a considerable degree ineffective for the separation of the manure and for purification of the effluent water. It is here that the value of the addition of finely ground clay, mixed with water, becomes apparent. The sulphate of alumina in the mixture coagulates the clay, and in its descent the clay takes down with it much soluble organic matter, a quantity of colouring matter, and ammonia. All this action of precipitation by the alum, the blood, and the clay, though necessarily separate in description, is simultaneous in operation, and the heavy particles of clay give rapidity to the descent of all the matter in solution, and weight and solidity to the sedimentary deposit. Here the process might have stopped, a clear effluent and an easily dried manure deposit being obtained. The introduction of vegetable and animal charcoal carries the process to a perfection which the alum, blood, and clay alone could not ensure. It is probable that these three substances would have taken down into the

mass certain foul gases, and that the effluent water would have retained some colouring matter. To guard against these impurities, animal and vegetable charcoals are made constituents of the B C—more correctly the B C C,—and by them the impure gases are oxigenised, and the colouring matter is entirely eliminated.

The settling tanks have to be relieved of the surplus water and the manure deposit. Both processes are accomplished by means of a pump in the engine house, a hundred feet or so to the north-west of the tanks, and communicating with them by underground pipes. The superincumbent and superfluous water is pumped clear and inodorous into the effluent channel, and passes direct to the river. By the weight of the clay, as already stated, the deposit lies solid at the bottom of the tanks, and it is found that the water can be brought off to within an inch or two of the deposit without that deposit being at all disturbed. The water being discharged, the action of the pump is then shifted to another underground pipe, through which the mud—that is, the manure deposit—is drawn up to an iron tank, whence it is passed through filter presses, which, by means of compressed air, quickly deprive it of its superabundant moisture, and deliver it semi-dry cakes, somewhat resembling oil cake. These cakes are further dried by natural or artificial means. Though the deposit contains, of course, all the filth of which a town sewage is composed, there is not the slightest odour arising from it. When sufficiently dried the deposit is passed through a disintegrator, and becomes native guano, presenting the appearance of a fine black powder, free from smell, and is bagged for market. Twenty feet prior to the outflow cross-cut, joining at right angles the straight channel to the river, the bed of the cross-cut is paved with white Minton tiles, and again at intervals the brown cement bottom of the channel is intersected with a two feet band of Minton's, and over those white Minton tiles the colourless and brilliant purity of the effluent can be observed. Thus has been obtained all sought for, and much more. The effluent from the Sewage Works is so much better in character than the river water itself that the purity of the river is not merely preserved, it is really enhanced. Of the innocuousness of the effluent there is evidence, fish being observed swimming about in the lower channel, with every appearance of lively enjoyment.

For the completion of the sewerage and other purposes connected with it, the sum of £19,900 was raised upon the security of the rates, to be repaid in 30 years. The subsidy paid to the A B C Company was in the first instance £200 per annum; it was subsequently raised to £250.

On the resignation of Mr. Watson, as Clerk to the Board in 1870, Mr. G. Fell was elected.

LIGHTING.

The lighting of towns by combined effort is of modern date. Even in the metropolis it had no existence prior to the last century. So far back as the reign of the

hero of Agincourt, there was, indeed, street lighting, but in a sorry, makeshift sort of way. In 1418 an order was made that each honest person dwelling in the City should set "a lantern, with a candill therein," before his house, in promotion of the public peace. Whether systematic street-lighting was first adopted in England or on the Continent is an open question. Paris was the first that followed the example of the ancients by lighting its streets. Yet in 1524 it was still content with lights exhibited before the doors by the citizens. In London, in the latter years of the seventeenth century, householders were admonished to hang out a light every night from Michaelmas to Lady-day.

A Bill was introduced for street-lighting in 1736; and in the ninth year of the reign of George II. the Royal Assent was given to "An Act for the Better Enlightening the Streets of the City of London." The "oily rays," however feeble, were now shed abroad with uniform system; yet the hand-lantern was still in demand. The moving light was seen afar amid the "dim gleams" of the street lamps, and the inverted extinguisher was a fixture at the door of the great mansion, into which the torchbearer thrust his flambeau when no longer required. Slowly street-lighting moved onward. Through long generations the householders were contributing each his candle to the public service. Twinkling stars of light strove through "the blanket of the dark," producing an effect on which the "sickly glare" of oil was subsequently thought to be an improvement! But the rate of progress has been accelerated in modern days. In 1807 an experiment was made by lighting Pall Mall, London, with gas, which proved successful.

At the beginning of the present century the streets of Aylesbury were in a state of utter darkness after nightfall. There were no public lamps whatever. The earliest attempts at public lighting were made by Colonel Browne, an active resident magistrate, who with a few other townspeople opened a subscription for the purpose; the results of their labours were the erection of a few miserably dull oil lamps in the principal parts of the town. In the year 1822 the better lighting, watching, and cleansing the town became a necessity which forced itself upon the authorities; a vestry was held and a committee formed, and the following circular shows the first step taken to accomplish the lighting of the town:—

[Circular.]

"Sir,—At a vestry held this day you are appointed on the Committee to arrange the plan of application to Parliament for Watching, Lighting, and Cleaning Act for Aylesbury with Walton, as agreed at a former vestry, and such Committee will meet at the usual vestry place on Friday, the 2nd of August next, at 12 o'Clock.

"Aylesbury Vestry, July 26th, 1822.

"W. Locke, Assistant Overseer.

"To Mr. John Gibbs."

Little progress resulted from this vestry; still, a few more public lamps were erected, which were paid for by the subscriptions of the leading inhabitants. After a while the voluntary system fairly broke down, and it was resolved by some of the

townspeople to apply to Parliament for a local Act for the purposes of lighting and watching. This was strenuously opposed by a large section of the ratepayers, and was abandoned. The subject remained in abeyance until November, 1825, when a meeting of the inhabitants was held in the County Hall, to take into consideration the propriety of applying to Parliament for an Act for the purpose of "Lighting, watching, paving, cleansing, regulating, and improving the Town of Aylesbury and Hamlet of Walton." William Rickford, Esq., M.P., was called to the chair. Mr. Thomas Dell submitted two resolutions—the first stating the necessity of an Act of Parliament for the purposes specified, and the expediency of taking measures for obtaining such Act; and the second proposing that a Committee be formed for preparing the preliminary steps and settling the necessary details. Mr. Thomas Bell, on behalf of the inhabitants of Walton, observed that they were unanimous in their feeling in wishing to be left out of the business altogether. They wished to be, as they had been, distinct. The Walton party present being disposed to retain this attitude, it was proposed to amend the resolution by omitting any reference to the hamlet of Walton. After a very long and desultory discussion, a resolution, of which the following is the substance, was proposed by Mr. Churchill :—"That a Committee of twenty of the persons present be appointed, six of whom be deputed to wait upon the inhabitants and ascertain their sentiments on the measure proposed; that upon the decision of such Committee the meeting depend respecting their procedure as to the details; and that five of the aforesaid persons be a quorum of the Committee."

In January, 1826, another meeting was held in the County Hall to receive the report of the Committee. Mr. W. Bull was called to the chair, when a lengthy report was read, recommending that an Act of Parliament be obtained for giving the Commissioners powers to light with oil or gas, and watch the town, to pave and repair the footways, in conjunction, or not, with the trustees of Bedford's Charity, as the latter shall think fit, and as occasion may offer to improve and open streets in narrow situations, when the adjoining buildings are in course of re-erection, or the proprietors consenting, with all proper stipulations for protecting the property of individuals, and to scavenge and cleanse the streets, with the usual power for preventing and removing annoyances, nuisances, and obstructions, and also giving them further powers. Other sections of the proposed Act having been read, Mr. William Hickman Poole moved that the business be adjourned to that day six months. Much desultory conversation ensued, in which the opponents of the measure were the principal and almost the only speakers, and which terminated in the motion being put with a few alterations, when the show of hands was in its favour. Mr. Poole's proposition was consequently carried. Mr. Rose, the solicitor, who prepared the report, said he was instructed to inform the meeting that, notwithstanding the opposition which had been raised, an application would be made to Parliament for a Bill to light and watch the town. Some one immediately replied that a petition would be prepared against it. In the following month it was announced that the application for the Act was for

the present suspended. A meeting of the committee appointed to conduct the preliminary business of an application for the Act had been held, when Mr. Thomas Dell observed that he had seen a protest against the intended application, very numerously and respectably signed, which convinced him that it was an ill-timed measure, and contrary to the sense of the majority of the inhabitants; he, therefore, proposed that the committee should adjourn *sine die*. Mr. Churchill seconded this motion. The question was once more shelved for a time, and the voluntary system again resorted to.

In April, 1829, in consequence of a notice given at the places of worship in the town, about eighty inhabitants met to consider the proper steps to be taken to have the streets more efficiently watched and lighted. It was stated that the meeting had been convened in consequence of the low state of the funds for watching the town, occasioned by the falling off of the voluntary subscriptions, and because it was anticipated that there would be still fewer subscribers to the next half-yearly collection; the Committee had therefore thought it better to put the public in possession of the fact, leaving to them to pursue such steps as they thought proper. It was proposed that two watchmen should be employed in winter and one in summer, and that 40 lamps should be lighted in addition to those kept up at individual expense. It was shown that the probable cost of watching and lighting the town in the manner proposed might be defrayed by the payment of a sixpenny rate. The cost of the necessary appliances would be supplied by a voluntary subscription of the opulent inhabitants. A few days after, Mr. Churchill announced that £50 had been subscribed to watch and light the town for the next twelve months; further, that the collectors of the fund declined to act again, and he found that it was the general impression throughout the place that an Act of Parliament was the only means of providing the funds for proper public lighting and watching. No parish squabble ever lasted so long, or was fought with such determination on both sides, as the one relating to the business of lighting and watching; the question at issue was, whether the fund required should be raised by voluntary contributions or by the imperative operation of an Act of Parliament.

In 1830, the opposing parties were brought together, as a general Bill for Lighting and Watching Towns was introduced into the House of Commons, and passed; it superseded the promotion of any local Act for the purpose. This Act was adopted at Aylesbury; a Board of Lighting and Watching Inspectors was elected; and in January, 1832, a lighting and watching rate of 9d. in the pound on houses and 3d. on land was made; this being the first assessment for such purpose. In March, 1834, a project was set on foot for lighting the town with gas; a Gas Company was formed, with a capital of £4,000; and on the 23rd of September, 1834, the streets of Aylesbury were for the first time so illuminated. It was a gay day in consequence; there was public cooking by gas in the morning, and a dinner to townsmen at the White Hart in the afternoon, and in the evening the town was all ablaze; the County Hall and many

other places were beautifully illuminated by gas lights, and the public and private lights added to the gaiety. It was a "flare up" indeed, and it appropriately concluded with a display of fireworks.

The history of our race has not a more amusing chapter than that which concerns the forecasts and fears of society; the race of croakers will never become extinct. By the introduction of gas, the whale was to swim about uncaught; fat beasts would be reduced in value, as no tallow would be wanted; the chandlers would be starved, just as it was prophesied that ship-building would decline for want of English oak, and that the locomotive would destroy the breed of horses. We can now afford to laugh at all these silly prognostications. The world is ever making new conquests, while not throwing aside the old. Society is not unthrifty; it adds to its roll of handmaids, and further arrivals do not foreshadow the departure of their forerunners. Notwithstanding the introduction of gas, now nearly a century ago, oil is still in such demand that the earth itself has been harpooned. On land as on sea oil is struck; and the mineral supply sheds its serene light over a million firesides. Oil, gas, and candle have yet a long lease of social service to run; while the electric light has before it a career as yet but dimly seen in our brightest dreams.

WATCHING.

The conservancy of the peace, during the Anglo-Saxon era, was lodged in the Sheriff, an officer chosen in the folkmote, by the freeholders of each county. This officer made half-yearly visitations, at Lady-day and Michaelmas, to each hundred in the county. The visitation was called the Sheriff's Tourn. In every hundred there were ten decennaries, each composed of ten freeholders, all of whom were reciprocally pledged for each other within their decennary to satisfy justice, in case of delinquency. Moreover, in each decennary, one was chosen as the chief of his nine companions; and the whole together were bound to bring the delinquents to justice within thirty days. If the men of the decennary to which the delinquent belonged could not purge themselves of the guilt and flight of the delinquent, and in case the estate of the latter were not sufficient to satisfy the ends of justice, then they themselves were liable to discharge the same out of their own estates or property.

To the visitations of the Sheriff every freeholder, with his servant or servants, after he had passed the age of 12, was compelled to resort, where he was sworn to keep the peace, and obliged to state to what decennary he belonged. Thus every subject in the kingdom was registered, and no person suffered to remain therein who was not so registered. Neither could any one even depart from his dwelling without the consent of his fellow pledges, nor out of the county without the consent of the sheriff.

By these admirable regulations peace was preserved within the realm, and robberies, thefts, tumults, riots, and other felonies seldom escaped detection; and in case of the escape of an offender, the Sheriff, with the *posse comitatus*, which attended at his beck,

could raise a whole county, and soon capture the delinquent, upon whom summary punishment was inflicted, according to the nature of the offence. Infractions of the peace were punished by fines, called fightwitt, grithbrece, or frithbreck, and delinquents moreover were ordinarily compelled to put in sureties for their preserving the peace in future. If there were more than one delinquent, the fine was increased according to the number; if seven, it was called a riot, and the fine was then called flothbote; if thirty-five, or more, then it was deemed a rebellion.

We subsequently read of "watch" and "ward." Watch was a night duty, whilst ward was a service to be performed in the day time. The ancient statutes directed that in all towns, between the Day of Ascension and Michaelmas-day, night watches were to be kept—in cities, with six men at every gate, in towns four, and in every borough twelve men to watch, or according to the number of the inhabitants of the place, from sun setting to sun rising; they were bound to arrest strangers suspected, and make hue and cry after them, and were justified in detaining them until the morning. Every justice of the peace could cause these watches to be duly kept, and they were composed of able-bodied men, sufficiently armed. None but inhabitants of a town were compelled to watch, and they were bound to take their turn or to find sufficient persons as their deputies; on refusal they were liable to be indicted for neglect of duty.

Eventually regularly paid watchmen were employed. Had a council of thieves been consulted, the regulations as to watchmen could not have been better contrived for their accommodation. The outer coats of the men were generally of a light colour, so that thieves could discern their approach at a great distance, and that there might be no mistake as to their whereabouts they carried a lantern. Then there was the old custom of crying the hour and announcing the state of the night. "Past twelve and a cloudy night"* was the old cry which has kept awake many a light sleeper. To instil terror into nocturnal marauders, the watchman was accompanied by a great bull-dog, about as useless as himself in any attempt to capture a burglar. They seemed to take every means to give to thieves a timely warning of their approach, and every opportunity of escape. They were in the same position as the cat with the bell, which gave the mice intelligence of her approach. The men, too, in most cases, were entirely unfit for their duties, and were often chosen for the purpose of keeping them free from the receipt of parish relief, being mostly old, infirm, and on the verge of pauperism.

In the year 1825 there was nothing in the shape of day watching at Aylesbury; Sunday morning trading was common. An attempt was made to improve the morals of some of the shopkeepers in this respect, as a considerable business was done, many holding an opinion that Sunday did not commence until the bells rang for Church. In this year the Churchwardens and Constables were ordered to prohibit all persons from carrying on their worldly avocations on the Lord's Day. This announcement, coming

* 1660, January 16th.—"I staid up till the bell-man came with his bell just under my window, and cried 'Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty morning!'"—*Pepy's Diary.*

unexpectedly, appears to have overwhelmed with consternation some classes of tradesmen. Sunday trading prevailed in Aylesbury to a much greater extent than in many other country towns, and appeared the greater when contrasted with the good order for which this place was generally distinguished. Barbers, greengrocers, chandlers, and others who did a good trade on Sunday mornings had now to keep their shops strictly closed.

The first duty of watching would include vigilance in the case of an outbreak of fire. Of late years Aylesbury has enjoyed a remarkable immunity from such calamities; no fire of importance has occurred for a very long time. It was not so in former years. In 1699 there was a fire in Walton, which caused great loss and consequent distress, and upon which occasion the overseers relieved the sufferers, who were poor people, from the parish funds. There was a tremendous fire in the year 1750, which created much alarm, as well it might, for at one time it threatened the destruction of a great part of the town. This fire happened in the vicinity of the present new church of St. John's, in Cambridge Street. It was occasioned by the accidental ignition of a large quantity of furze which had been collected for the use of brick-burning at the kiln, which in later years was known as Read's, but at the time of the fire was occupied by James Lee. A violent east wind was blowing, which drove the burning fragments towards the town, particularly to that part then known as "Behind Church," and the houses being mostly thatched, great devastation was caused. Amongst others destroyed were Lee's dwelling house and offices, and the Dog and Duck public-house, then a thatched building, which stood on the site of the house now known as the Nag's Head.

The only official record of this fire is to be found in the parish register of May, 1750, and there the calamity is expressed in a very few words—"In this month the fire Behind Church happened." This entry shows that the fire spread a long distance from the point of its outbreak. In the parish accounts it is found that the churchwardens made a payment to the sexton of 2s. 8d., "For ale for the men who removed the engines from James Lee's brick-kiln to the church." The following account of this fire appeared in the *Northampton Mercury* of May 14th, 1750:—"We hear from Ailesbury, in Bucks, that on Monday last, about two in the afternoon, a terrible fire broke out in that town, occasioned by a quantity of furze belonging to a brick-kiln taking fire, the fleaks of which, by the violence of the wind, were drove to the out-houses of the town, which being chiefly thatched, they burnt and spread with such rapidity, that between 30 and 40 houses were reduced to ashes, together with great quantities of corn, malt, &c."

The effects of this fire were most disastrous, as the damage done principally fell amongst the poor inhabitants of the district of the town in which it occurred, many of whom lost all they possessed in the shape of household goods. A general

appeal for assistance was made. The following is a copy of one of the "letters of request;" this was sent to Winslow:—

"*Letter of Request for Aylesbury Ffire, Bucks.*

"To all charitable and well-disposed persons.

"It is humbly represented that on Monday, the seventh of this instant May, 1750, a most sudden and dreadful ffire happened in the town of Aylesbury, which raged very much, and in the space of three hours set ffire to and consumed twenty and six dwelling houses, and very much damaged some others, besides barns, stables, out-houses, &c., together with large quantities of household goods, corn, hay, ffuel, and other materials belonging to the sufferers, which, upon a moderate estimation, amounts to the sum of one thousand six hundred pounds and upwards, exclusive of all insurances. The desolation and misery of these unfortunate persons is acknowledged by all who have seen this dreadful scene to be beyond expression. And these, their most pressing necessities, have obliged the poor sufferers thus to apply for relief by Letters of Request, humbly hoping that all charitable persons will esteem them proper objects of compassion and charity, and speedily and carefully contribute to their relief and assistance in this their great calamity. And they have chose for their trustees, with power to them or any five of them, to distribute the charity among the poor sufferers, according to their directions—The Honourable Sir William Stanhope, Knight of the Bath; Richard Lowndes, Esq.; The Right Honourable the Earl of Inchiquin; Edward Willis, Esq.; Sir William Lee, Baronet; John Piggott, Giles Burrows, Thomas Ingoldsby, John Wilkes, John Paty, Hugh Barker Bell, Thomas Edwards, John Bristow, John Dashwood King, John Vanhattem, Richard Saunders, William James, Thomas Hill, Bernard Turney, William Hayton, and Thomas Sheppard, Esquires; the Honourable and Reverend Doctor Carmichael, John Taylor, D.D., Edward Jones, D.D., the Reverend Decimus Reynolds, Robert Smith, Stephen Walsh, John Stevens Clarke, Wilson Williams, Edward Price, John Patten Burnham, William Shelton, Robert Jemmett, Jacob Dell, Samuel Ffennell, Thomas Towers, Richard Terry, and Thomas Kempster, gentlemen.

"N.B.—It is desired that these collections may be completed in a fortnight after receipt of this, and indorse the same under the hand of the Minister and Churchwardens, of the sum collected, and a proper person, authorized by the trustees, will be sent to receive the same."

In 1765, another large fire happened; this was at Robinson's stables at the Crown Inn; in this case the churchwardens' account is debited for "Payments to labourers at the fire at the Crown stables, £10;" a few days after a further payment of 30s. was made for the same fire, and on the same page is an item of a receipt "From the Sun Fire Office, £6 10s., on account of the Crown fire."*

On the passing of the General Lighting and Watching Act of 1830, the Board elected at Aylesbury undertook the management of the Fire Brigade, which arrangement was continued until that Board was superseded by the Local Board of Health in 1849. In 1857, the Justices of the county adopted the new Police Act. The Aylesbury Board of Health then surrendered their police authority, and the duty of watching the town passed to the care of the Chief Constable of the county.

* At the present time (1884) an organised and well equipped Fire Brigade is in existence, and a modern fire-engine, with all requirements, is stationed in a central part of the town; a fire-escape is attached.

WATER SUPPLY.

The earliest public water supply was by conduits, buildings erected in various parts of cities and towns, to which water was conveyed from some spring or reservoir in the neighbourhood, and from which buildings persons had to obtain the supply they required. Water was not laid on to houses as now. In 1478 a case is recorded where "a wax chandler in Flete Strete had by crafte perced a pipe of the condit withynne the ground, and so conveied the water into his selar; wherefore he was judged to ride through the citie with a condit (water can) upon his hedde, and the City crier was to walk before him proclaiming his offence." The first house-supply of water we hear of was therefore a surreptitious one. Some of the inhabitants of Aylesbury may be surprised when informed that the town was supplied with water more that 150 years ago, of which fact this copy of an original deed still in existence gives proof :—

"Memorandum,—Whereas Mrs. Mary Meade, of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks, widdow, for and in behalf of her daughter, Mrs. Mary Meade, hath granted to Benjamin Burroughs, Esq., of Aylesbury, in the said County, and John Delafield, of White Cross Street, London, in the County of Middlesex, Leatherseller, proprietors of the Waterworks, in Aylesbury aforesaid, leave and liberty to break up the waste ground of the Mannour of that part of Aylesbury called or known by the name of the Parson's Fee, in the town of Aylesbury aforesaid, for the laying of pipes for the conveying water to the Inhabitants thereof, at such times and in such manner as shall be necessary for conveying the said water, not doing any willfull harm or damage to the inhabitants of the said Mannour; the said Benjamin Burroughs, Esq., and John Delafield do hereby oblige themselves, their heirs, executors, and assigns, in consideration of the leave and liberty to them granted, so long as they shall enjoy the same, to pay or cause to be paid unto Mrs. Mary Meade, the younger, Lady of the same Mannour, and to her successors, the yearly rent or sum of one shilling, the first payment thereof to be made on the 29th day of September, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1734, in witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 25th day of August, in the year of our Lord Christ, 1733.

BEN. BURROUGHS.
JNO. DELAFIELD.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, being first duly stamped, in presence of—

JOSEPH BURROUGHS.
JACOB DELL."

In disturbing the surface of the streets for the purpose of laying other mains, the original pipes by which this water was conveyed are met with, but now very rarely, having been displaced one by one according to circumstances. The last unearthed were found at the Bell corner, and at the junction of Kingsbury with the Market Place. These conduits are of the roughest description, made of elm tops, each about five feet long, having a 3-inch bore. How the joints were made perfectly water-tight is a difficulty to explain; they appear to have been caulked with pieces of cotton forced into the joints, somewhat as shipbuilders deal with the hulls of vessels. Mr. Delafield, one of the parties to the above deed, died in 1763; he married Martha, daughter of Jacob Dell, of Aylesbury, and thus a connexion is traced between this Water Company and Dell's Brewery, in Bourbon Street,

formerly known as Waterhouse Street. The family of Burrows, or Burroughs, was connected with Long Crendon. A Giles Borroughs of that village was High Sheriff for Bucks in the year 1744-5. The name is met with in Dr. Lee's "History of the Prebendal Church of Thame," quoted from the "History of the Family of Burrows," from which it appears that Giles Burrows, "gentleman," acquired lands in Walton, Aylesbury, and elsewhere. The following is an extract from the Sheriff's will:—"Also to Mr. Thomas Hill, of Aylesbury, merchant, the sum of five guineas, all my laced waistcoats, and also a light-coloured waistcoat that was laced when I was Sheriff of the county of Bucks, and likewise the lace that was on it, and is now taken off." This was probably gold or silver lace. Mr. Hill's name appears in the letter of request issued at the great fire.

The water supplied by Messrs. Burroughs and Delafield was raised from the Friarage stream to the top of the brewery premises by horse machinery; this ancient mode of pumping existed in use there until within the last few years. The area over which the water service was laid was probably limited to a small portion of the town; it need not be added that the scheme was not very acceptable and was eventually abandoned. The discontinuance of this supply led to a new branch of business in the town, which was taken in hand by the Jemmy Tucker fraternity. Water carts were started; the water being obtained from the Bear Brook in Walton Street; the price charged was ½d. per pail, or 6d. for a load; it was hawked through the streets at all hours of the day; it was useful for washing purposes, but was not drinkable.

In the year 1825, another public supply of water was introduced, which for a time gave great promise of success. The county magistrates erected pumping machinery, which was attached to the prison tread-wheel. A considerable addition was made to the height of one of the principal buildings on the gaol premises, and on the summit an iron tank was fixed, capable of holding several hundred gallons of water. By means of the hard labour inflicted on prisoners, water was thus raised from the Bear brook into this elevated tank. Iron pipes were laid throughout the principal streets of the town and water was supplied to those who thought fit to subscribe for it. At first this supply was popular, but either from a lack of patronage or cost to the consumer the demand waned, and after awhile this source of obtaining water ceased altogether. In the year 1846, the prison buildings were pulled down, and the machinery connected with this water supply followed soon after.

It is amusing to read in old documents of the very moderate requirements of our predecessors as to their water supply. On the formation of the Gaol water system, it was recorded that—"On taking a level it was found that the reservoir on the top of the House of Correction at Aylesbury was not sufficiently elevated to supply the cistern at Mr. Dell's brewery. Measures were, therefore, immediately adopted for raising the walls of the gaol building, and placing the reservoir nine or ten feet higher. The reservoir at the House of Correction is calculated to contain about 860 barrels, and Mr. Dell's cistern about 180 barrels. To have such large quantities of water

available in case of an alarm of fire in the town is a most valuable advantage to the public; and it is gratifying to learn that the parish officers are disposed to adopt the establishment of fire plugs at certain advantageous spots, in the course of the main, and to recommend to the vestry the defraying of the expense." The stock of water would thus, at its utmost extent, reach to about 37,000 gallons, of which the town authorities were exceedingly proud, and anxious to make the best of, for, at the same period, "a vestry meeting of the parishioners was held pursuant to notice, to consider, among other subjects, the propriety of affixing fire-plugs on the main of the intended new water pipes to be laid down in the town. After some discussion, it was unanimously agreed that two plugs should be accordingly fixed, under the superintendence of the church-wardens, one near the Crown Inn sign-post, in the Market Place, and the other at the end of Temple Street, and that the expence thereof be defrayed out of the church-rate."

In December, 1848, a plan was proposed for supplying the town with water from an Artesian well, to be sunk in the Friarage; but it was not introduced. In 1850 several plans were devised, varying in estimated outlays from £1,500 to £5,000. Eight years more passed over, and in 1858 the question was again brought to the front. It was then proposed to erect water-works in Bull Close, Buckingham Street, and pump the supply from the Mill Stream; the capital required was computed at £3,000. This movement went so far as the formation of a provisional committee, consisting of Dr. Bickersteth, Messrs. Bartlett, Tindal, Baynes, Hatten, Jos. Parrott, A. Self, J. K. Fowler, Robert Gibbs, J. Griffits, J. Ward, Robert Dell, T. Field, and J. Allen; 140 shares were subscribed for, but the scheme failed. In November, 1863, notices were published of an intention to apply to parliament for an Act authorising the formation of a Company to be called the "Chiltern Hills Water Company," for the purpose of supplying the town of Aylesbury with water. The Act was obtained; shares were taken up with avidity, and the company proceeded with the undertaking. Land had been secured at Dancer's End, on the summit of the Aston Clinton Hills; elaborate works were erected, deep wells sunk, adits formed, and mains laid to Aylesbury. The inauguration of the works took place on the 18th of September, 1867, in the presence of the members for the borough, Mr. N. M. de Rothschild and Mr. Smith, Mr. James, the chairman of the Company, and a few of the leading inhabitants. The requirement of water for the town at the present time is estimated at 195,000 gallons daily. Great force is obtained by the altitude of the works at Dancer's End, so that the water is used as a motive power in breweries, printing offices, and factories. It is an error to suppose that the water reaches the consumer in its natural state. A supply from a chalk formation of the character of the Dancer's End district would be so hard as to be unfit for household purposes generally. It has to undergo a softening process; that adopted by the Chiltern Hills Company is known as Clarke's; it is simple and efficacious, but could not be easily explained to the general reader.

Chapter XLVII.—SOCIAL MATTERS *(concluded)*.

First Poor Law—Distress in last century—Locke and DeFoe on poor relief—Workhouses—increase of poor rates—Farming the poor—Surplus labour.—Labour subsidised—evil effects of—Attempt to fix price of labour—Old Workhouse—New Workhouse—Thrift discountenanced—Scale of poor relief—Chronological review of prices, labour, &c.—Bad times in 1816—1824—1832—*Evil effects of out-relief—Increase of pauperism—Dissatisfaction—Riots—New Poor Law—Aylesbury Union—Union House.*

IN the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a provision for the relief of the poor became necessary, on account of the destruction of the Monasteries and the alienation of their revenues. An Act of Parliament in her reign directed the overseers of the poor in every parish to "take order for setting to work the children of all such parents as shall not be thought able to maintain their children, as well as all such persons as, having no means to maintain them, use no ordinary trade to get their living by." For this purpose the overseers were empowered to raise, weekly or otherwise, by the taxation of every inhabitant, and of every occupier of lands, houses, tithes, mines, &c., such sums of money as were required for providing a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool or other ware or stuff to set the poor at work on ; thus the origin of the term "workhouse." The overseers were further empowered to build poor-houses, at the charge of the parish, for the reception of the impotent *only*. There was no provision made for the able-bodied, as they were all expected to provide for themselves. Thus it was in Elizabeth's reign that the first compulsory poor-rate was made.

The distress occasioned by bad seasons, decay of trade, and the impoverishing wars of William III. and Queen Anne attracted attention to the destitute state of the poor. In 1697 John Locke, in his capacity as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Trade, drew up a report, in which he expressed an opinion that half of those who received parish aid were able to get their own livelihood. In 1704, Daniel DeFoe published an address to Parliament, entitled, "Giving Alms no Charity," in which he laid down that there was more labour in England than hands to perform it ; no man of sound limbs could be poor merely from want of work ; all workhouses, corporations, and charities for

employing poor were public nuisances, and increased the poor. He considered the improvidence of the poor a principal cause of their wretchedness; we are, said he, "the most *lazy diligent* people in the world." In 1751, the House of Commons procured a return of monies annually paid to the poor from 1747 to 1750; it was found that the poor-rates, which at the end of the reign of Charles II. amounted to £665,362, had increased to upwards of three millions. Notwithstanding this, a bill was under the consideration of the House of Commons for granting certain privileges to *encourage the poor to marry*.

In 1795, a precedent was established which was extensively followed in Bucks, and probably throughout the district generally. In order to meet the wants of the labouring population caused by the high price of provisions, an allowance in proportion to the number of the family was paid out of the parish fund to every labourer who applied for relief, over and above his weekly wages. It was a mischievous practice, though conceived in a spirit of benevolence, and the readiness with which it was adopted clearly proved the general want of sound views on the subject. Under this allowance system, the labourer received a part of the means of subsistence in the form of a parish gift, and as the fund out of which it was provided was raised from the contributions of those who did not employ labourers as well as those who did, their employers, being able in part to burthen others with the payment for their labour, had a direct interest in perpetuating the system. Employers looked upon the parish contribution as part of the fund out of which their labourers were to be paid. Just, then, in proportion as the parish subsidized the labourers' pay did labour sink in value. The labourers also looked on the parish fund as a source of income independent of their labour wages, and it little concerned them what the sum was they received of their employer. Cases were brought before the magistrates where employers paid able-bodied men but 3s. per week, the parish making up the deficiency. In one case six men were at work on one farm at these miserable wages. Under such a system the labourer looked to the parish aid as a matter of right, without any regard to his real wants, and he received the wages of his labour as a secondary means of subsistence. His character as a labourer became of less value, and his value as such was thus diminished under the combined operation of these two causes. An Act was also passed at this period to allow justices to administer relief out of the workhouses, and to grant it to such poor persons as had property of their own.

In 1796, the state of the poor was discussed in Parliament. A bill had been introduced to regulate the wages of labourers in husbandry. On its second reading Mr. Whitbread said, "in most parts of the country the labourers had long been struggling with increasing misery, till the pressure had become almost too grievous to be endured." He recommended the immediate establishment of a minimum of wages; a measure as unjust against the employer as a maximum would be against the employed. Mr. Pitt, in reply, admitted the state of the poor to be grievous, but argued against the proposition of Mr. Whitbread as contrary to sound principles. In 1807, Mr. Whitbread again

introduced the subject in the House of Commons; it appeared, from a return made, that in a population in England and Wales of 8,870,000, not less than 1,234,000 were partakers of parochial relief.*

The Workhouse at Aylesbury was situate in the north-east corner of, and opened into, the Church-yard. The Church-yard frontage is transformed into cottages, and the rear occupied by the British School buildings. The inmates of the Workhouse were a heterogenous family; paupers, pauper lunatics, idiots, imbeciles, infirm, aged, impotent, wayfarers, orphans, and the children of many fathers were all huddled together. Classification, excepting in the male and female dormitories, could be but feebly carried out; the inmates were allowed to wander wherever they pleased during the day, but were generally found at hand at meal times. The original idea of work for which the house was at first intended had long been discarded, and nothing left of it but the name. In its early simplicity the principal of the house was merely the housekeeper for the parish; food and other requirements being paid for direct from the parish funds.

The workhouse family was found to increase year after year, and parish officers consequently resorted to the farming process; tenders were obtained from speculators ready to undertake the board, clothing, and general management of workhouses at so much per head per week. The contracts would of course vary according to the prices of food. The first heard of application of this system to Aylesbury was in 1781, when "Mr. William Foreman agreed to maintain the poor of this parish for the sum of £669, for the term of one year, and Mr. Edward Terry and Mr. J. Berry were bail for him." In 1825, the contract per head per week was 4s. 6d. £20 was subsequently allowed the contractor for his loss on his contract in the former year in consequence of the unexpected rise in the price of provisions. Thrift amongst the poor was discountenanced rather than encouraged; at the formation of the Aylesbury Savings' Bank one of the original rules prohibited the receiving of any deposit from a pauper.

Consequent upon the severity of the distress, paupers flocked into the Workhouse; it was overflowing with inmates. There had been a visible increase in the last few years, and it became impossible to accommodate the applicants for admission in the old premises. Vestries were called and recalled in the difficulty, and it was at last resolved to build a new and much larger house. It was in this emergency that Mr. Rickford offered the gift of two acres of land in the Oxford Road for the proposed new building, which was gladly accepted; the cost of the building was estimated at £3,000; it was erected in 1829 on the spot which is now occupied by the Silk Mill property, Mount Street, and the National School premises. Although the building was not placed in the most inviting part of the town it answered every purpose until it was superseded by the

* An old "Aylesbury Diary," to which reference has frequently been made, whilst dealing with many unimportant items of the date of the latter part of the last century, makes no mention whatever of distress; the subject is not even alluded to, nor does the term "distress" occur. We may, therefore, take it for granted that the industrious poor of Aylesbury were at that period comfortably off and content.

house erected subsequently to the formation of the Aylesbury Union. Under the old poor law, the overseers, although the responsible managers of the poor, had but little command over the parish funds. The weekly allowances to paupers were settled by the justices in petty session, but the parish officers had no voice in determining the amount to be paid. In 1829 the justices ordered that the weekly scale of poor relief for persons out of employ should be—man and wife, 5s. 6d.; old man, 4s.; old woman, 3s. 6d.; man, wife, and child, 6s.; two children, 7s.; three children, 8s.; four children, 9s. 6d.; five children, 10s. 6d.; widows, 2s.; widow and child, 3s.; widower, 3s., and 1s. more with each child; this rate of relief was subsequently increased.

CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF SOCIAL MATTERS.

A concise chronological review of social matters, prices of provisions, value of labour, and other incidents, from the beginning of the present century to the passing of the new Poor Law Act, will give an insight into the state of the district of which Aylesbury is the centre:—1801—Price of half-peck loaf, 3s. 6d.; it was shortly after reduced to 1s. 6d.; wheat, £47 the load; it rapidly went down to £15; imports of wheat for the year, 150 quarters. 1802—Imports of wheat, 108,751 qrs. 1803—Wages, 11s. per week; imports of wheat, 61,267 qrs. 1804—Price of half-peck loaf, 2s. 9d. 1805—Wheat at Aylesbury, 91s. per qr. 1810—Average rent of land in Bucks—arable 20s. 6d., dairy 36s., mixed 25s. 10d., general average 27s. 7d. Poor rates—Stony Stratford, 21s. in the pound; at Fenny Stratford, 3s. 6d.; Aylesbury, 6s.; Wendover. 7s.; Risborough, 10s.; Chesham, 4s.; average in Bucks, 5s. 2d. 1811—Wheat, £37 5s. per load; labourers' wages, 13s. 6d. 1812—The half-peck loaf, 3s. 3d. 1814—A memorable frost, which brought cold, hunger, and distress to every poor man's door; coals were £5 per ton at Aylesbury. Corn fell rapidly in price. 1815—Parliament passed a new Corn Law, by which the importation of foreign wheat was prohibited till the home price reached 80s. The market continued low, and for a time exposed both farmers and the public to the evils of sudden transition.

In the year 1816 many things conspired to reduce the value of labour. Manufacturing operations were paralysed; agricultural produce was suddenly reduced to half its former value, and farming operations were altogether suspended in many parts of the kingdom. Labour everywhere failed to obtain remunerative employment. The navy had suddenly been reduced from 100,000 men to 33,000; the militia had been disbanded, and the establishment of the regular army much contracted—at a time when the supply of workmen was already in excess, some 200,000 able-bodied men had been added to the crowd seeking employment. The hopes which the peace had raised had been suddenly turned into the most bitter disappointment. Distress was visible in every class of life. The home trade was at a stand still; landlords received no rents, the tenants could sell no corn. In one instance 5,000, in another 3,000 acres of land were offered to tenants rent free, but none accepted them. Distress pervaded every branch of commerce, nothing seemed wanting to complete the universal misery and distress; but the cup of

suffering was not yet full. If labour was scarce, bread had all at once become cheap, and in the cheapness of their chief article of food the labouring community found some moderate consolation. A wet and chilly spring threatened to deprive them of this advantage. The harvest seemed imperilled by the rain; wheat, at the end of April, touched 80s. a quarter, and the old prices seemed on the eve of returning. Farms, which had been thrown out of cultivation, were re-let; the incoming tenants mistaking the rise of prices, which was due to the first threatenings of dearth, for the effect of the war in creating an excessive demand. Their hopes were speedily dashed. "The rain it raineth every day," was the universal refrain in the summer of 1816. Bread riots took place and had to be quelled by aid of the military. The decline in the value of pillow lace reduced the Aylesbury lace-makers to the direst distress, their only refuge being pauperism. The harvest was one of great deficiency, and the two following years the crops did not exceed an average; high prices of provisions were the consequence, which, combined with low wages and scarcity of employment, produced the greatest discontent among the working classes.*

In 1817, the price of wheat was £37 per load; 1818, £23; the cost of Aylesbury poor was £6,560; in 1819, wheat was £20 per load, it receded to £16; labourers' wages 12s.; the state of the country was one of painful interest; distress was universal, depression and embarrassment general. In 1820, public meetings were held to petition Parliament on the subject of agricultural distress, but the speakers were at a loss to suggest a remedy. 1821—Petitions got up praying for protection against foreign competition in corn; the price of mutton quoted at 2½d. per puond. Corn still out in September, and reported to be sprouting; 73 sales of farming stock advertised in one newspaper; 121 samples of corn were offered in Aylesbury market, and only 12 sold, many having been pitched week after week. 1822—Twelve acres of wheat, with the straw, sold by auction for £14, and the produce of 15 acres of wheat made but £3; a pound of bacon, a quartern loaf, and a sack of potatoes might be purchased for two shillings, yet people were starving. 1822—Beef and mutton in Aylesbury market were retailed at 4½d. per lb.; wheat £15 per load; meetings still held upon the subject of the "unparalleled and unsupportable" distress. 1823—The Duke of Buckingham returned his tenants 20 per

** Scale of wages in husbandry and value in wheat.*

Year.		s.	d.			pints of wheat
1796	the weekly wages of a labourer in husbandry were	8	11,	which would at that time purchase		70
1803	„ „	11	5,	„	„	63
1811	„ „	14	6,	„	„	76
1819	„ „	12	0,	„	„	73
1824	„ „	10	0,	„	„	89
1829	„ „	11	0,	„	„	91
1832	„ „	12	0,	„	„	90
1833	„ „	12	0,	„	„	115
1834	„ „	12	0,	„	„	133
1835	„ „	11	6,	„	„	162
1836	„ „	11	6,	„	„	121
1837	„ „	11	6,	„	„	105
1884	„ „	12	0,	„	„	192

cent., and Sir John Aubrey 20 per cent. on their rents. 1824—It really seemed that the theory of Pharaoh's dream was to be realised in Aylesbury parish matters—that the lean kine would eat up the fat kine. All appeared to be hastening into one common gulf of ruin. Parish officers were at that time brought into direct contact both with the ratepayers and the receivers; there was no officially paid agent to collect the rates, no relieving-officer to dispense the proceeds. The office of overseer was consequently a most unhappy one. If he chanced to be of a benevolent disposition and likely to be influenced by the tales of woe of the paupers, he was soundly lectured by the ratepayers; if, on the other hand, his conduct appeared harsh and unkind, he would receive anonymous letters, intimating that his property and his person were in jeopardy from wilful injury threatened to be inflicted on him by some dissatisfied pauper. Labourers' wages 10s. per week. Bread went up rapidly in price; wheat, which last year was offered at 34s., now made 80s. the quarter. 1825—Magistrates met and raised the allowance of parish relief, thus—Man and wife, 6s.; if one child, 7s.; two, 8s.; three, 9s.; more than three, 10s. per week. 1826—The poor rate raised at Aylesbury amounted to £3,744. The increase of pauperism was evinced by the rapidly augmented amounts of poor and county rates, generally proving the distressed condition of the labouring classes. Vestries were called together very frequently for the purpose of levying poor-rates; two poor rates were made for the parish of Aylesbury within a fortnight, each of one shilling in the pound.

In 1826, Mr. Canning proposed to admit 200,000 quarters of corn at 12s. duty; poor riot at Bicester, in which the Market House was pulled down; great stagnation in the pillow-lace trade; 52 paupers at Monks Risborough demanded relief; they summoned the Overseers to Aylesbury, when the Magistrates sided with the paupers. Wages of farm servants—Females £2 10s. to £5, men £6 to £8, per annum. Rates in some places 75 per cent. on the rent. Labourers received 3s. per week from their employers, and the remainder was made up by the overseers. 1827—Labourers would not accept work, it answered their purpose better to take parish pay for doing nothing than to labour for it; thus the pernicious poor laws had transformed the once "bold peasantry" into a horde of idle vagabonds. In 1828, a committee was formed to consider the best way of employing surplus labour; 60 Aylesbury paupers appeared before the magistrates to complain of their pay being reduced. The overseers and churchwardens attended, and Mr. Fowler stated that the poor were beyond all control, and nothing would satisfy them; £700 had been expended on the land taken for them. It was arranged that a committee of ratepayers should be formed, to meet fortnightly and determine individual cases. Further complaints before the Aylesbury magistrates about the poor's relief were made; the contractor reported that he could not perform his undertaking to keep the inmates of the workhouse.

In 1829, thirty paupers from Haddenham attended the Magistrates' Chamber at Aylesbury, clamouring for their pay. The overseer told the magistrates it

would be a relief to him if they would put him in gaol till his time of office had expired, for he really was almost worried to death; he couldn't pay the poor, as it was impossible to collect the rates. It was thought to be cheering news that 10s. 6d. in the pound would suffice for the parish of Aylesbury for the year, the poor in the past year having cost £5,000. Able-bodied Aylesbury paupers were "let out" to farmers by the overseers at 4s. per week wages, the parish having to make up the remainder of their pay from the rates. Good mutton sent to London this year returned $2\frac{3}{4}$d. per lb. Some sold alive in Thame market realised 2d., yet people wanted food. It is difficult to state the price of wages received by labourers at this period, as men were not paid according to their earnings, but according to the number of children they had; when able-bodied men could be procured of the overseers at 3s. or 4s. per week, the honest and industrious labourer could not compete with the pauper, so he in turn became a pauper, in order to better his condition.

Mr. Dawney, a considerable ratepayer, of Aylesbury, and employer of labour, complained to a vestry that he had to employ non-resident labourers; those of Aylesbury would not accept work, as the overseers then paid men more for remaining in idleness than they could earn at labour. The finest beasts in Thame market this year made 3s. 4d. per stone.

1830—All the Aylesbury paupers had to do for their money was to answer the roll-call, and some were even too idle to do that. The surplus labourers at Buckingham were sent to a pit two miles away daily, and each man returned carrying a great stone. Great town meeting at Aylesbury on agricultural distress, in which all parties joined. Fifty people from the town emigrated to America. At Oving, £13 10s. was paid for poor-rates on 9 acres of land. Agricultural riots at Otmoor; Lord Chandos's Yeomanry took 57 prisoners, and every one escaped. Many incendiary fires in this neighbourhood; thrashing machines were wilfully destroyed. Agricultural riots occurred at Stone; all respectable householders sworn in as special constables. Riots at Upper Winchendon followed; agricultural implements were wilfully burnt by gangs of men, in the presence of the owners. More riots at Stone, and 150 rioters from different villages committed to Aylesbury Gaol. Great consternation in the town; County Hall barricaded; persons and property unsafe. 1831—Sixty men were employed on the roads at Waddesdon, and 70 at Stone; no other work could be found for them; the Bucks Yeomanry were out on permanent duty on account of riots. Special Commission opened to try the rioters, there being 126 for trial; 26 pleaded guilty, and sentence of death was recorded against them. Ninety men and boys were uselessly employed in daily sweeping the streets of Aylesbury, at a cost of from £24 to £30 per week, which amount was all lost to the parish. 1832—Aylesbury Vestry allotted out the surplus labourers, thus—Every occupier was obliged to employ one labourer to each 30 acres of arable and one to every 50 acres of grass land he occupied; such labourers received the usual rate of

payment, any employed over that number were considered surplus, and were paid 8s. per week by the employer, and the residue made up by the parish ; boys were paid in the same proportion. 1833—Sixty paupers of Haddenham went to the house of Mr. Corbet, the overseer, and demanded money or food ; one sat down to smoke his pipe, another ordered the servant to cook some ham, another asked to be shown into the cellar, so that he might help himself.

The new Poor Law Act was passed in August, 1834, and in the following year the Aylesbury Union was formed. The first election for Guardians took place in July, 1835, when those elected for the parish of Aylesbury were Messrs. Thomas Bell, John Gurney, John Dell, John Churchill, John K. Fowler, and Abraham Wing ; G. G. Pigot, Esq., was elected Chairman, and Mr. John Dell vice-Chairman. The Aylesbury Workhouse continued to be occupied as the Union house ; it was at times inconveniently crowded ; objection was also taken to its situation. In 1842 another Workhouse in Aylesbury, for the third time in one generation, was mooted ; the project met with considerable opposition, and was for a time abandoned. Eventually a decision was taken to build at once, the site for the new building being selected on Bierton Hill ; the Oxford Road Workhouse and premises were sold. In September, 1844, the paupers took possession of their new domicile. The Aylesbury Union consists of the following parishes and places :—Aylesbury, Ashendon, Aston Abbotts, Aston Clinton, Aston Sandford, Bierton, Buckland, Chearsley, Cholesbury, Creslow, Cublington, Cuddington, Dinton, Drayton Beauchamp, Fleet Marston, Grendon Underwood, Haddenham, Halton, Hardwick, Hartwell, Hawridge, Hulcott, Kingswood, Ludgershall, Oving, Pitchcott, Quainton, Quarrendon, Shipton Lee, Stone, Waddesdon, Weedon, Westcott, Weston Turville, Whitchurch, Winchendon (Lower), Winchendon (Upper), Wingrave, Woodham, and Wotton Underwood.

Chapter XLVIII.—INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS (PAST AND PRESENT).

Pillow lace—its origin—Introduction into Buckinghamshire—The lace pillow—bobbins—jingles, pins—parchments—Description of the manufacture—Lace songs—Introduction of machine-made lace—its ruinous effect on Aylesbury—Electioneering lace—Exhibition of lace in 1862*—Duck raising—Aylesbury noted for—The Aylesbury duck—mode of raising—Silk—its introduction into England—Aylesbury Silk Mill—its origin—object of—description of—gives employment to many hands—The Printing Works—general description of—machinery, &c.—numbers employed—Condensed milk—description of manufacture—hands employed.*

THE industrial occupations of the working classes of Aylesbury have undergone great changes during the present century. Formerly the lace pillow was to be found in almost every cottage in the town, another source of employment being that of rearing young ducks for the London markets; these were, in the early part of the century, the principal occupations of the cottager class.

PILLOW LACE MAKING.

The origin of the delicate and beautiful fabric known as lace is involved in considerable obscurity, but can lay, without doubt, claim to high antiquity. In Hope's "Costumes of the Ancients," many beautiful lace patterns are portrayed on the borders of the dresses of Grecian females, and from the derivation of the word "lace," it probably was not unknown to the Romans. The first appearance of lace as we know it now was in the rich and luxurious Venetian Republic; and the date was that of the Renaissance. There is, it is true, a supposed picture of lace-making at Louvain which has been relied on to give bobbin-lace at least an earlier date in Belgium than in Italy, but the result of the discussion has been to throw doubt upon the antiquity of the picture itself. A pretty legend traces one of the forms of Venetian lace to a girl whose lover brought her from the Southern sea some seaweed known as the mermaid's lace. The girl, with her needle, is said to have imitated the delicate growth of the sea depths.

It is supposed that Mary de Medici was the first who brought lace into France from Venice, where, and in the neighbouring States of Italy, it is understood to have been

long previously worn ; but we find that in England, as early as 1483, " Laces of thread, and laces of gold, and silk and gold," were enumerated among the articles prohibited to be imported. It is, therefore, fair to presume that this manufacture had begun in England prior to that period, as this and many subsequent Acts were passed for the encouragement and protection of our home manufacture ; but it may equally be concluded that as pins, which are indispensable to the process of lace-making, were not used in England till 1543, the manufacture of lace must have been coarse in fabric and circumscribed in extent. Tradition says that the lace manufacture was introduced into this country by some refugees from Flanders, who settled at or near Cranfield, now a scattered village on the west side of Bedfordshire, and adjoining Bucks ; but there is no certain evidence that we are indebted to the Flemings for the introduction of this beautiful art, though we undoubtedly owe to them most part of our manufactures of articles of dress ; we have also imitated many of their lace fabrics, and greatly improved our manufacture, by profiting by the superior taste which they displayed in the production of the article. In 1626 Sir Henry Borlase founded and endowed the Free School at Great Marlow, for 24 boys, to read, write, and cast accounts, and for 24 girls, to knit, spin, and make bone-lace, so that there is reason to suppose that at this time the manufacture had commenced in Buckinghamshire, which by degrees extended to the adjoining counties of Bedford and Northampton. In 1640 the lace trade was a flourishing interest in Buckinghamshire generally, and at Aylesbury in particular, and so greatly had it advanced in England, that by a Royal ordinance in France, passed in 1660, a mark was established upon the thread lace imported from this country and from Flanders, and upon the point lace from Genoa, Venice, and other foreign countries, in order to secure payment of the Customs' duties.

Pillow-lace, bone-lace, or bobbin-lace is thus called from its being made on a pillow; this pillow had a coarse, strong linen cover, and was made extremely hard by a close packing of straw being forced into it ; it was of a peculiar manufacture, and one family of the name of Smith had the monopoly of its production in Aylesbury. The title of " bone-lace " is the primitive name ; originally the thread was wound on small bones ; after a while these bones were improved by being passed through a lathe and turned into an ornamental shape ; eventually bones were partly superseded by bobbins made of boxwood—thus the term " bobbin-lace." These bobbins were ornamented with jingles formed by a wire ring passing through the lower end ; on these rings were threaded glass beads in profusion, silver twopenny and penny bits, small tokens, charms, and other fanciful ornaments, according to the caprice of the owner. In some cases a pillow, with bobbins, jingles, and appurtenances, would represent a value approaching £5. A parchment fixed to the pillow was previously pricked in holes, according to the pattern to be followed, and the lace was worked in silk, flax, or cotton thread by means of pins made exclusively for the purpose. By placing and displacing the pins and bobbins, and twisting and interweaving the threads, the parchment pattern was

imitated and the design followed ; to the looker on who did not understand the manipulations of the craft, the process was exceedingly perplexing. Each pillow had a supply of extra pins with fanciful heads, and the pride of an Aylesbury lace-maker consisted in being able to produce a well stocked and a well conditioned lace pillow. The manufacture was long pursued in almost every town and village in the Midland counties, particularly Buckinghamshire.

The beads forming the jingles were useful as well as ornamental, for they added sufficient weight to the bobbins to enable them to stretch the threads to which they were attached without risk of breakage. Fine thread was used for making the meshes or net, and a coarser kind, called "gymp," for working the device. The worker commenced her labour at the upper part of the pillow, by tying together the threads in pairs, each pair being attached to one of the pins. From forty to fifty bobbins were used with each pillow. The threads, being duly fastened, were then twisted one round another in various ways, according to the pattern ; the bobbins serving as handles, as well as stores for the material, and the pins as knots, or fixed centres, round which the threads might be duly twisted. The pins inserted in the pillow at the commencement were merely to hold the threads, but as fast as each little mesh was made in the progress of the working, other pins were inserted to prevent the threads from untwisting, the devices on the parchment showing where the insertions were to occur. When the parchment pattern was used for the first time, the worker had to exercise great care in selecting the points at which the pins were to be placed ; but the punctures once made, she had merely, when repeating the pattern, to place the pins in the punctures previously done. Among the patterns most in request seventy or eighty years ago was one known as the "rose-leaf," and another called the "spider." As the lace was made, it was continually folded up in clean paper or linen cloth, to preserve it from the effects of dust or injury.

The monotony of the labour was frequently relieved by the singing of popular rhymes, known as "lace songs." Miss Baker, who wrote on the subject of lace-making, says :—"The movement of the bobbins is timed by the modulation of the tune, which excites them (the lace-workers) to regularity and cheerfulness ; and it is a pleasing picture, in passing through a rural village, to see them, in warm weather, seated outside their cottage doors, or seeking the shade of a neighbouring tree, where, in cheerful groups, they unite in singing their rude and simple rhymes." This is a pretty but somewhat mythical picture, albeit the writer was not much given to the production of imaginary sketches. "This custom of chaunting," continues Miss Baker, "while working at the lace-pillow, seems to have prevailed in Shakespeare's time, as we see in 'Twelfth Night,' Act ii., Scene 4 :—

> **It is old and plain ;**
> **The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,**
> **And the free maids, that weave their threads with bones,**
> **Do use to chaunt it."**

There are many of these ditties, varying in length according to the pattern of the lace; the following is one, most descriptive of the occupation :—

Nineteen long lines being over my doun,
The faster I work it'll shorten my score,
But if I do play, it'll stick to a stay,
So high ho ! little fingers, and twank it away.

"Doun," as mentioned in the foregoing rhyme, signifies once down the parchment or card pattern.

As early as the year 1672 the overseers of Aylesbury debited their account with the sum of five shillings, a payment made to Mary Sutton, for teaching the workhouse children to make lace; also two shillings for two pillow cloths; subsequently the liberal gift of three shillings was distributed amongst the inmates of the workhouse to keep "Catern" (St. Catharine's Day). St. Catharine was not only the patroness of lace-makers, but of other producers of textile fabrics, also of spinsters and young people generally; her holiday was observed by young women meeting on the 25th of November, and making merry. The day is still kept in some parts of England. Miss Baker, in her "Northamptonshire Words and Phrases," tells us that at Peterborough, till the introduction of the new poor law, it was customary for the female workhouse children, attended by the master, to go in procession round the city on this day. They were all attired in white and decorated with various coloured ribbons, principally scarlet; the tallest girl was selected to represent the Queen, and was adorned with a crown and sceptre. The procession stopped at the houses of the principal inhabitants, and they sang a ballad, from which this extract is made :—

Here comes Queen Catharine, as fine as any Queen,
With a coach and six horses a coming to be seen ;
And a-spinning we will go, will go, will go,
And a-spinning we will go.

All you that want employment, though spinning is but small,
Come, list and don't stand still, but go and work for all :
And a-spinning we will go, &c.

If we set a-spinning, we will either work or play,
But if we set a-spinning, we can earn a crown a day.
And a-spinning we will go, &c.

And if there be some young men, as I suppose there's some,
We will hardly let them stand alone upon the cold stone.
And a-spinning we will go, &c.

This local custom was by no means confined to Peterborough, but was observed throughout the whole county, and also in Bedfordshire. Popular tradition says the observance is derived from one of the Queens Catharine, in the time of Henry VIII., probably Catharine Parr, who was a Northamptonshire woman.

In the year 1799, it was first attempted to make bobbin-lace by machinery; but this was not found to answer. During the succeeding ten years, many alterations were made in the construction of the machines, with no better success, until at length, in 1809,

Mr. Heathcoat, of Tiverton, succeeded in discovering the correct principle of the bobbin-net frame, and obtained a patent for fourteen years for his invention. Steam-power was first introduced in the manufacture of lace by Mr. John Lindley in 1815-16, but it did not come into active operation till 1820. It became general in 1822-23; and a great stimulus was at that period given to the trade.

Pillow lace was formerly the staple manufacture of Aylesbury. There was no chance of success for a parliamentary candidate for the Borough who did not support the bobbin-lace trade and denounce machine-made lace. His election procession had to be preceded by a lace-pillow mounted on a high-pole like the head of a traitor; his banners and flags were all profusely trimmed with Aylesbury lace, the price of which would vary according to the keenness of the contest going on, and as the vote of a potwaller was often intermingled with the supply of the article, the price charged per yard was at times fabulous. The chariot or car in which the successful candidate was chaired used to be literally covered with pillow lace. On occasions, a lace-queen was carried round the town elevated on a platform, and borne on men's shoulders, plying her avocation on her pillow, the procession being headed by a band of music and followed by an immense crowd. One of the old school of lace-makers who was thus honoured in the year 1820, a Mrs. Whitley, died this year (1884), at an advanced age. Lace of a high price was formerly made at Wooburn in great quantities. A woman was, until recently, living there who made the lace for the Princess Charlotte's wedding dress.

The introduction of machine-made lace was disastrous to the Aylesbury lace-makers; they were adepts in the art, and of course exceedingly jealous of the intrusion of machinery. Hitherto lace-making had been a tedious process; the supply did not more than keep pace with the demand, thus a high price for it had long been sustained. Before the value was so much reduced, pillow-lace making was an exceedingly remunerative employment. An active and industrious lace-maker could earn at her pillow some 25s. per week; a married woman, after attending to her domestic duties, could add upon the average £1 per week to the household exchequer. As soon as children were old enough, whether boys or girls, they had lace pillows placed before them, each earning a few shillings; these earnings, added to the half-sovereign brought home by the father, then the nominal bread-winner, made altogether a comfortable sum to provide for a labourer's family, and thus he could sing the old song—

"The world went valiant with me then, O! then."

The workers were usually good reckoners. This arose from their habit of counting their pins, which they did in order to ascertain how much work they could do in an hour, or who could work the fastest. They reckoned by the number of pins in a "head" of lace; that is, in a length forming a complete pattern, after which the pattern was repeated in a fresh head. "I could," said a lace-worker, "reckon in this way myself much quicker than could anybody with a pen." Besides. this, the workers had to

calculate how much work they did, and how much it was worth, counting the yards and odd quarters, and the odd pence and half-pence.

There was a display of the pillow-lace of Buckingham, Bedford, and Northamptonshire at the Exhibition of 1862, and it far exceeded that shown by these counties in the Exhibition of 1851, not only in style but also in variety of articles exhibited. Of the real old make (point ground) scarcely anything was shown; the favourite samples being of a class called Maltese lace, which has been much in vogue since 1851. The specimens exhibited in 1862 were very beautiful, and evidenced great art and skill in design and work. Some laces, the design composed of fern leaves, did great credit to the poor cottagers by whom they were made. They were the first attempt in the style of lace exhibited. Some collars and cuffs made from thread were so finely spun as to be of the enormous cost of 140s. per lb. The work which attracted, and deservedly so, the greatest amount of notice was a deep Honiton flounce, the price of which was stated to be 200 guineas. There was also a real black lace flounce, of most elaborate design and fine quality. This article was manufactured at Buckingham, and will bear favourable comparison with the articles of Caen and Chantilly. There was, too, a very fine specimen of old Buckingham lace, of very fine quality, made in 1851. The pillow on which it was made was shown near it. Twenty-seven score of bobbins were required to make this pattern. As evidence of the greatly enhanced value which labour can give to an article, a sample of lace was exhibited of the value of £250, the cost of the thread employed being but a few shillings. Where black lace was made, black silk was used. It was produced principally in Buckinghamshire, chiefly in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe, where the workers seemed to have a talent for its manufacture.

Pillow-lace making at Aylesbury may be said to be defunct; the remuneration obtained from it is now so scant that none but the aged and poorest of the poor are induced to labour in its production, as little or nothing can be earned at it.

DUCK RAISING.

For many years Aylesbury has sustained, and still holds, the reputation of producing a superior class of young ducks for the London markets, and for providing these delicacies at so early a period in the season as to command for them very high prices. In the early years of the present century almost every householder at the "Duck End" of the town followed the avocation of ducker. In a living room it was no uncommon sight to meet with young ducks of different ages, divided in pens and monopolizing the greatest space of the apartment, whilst expected new arrivals often were carefully lodged in the bedchamber of the ducker. These primitive duckeries do not now exist, the business being conducted on more scientific principles, sheds, outhouses, and properly constructed premises being erected by those who carry on the business as a source of livelihood.

The process of early duck-raising has been described by Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury,

who has given much attention to the subject. "The white Aylesbury ducks stand pre-eminent; their reputation is universal; they are well adapted to almost every climate and soil, thriving anywhere and everywhere. As their name denotes, their chief centre is Aylesbury, in which town and neighbourhood they appear to have been an established breed for more than a century past. They reach maturity sooner than any other kind. They are hardy, attain to a very great size, and are remarkably prolific. The London markets are supplied with enormous quantities of them; in fact, though it may perhaps appear almost incredible, oftentimes in the spring, in one night, a ton weight of ducklings from six to eight weeks old are taken by rail from Aylesbury and the villages round to the metropolis. They are generally killed when between seven and eight weeks old, and good birds at that age will weigh about 4lbs. each. Prices vary considerably during the season, from 9s. to a guinea a couple being obtainable; the latter price is sometimes reached towards the middle of March; in the beginning of May they decline gradually in value, till July, after which there is but little demand. The "duckers," as the breeders are called, are for the most part a better class of labourers—men who have saved up money enough to secure a relief from downright hard work, and who do not grudge giving their whole time and attention to the young broods, so long as they are in demand. In and about the town of Aylesbury very many of the cottagers maintain, each of them, their set of ducks—about four ducks to a drake. These they keep in any outbuilding attached to their dwelling, and, failing such a place, in the cottage itself. From them the "duckers" collect the eggs, generally bargaining with the owners for their whole supply at a given rate for the season. They begin their collection in October, and the contract is often made for the whole produce up till June, the price being 3s. 6d. a sitting of thirteen eggs throughout that time. The purchaser has to risk the chance of the eggs proving fertile. The breeding stock of a "ducker" who does an average trade consists of six drakes and twenty ducks; these all run together, and the brooks and ponds in the vicinity are looked upon almost as common property by the duckers. At night the ducks are driven to their respective homes, well fed, and warmly housed. The eggs are set as soon as possible after laying, under hens, for which purpose good Dorkings and Cochins are considered best; ducks are never allowed to sit, as the result of that practice is almost certain to prove a failure. Thirteen eggs comprise a sitting. The period of incubation is twenty-eight days, and during the last week of that time care is taken to sprinkle the eggs daily with lukewarm water, which softens the shells, so that when the time comes for the duckling to make its appearance it has not much difficulty in breaking through its covering. When the young are hatched they are left with the hen till well nestled and strong enough to stand. The duckling is at first clad with soft yellow down, which gradually disappears as the feathers grow. After a few days, three or four broods are put together with one hen. For market purposes the treatment of the ducklings is as follows:—They are not allowed to go into any water, but are kept in hovels or the rooms of cottages, each lot of thirty or forty; it is no uncommon thing to see two or three thousand in one establishment.

They are kept very clean and dry on barley straw; their food consists of hard-boiled eggs, chopped fine and mixed with boiled rice and bullock's liver, cut up small. This is given to them several times in the day for about a fortnight or more. When they are capable of consuming more they are fed on barleymeal and tallow greaves, mixed with the water in which the greaves have previously been boiled. Horseflesh is often mixed with their other food. This constitutes all that is necessary to produce early ducklings for the table." Like the lace-makers, the duckers of Aylesbury have nearly vanished. The principal producers are now to be found in the villages in the neighbourhood, where they have greater facilities, and where the rearing of ducks is much more in place than in the cottages of a crowded town. A great many young ducks are still produced in Aylesbury and the vicinity, but the numbers stated to have been raised have been greatly exaggerated.

SILK WEAVING.

The first establishment in Aylesbury calculated to give employment to any considerable number of workpeople was the Silk Mill, the origin of which is a memento of the bad times existing at the date of its commencement. The introduction of silk-weaving into the town was invited by the redundance of labour and its consequent low value. For a great many years the lace-pillow had given employment to numberless hands, but about 1830, after a long and tedious struggle with machine-made lace, the pillow had to succumb to its more potent rival and was soon almost entirely abandoned, the making of lace by its means having become unremunerative; the consequence was a further addition to the already great excess of labour in the parish. Not only were large numbers of able-bodied men out of employment and they and their families being wholly supported by parish relief, but now females could earn nothing; great boys and girls were growing up in idleness, with all its attendant mischievous and immoral results; their labour was utterly valueless. The parish officials were at their wits' end how to combat the serious difficulty they had in disposing of the superabundant pauper labour.*

Consequent on the breaking up of the silk manufactory of Mr. Joseph Kaye, of Manchester, through his advanced age, his nephew, Mr. Robert Nixon, who had been the local manager of that establishment, became disengaged. Taking as his adviser Mr. Richard Moscrop, who also had been for many years a superintendent in one of the departments of the same business, the two set out together to visit several parts of England and Ireland in search of a suitable place where Mr. Nixon could commence business on his own account. Mr. Joseph Kaye, of Manchester, and Mr. William Kaye, of Tring Park, stockbroker, were brothers. In the year 1824, Mr. William Kaye erected

* The scale of wages given in a foot note at page 613 represents the average of the whole country. In Buckinghamshire wages were considerably below the average. In 1750, when in Berks, Beds, and Bucks they were 7s. 6d., 8s. 6d., and 9s., in Yorkshire they reached 11s., 12s., and 14s According to Caird's "English Agriculture" wages in Bucks only advanced 6d. per week in comparing 1770 with 1850, whilst in the West Riding they more than doubled.

the Tring Silk Mill, of which Mr. Joseph Kaye was the first occupier. This connexion induced Mr. Nixon and Mr. Moscrop, in the course of their peregrinations, to visit Tring Silk Mill, and on the information obtained there they proceeded to Aylesbury, and it was resolved to adopt this place for the object in view. Here Mr. Nixon found what he was seeking for, namely, cheap juvenile labour. He at once communicated his purpose to the Aylesbury parish authorities, who forthwith gave him every encouragement and assistance in carrying out his intentions. It was eventually agreed that a portion of the Workhouse premises in Oxford Road should be set apart for a building to be occupied as a Silk Mill, the authorities undertaking to expend £200 in the erection, Mr. Nixon, at the same time, entering into a bond not to employ any hands excepting paupers chargeable to the parish of Aylesbury. In the building, such as it was, forty looms were put up, and thus was introduced a new source of employment into the town. Eventually the manufactory passed into the hands of the Messrs. Evans, and it has for many years been carried on by them in conjunction with their establishment at Tring, where they succeeded Mr. Joseph Kaye. On the sale of the parish Workhouse in the Oxford Road, in 1844, Messrs. Evans became the proprietors of a considerable part of those premises, for the purpose of the enlargement of their business; the original parish mill, which Messrs. Evans subsequently purchased (in 1859), was a small concern in comparison with the present establishment.

Long before silken goods of any kind were made in Europe they were obtained from the far East—originally from China, whence they were conveyed by the Persian and other Old World merchants to such parts as Bagdad, and thus brought within reach of Western dealers, and afterwards from less distant parts of Asia, chiefly India and Persia, where silk-culture was naturalised in the fifth or sixth Christian century. The trade was subsequently introduced at intervals by the Byzantine rulers into Greece, by the Moors into Spain, and by the Normans into Sicily. From those districts, as well as from the older Persian centres of trade, the Venetian merchants of the Middle Ages, and their Flemish and English successors obtained their wares—in those days too costly for any but the wealthiest persons to make use of, until the opening up of direct sea routes to the East Indies, and the general diffusion of wealth consequent on the discovery of America, both increased and cheapened the supply and augmented the number of purchasers. Nearly at the exact time when woollen manufacture from native places began to be of national importance in England, it was discovered that the silkworm and the mulberry-tree could flourish in Italy and the South of France, and Lyons quickly came into competition with Milan as a centre of a trade that naturally resulted from the opportunities afforded for obtaining the material necessary to the manufacture of silken textures. The well-known story of Thomas Lombe's silk-weaving establishment at Derby shows that enterprising Englishmen were not blind to the value of the new industry. Notwithstanding the greater difficulties they experienced in procuring the raw material, however, our forefathers had special facilities, through the East India Company, for importing the coveted fabrics direct from the East, and

consequently, even after the French colony had been established in Spitalfields, silk manufacture continued for a long time to be regarded as almost entirely a foreign trade. It was afterwards extended to Coventry and other towns ; but in this branch of industry England has always been far surpassed by France.

The machine employed in silk-weaving has up to late years been the object of but little change or improvement. Looms exactly similar, both in form and arrangement of parts, to those which have been used time out of mind by the weaving craft, are still to be seen in daily occupation, preferred even, for every purpose to which they can be made available, by the labouring artizan. Looms were used in Egypt more than a thousand years B.C. ; they are represented on the tombs of Thebes. They were first introduced into England about the years 1131-33.

In the tedious operation of mounting his loom, as the arrangement of the warp is termed, the most careful accuracy is requisite, as an uniform tension of each thread is essential to the perfection of woven fabrics. Some conception may be formed of the carefulness required in this part of the weaver's labour, when it is considered that a piece of fine silk, the width of which is not greater than twenty inches, frequently has the breadth of its warp made up of more than eight thousand threads, each one of which must be so accurately disposed in its proper station as to avoid entanglement or confusion throughout its whole extent. The weaver, having arranged all preliminaries, takes his seat at his loom, placing his feet on the treadles, grasps the handle of the string attached to the drivers with his right hand, and with his left holds the lay-cap or cover of the reed. The shuttle being placed in the trough against one of the drivers and between it and the warp, the weaver commences his operation by pressing down with his foot one of the treadles ; this depresses one half of the threads of the warp, whilst it raises the others. By a jerk to the handle of the driver the shuttle is thrown through the opening between the threads of the warp ; the batten is then pulled by the left hand, and the shoot, which before was loose, is thus driven up towards the cloth roll, and the batten by its own weight is brought into its former position ; the movement of the shuttle is then reversed ; in fact, the art of weaving varies but little, whatever may be the material which is the subject of manufacture.

It would not be within the province of this work to give a detailed history of the manufacture of silk goods ; indeed it would be almost an impossibility to place its intricacies before the reader so as to render the process intelligible. An outline of the progressive departments must suffice. The rearing of the silk worm is a distinct occupation ; then follow the gathering and sorting of the cocoons by other hands. Further operators superintend the process of reeling from the cocoons, and the material then passes into the hands of the silk throwster, who supplies the silk weaver with it, either in singles and tram or organzine, as may be required. The Aylesbury mill is essentially a weaving mill, undertaking none of the primary preparations here specified. Single or tram silk consists of few threads only, organzine of several. In the manufacture of silk,

organzine is used in the warp, that is in the length of the goods, it being of a stronger texture ; the tram or single is used in the weft, or that which passes to and fro in the quill inserted in the weaver's shuttle. It may be noted that all silk is dyed before weaving, and is not piece-dyed, as is sometimes the case in the manufacture of plain woollen goods of inferior character. Silk dyeing is a distinct department of the manufacture ; large quantities are dyed at Coventry, which place has a reputation for its superior mode of dyeing silk. The material used at Aylesbury is supplied partly from the parent establishment at Tring ; it is received at Aylesbury in skeins, and has to undergo winding on reels, a second and more careful winding, and again has to be transferred to the weaver's quills. The finest silk is used at the hand looms, hard silk in the power looms ; the manufactured articles leave the hand looms in a perfected state ; the produce of the power loom from hard silk has to undergo the finishing process of hot-pressing.

Plain silk weaving requires greater care on the part of the weaver than figure weaving, inasmuch as the least defect in the warp or weft is at once discernable. Figure weaving is the art of producing various patterns in the fabric, either by the introduction of silk of various colours, by a different arrangement of the threads, or by using, in the same manufacture, silk of different substances. It is a complicated proceeding, but has been greatly simplified by the introduction of an instrument, the invention of Monsieur Jacquard. To the casual observer the process of silk-weaving is perplexing and intricate, particularly so where figure-weaving is in operation and the Jacquard machine consequently in requisition. The designing of patterns for the loom is still more so. The apparati requisite in this department in use at the Aylesbury Silk Mill are, to the unitiated, simply incomprehensible ; to reduce a description of them to print, so as to be intelligible to the general reader, would be an impossibility. The designer must be well stocked in originality, intellectual, and possessed of exquisite taste, as upon his tact and judgment in the choice of his design depend the popularity of the article and the consequent demand for it. The mechanical part of his profession is a mystery to those who cannot comprehend it. First, he has a most painstaking task to reduce his design to paper, and which must be done on true geometrical lines. He then takes his seat at a machine known as the "piano," and places before him his design, much as a performer seats himself with his music before him. Narrow slips of cardboard are then passed into the machine, and by certain perforations the design is transferred to them ; the cardboards are then united broadway in long lengths and attached to the Jacquard loom, and the product is a beautifully figured article, of elegant design and highly finished workmanship.

Power looms were at first worked by manual labour, requiring two strong men to turn the wheel ; on their introduction they were used only in the cotton weaving, silk being considered too delicate a texture to be entrusted to their manipulations. Steam-power looms were brought into use in the year 1807 ; there are about 70 of this class in the Aylesbury mill, in addition to the hand looms. As early as the close of the

seventeenth century a description of a power loom for mechanical weaving was presented to the Royal Society of London. In 1785, Dr. Edmund Cartwright, D.D., patented a power-weaving machine; he spent some £30,000 on his invention, which brought him no return. In 1791, Messrs. Grimshaw erected a weaving factory at Manchester, calculated to contain 400 looms, and agreed with Dr. Cartwright to use his patent machines. So great was the jealousy of weavers against the introduction of these machines that the building and machinery fell a prey to an incendiary.

The product of the Aylesbury Mill consists of all classes of silk goods, mostly in a finished state, and ready for the counters of the silk mercers. Articles manufactured at Aylesbury have been exported to Paris, re-imported to London, found their way into the retail establishments in the town and been sold as superior French goods, neither buyer nor seller having the least suspicion that these very articles were the production of Aylesbury handicraftsmen. The establishment of the Silk Mill at Aylesbury was a matter of the greatest importance to the parish, not only to the employees, but to other inhabitants. Every shilling paid in the shape of wages there in the first years of its existence was so much saved to the pockets of the ratepayers. Had not the artizans been thus employed they would have been wholly supported at the parish expense; further, it inculcated the true principle of relief—that of showing the poor how to earn a shilling by honest labour rather than undergo the degradation of accepting one as a parish dole.

The substitution of mechanical power for hand labour in weaving must be classed among the offerings made by genius at the shrine of utility. The greater facility given for the production of goods by machinery has always excited the apprehension and prompted the hostility of persons previously employed in their manufacture. Even among other and better informed classes there have not been wanting systematic opponents to its introduction, who have asserted that the saving of labour is hurtful to the true interests of communities. There would be but little true philanthropy in setting bounds to the progress of improvements which are calculated to bring the enjoyments and conveniences of life within the reach of a larger number of individuals. In the introduction of machinery the injury to the deprived artizan is probably but transitory, while the benefits to society are not only lasting but progressive.

LETTER-PRESS PRINTING.

In the year 1757, John Wilkes, in writing to Mr. Dell, of Aylesbury, respecting some printing which was required, recommended him to obtain it from Northampton; it may therefore be presumed that at that time there was no printer at Aylesbury. Subsequently one is heard of as settled here; he must have had but little employment, as it is said of him that he undertook for a wager to gather up in a certain time a number of stones, each placed a yard apart, and to make a journey with each stone singly; he won his wager but lost his life in the venture, as the excitement consequent on his

exertions threw him into a fever, of which he died ; such was the premature end of the first Aylesbury printer.

There was not only a printing office in Aylesbury in the year 1792, but a newspaper was also published ; it was entitled the *Buckinghamshire Herald.* According to the old "Aylesbury Diary"* this *Herald* reached an existence of eighteen weeks at Aylesbury, after which it was transferred to Great Berkhampstead, where it was printed and published by a Mr. McDonald, who married the widow of Norman, the Aylesbury printer ; at Berkhampstead, as the *Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire Herald,* the paper lived just one year, when it disappeared altogether. The successor in the Aylesbury printing business was a Mr. Nichols, who in turn was followed by Mr. Marshall.

The development of the art of printing in the present century has been marvellous. A hundred years ago there was no printer in Aylesbury. Probably the first of the craft to settle here was happy in the possession of an old wooden double-pull press, and, with the balls with which he bedaubed his forme, produced broadsides which were thought to be marvels of the age. We now have printing machines of automatic construction—self-feeders, contrived so as to help themselves to plain sheets of paper at one end and deliver them at the other, printed, and that without any manual labour whatever, save in occasional superintendence. The double-pull press has been superseded by printing machines propelled by steam, gas, or water-power ; the business, which once could not keep one press going, has now so multiplied as to require the services of some forty presses and machines ; the one compositor has 400 successors in the various departments of the business ; and the one "devil" has developed into "devils" innumerable. The works of Messrs. Hazell, Watson and Viney, Limited, are amongst the establishments of the town where industrial occupations are largely represented, as, directly and indirectly, that firm alone gives employment to no less than 350 resident artizans. It must not be supposed that the amount of work employing so many hands is the requirement of Aylesbury or the district. The connections of the firm are so extensive that the handiwork of the Aylesbury printers finds its way into every part of the civilized world ; book-work, which is the principal production of the establishment, is produced in most of the known languages.

In the year 1867, Messrs. Hazell and Watson, who had been long located as successful printers in Hatton Garden, London, obtained the leasehold of some premises in the Friarage, Aylesbury, which had been erected for the purpose of tapestry weaving (an unsuccessful enterprise), with a view to printing more economically and healthfully

* The "Old Aylesbury Diary" which has been so frequently referred to was a manuscript which had been for many years in the possession of Mr. G. Fell, by whom it was lent to the author ; it had been much mutilated ; it was revised, with additions, and published in the *Bucks Advertiser* in 1872 ; it was written by Robert Croft Wheeler, of Aylesbury, a man of eccentric habits and of morose disposition ; he was consequently known as "Bob Cross." He was a member of an old Aylesbury family, and, like many of the same name, was a basket-maker ; he held some subordinate office connected with the Church ; he died in the Workhouse at Aylesbury in 1822.

than it could possibly be done in London. As an experiment, the works were therefore started on a small scale, under their present manager, Mr. H. Jowett. The business, however, so rapidly developed that the premises were soon found to be inconveniently small, whilst their situation rendered them objectionable in other respects. In 1879, the firm (having in the meantime been strengthened by the addition of Mr. Viney), under the altered title of Hazell, Watson and Viney, built the large and spacious buildings in the Tring Road, reserving the old premises in the Friarage for the purposes of their inkmaking, the two establishments giving employment to the number before stated, two-thirds of whom are local. In the autumn of 1883, the firm, owning the original office in Hatton Garden, another large office in Long Acre, and the Aylesbury Works, was transformed into a private Company, the staffs remaining the same, the chief office being in London (as before), and Mr. Jowett continuing to manage the Aylesbury branch. Nor is the business entirely confined to letterpress printing proper. The distance of Aylesbury from London renders it necessary to incorporate all the collateral trades, such as electrotyping, stereotyping, type-casting, ink-making, &c., all of which are here conducted on a large scale, and are interesting to visitors; whilst the book-binding department, which has recently been added, employs nearly 100 persons, who are constantly engaged on a considerable portion of the work printed at the establishment.

In the present day every one has become so well acquainted with letter-press printing and bookbinding that they require no description. Type-founding, electro-typing, and stereotyping are, however, processes never before heard of as industrial occupations in Aylesbury. As to type-founding, the metal of which type is cast is an admixture of tin, lead, and antimony. Formerly every small letter was cast singly; a matrix was held by the founder, into which the molten metal was poured by a small ladle; by a sudden jerk of the hand the liquid found its way into all parts of the matrix; it quickly hardened, when the matrix was thrown open, and the letter was ejected, finished, except having to go through an adjusting process in order that every letter should be of precisely the same height, a material point in type-founding. At this establishment, however, all these processes are completed simultaneously by the action of automatic machines; the molten metal is injected into the matrix at one end of the machine, and the type is delivered at the other end, quite ready for the printer's use. Electrotyping may be termed a chemical process. By means of a constant voltaic battery and manipulations with copper and zinc, copper is deposited on to a plastic mould, and a surface is thus obtained from which impressions can be produced in the same manner as from letter-press. Electrotyping is mostly used for illustrations; it is a complicated process, and could not be easily explained without going into intricate details. Stereotyping is, after the setting up of letterpress into pages, first taking a mould in papier maché; when this mould is dry and hardened, type metal, in a fused state, is cast into it, and thus a fac-simile of the letterpress is produced, and the page of letter is one solid mass. Only the surface of the type is taken in a thin plate; this is mounted on wooden blocks, so as to bring it up to what in the business is known as "type-high." The original page is used as required,

but in future impressions the stereo takes its place, and thus the wear of the type is saved ; the stereo is stored, and when further editions of a work are required it is brought again into use, and thus further composition is saved. Electrotypes and stereos in large quantities, and of great value, are warehoused at Messrs. Hazell, Watson, and Viney's works.

The premises are substantially built, of red brick, with dressings of white, ornamental bricks, the columns of the building favourably contrasting the surrounding foliage. The main building consists of four floors, about 110 feet by 40 feet, with windows on all sides, and an adjoining building for engine and boiler house, electrotyping, and type-casting. From this house springs a shaft 100 feet high. A few feet from the building, but connected with it by a covered way, is a square structure, which is a fire-proof house for preserving stereotype plates. The general arrangements consist of several departments, in which the various processes of book printing and bookbinding are carried on, each separate from the other, and under the care of a distinct foreman. Throughout the building the utmost care has been taken to preserve the health and comfort of the employees, and the ventilation, so often miserably defective in printing offices, is provided for by various ingenious contrivances.

CONDENSED MILK.

Preserved or condensed milk is a familiar object in the shop windows of those who deal in that commodity in every part of the Kingdom, and its value is acknowledged by thousands of households. For some years the only kind of preserved milk known was the dessicated, but the process by which this was obtained destroyed some of the essential constituents of the original substance, and thus detracted from its nutritive value. M. Appert, of Paris, recommended that milk should be boiled down to about half its bulk before putting it in bottles, and in 1847 an effort was made to improve the process by adding carbonate of soda. In the same year, Martin de Leignac, a Frenchman, obtained a patent for preserving milk by evaporating it to one-sixth of its bulk. It was probably this process which Mr. Moore, a medical man, adopted in this country in 1857. Mr. House, of London, on the retirement of Mr. Moore, whose manager he had been, took up the business. It was from Mr. House, through a Captain Fletcher, that Mr. Borden, of New York, obtained his idea, though he conducted his evaporation somewhat differently. It was with Borden's process, but with some improvements in it, that several American gentlemen established a milk-preserving manufactory at Cham, in the Canton of Zug, in 1866. The product of this manufactory is known to the English public as the "Anglo-Swiss milk."

In 1870, a company was established in England under the name of the "English" or "Aylesbury Condensed Milk Company." Their first factory was established at Aylesbury, and they afterwards added another at Middlewich, in Cheshire. The Anglo-Swiss Company acquired the business of the Aylesbury Company, with its factories at

Aylesbury and Middlewich ; and thus with its two factories in Switzerland, one in Germany, one at Chippenham, in Wiltshire, and another at Middletown, U.S.A., it has no less than seven establishments for the manufacture of condensed milk.

The method of condensing and preserving milk is substantially the same at all the manufactories. Steam is got up at the Aylesbury factory about six in the morning, and farmers begin to deliver their milk about seven o'clock.

The contract with the farmers is that the cows shall be fed with nothing that will impart an injurious quality or unpleasant flavour to the milk ; that no milk from a diseased cow shall be sent in ; that the milk shall be cooled immediately after milking, and kept cool ; that everything connected with the milking and the utensils used shall be perfectly clean ; that the milk shall be pure, as drawn from the cow ; that it shall be delivered at the company's works in a perfectly good condition within a limited number of hours after the milking. These conditions are rigidly enforced. Assistants are employed to examine each can of milk as it arrives at the factory ; they look at, smell, and taste it, so that if there is any peculiarity of colour, odour, or flavour, it is immediately detected, and it is rejected if there is any question as to its condition or quality. Cream tests are also carefully made daily, and the milk has frequently to undergo even a microscopic examination.

It is paid for at per 100lbs., the price of course varying according to the season of the year in which it is delivered. As soon as emptied the churns or tins are passed through a brush machine, by which they are thoroughly well scoured, after which a jet of steam is forced into them, and by that process they are cleansed from every particle of impurity.

The milk is emptied from the cans, immediately on its arrival, into large tanks erected in the department where the first part of the process takes place. From these tanks it is drawn into open metal cylinders, and placed in hot water baths, by which the temperature of it is gradually raised. After remaining in the baths some time it is lifted and emptied into large, open, funnel-shaped vats, whence the hot milk is drawn up through a pipe into condensing pans on the upper floor. By means of powerful machinery the air is exhausted from these condensing pans, so that the milk is made to boil at a much lower temperature than it would do in an open vessel. The milk remains in the pans for two or three hours, while the evaporation of the water is taking place, and it gradually becomes condensed. When this part of the process, which may be watched through glass fitted in the condenser, is completed, the milk, which is now about the consistency of liquid honey, returns by a pipe into the lower room, and is received again into the open cylinders, which are swung into the central tanks, this time filled with cold water, for the purpose of cooling. The regulation of the temperature during the whole of these processes is a matter of the greatest nicety, and of the utmost importance in securing success. Sugar is mixed with the milk solely for the purpose of preserving it.

Condensed milk without sugar is treated in the same manner as that prepared with it: it is largely used in the principal American cities, but possesses no advantage over the sweetened milk. It has, however, the same careful and accurate attention in its manufacture. The process of, as it might be called, evaporising milk eliminates the greater part of the water, and the analysis of the condensed milk shows that the casein, butyrous matter, or fat, and other solid or nutritive particles remain intact, in their original form. Thus an article is produced, which is in reality pure milk, and not a substance made from milk. If the usual quantity of water be added to condensed milk, and put into open vessels, cream will rise upon it; and if put into a churn and churned in the usual way, it will make butter like ordinary milk.

Condensed milk gradually thickens in the tins, becoming slightly more consistent during five or six months, after which it remains of the same consistency, and will continue sound and good so long as the tin which contains it remains perfect. It will thus be seen that condensed milk is simply natural cow's milk, from which a certain proportion of water has been abstracted, and to which a quantity of sugar has been added. The process appears simple enough, but in practice it is a difficult one; the utmost care and nicety must be observed, from beginning to end, that the results may be successful. In connection with condensed milk, combinations are also prepared of cocoa and milk and of coffee and milk, both of which are ready for immediate use, needing only boiling water to be added to produce the beverage.

The process here described will not account for the requirement of the labour of the large number of persons known to be in the constant employ of the establishment. A further inspection of the manufactory will explain. On entering an upper apartment numbers of hands are found busily at work; sheets of tin are rapidly passed through machines and cut into strips of a certain length and width; these strips are rolled into cylindrical form; here they are taken into the care of young females, each provided with a neat soldering iron, heated by a jet of gas passing through the handle, and a rod of solder, and the ends of the rolls are quickly and firmly joined; other females are employed at machines by which sheets of tin are cut into circular pieces, which are to form the tops and bottoms of the cases. The upper parts of the tins are called rings, and differ from the lower pieces by having a hole pierced in the centre, about the size of a florin; these tops and bottoms are now placed on the cylinder forming the body of the tin, to which they are firmly and smoothly adjusted by being passed through a crimping or milling machine. In this partially finished state they pass singly, by means of an endless chain, into a soldering machine, the other end of which they leave completed. To make sure that the tin is perfectly air-tight, and that there is no defect in the soldering process by which air could find its way into it, it has to undergo a further process; it is placed over an appliance by which the air is exhausted from it; an index hand is connected with this apparatus, which indicates any fault existing in the workmanship. If the tin passes muster it is then filled. In the filling process, the milk

is drawn from large metal vessels by means of taps; every tin is carefully and exactly filled through the aperture left in the lid already described. A row of perpendicular rods is now seen whirling round; on the tops of them are receptacles, in which the filled tins are placed, and by a simple contrivance they are held in position. A small circular piece of tin having been already placed over the orifice, the soldering iron is applied, and with one revolution on the axis the joint is completed, it being the work of a moment only. It is essentially necessary to the preservation of the milk that no air should remain in the tin; accordingly a pinhole perforation has still been left open, in order that every particle of air should exudate. After a while, and as a finishing stroke, a drop of solder is let fall on the perforation, and the work is complete, taking less time to accomplish than is required to describe it.

The filled tins are now transferred to the packing-room, where they are neatly labelled and wrapped in paper. Boxes, all exactly of the same size, are prepared on the premises, and in them the tins are packed, ready for delivery; these packages are passed down a shoot from the upper part of the premises to the Company's wharf, and quickly conveyed to the barge lying in the canal to receive them. These packing boxes are all made by machinery; no hammering or noise is required in their construction; the pieces of wood being all cut ready to the required size, they are placed in their proper position in a machine, nails descend through a tube, pressure is brought to bear, and the box is made as quickly as if by magic. Four powerful steam engines are requisite in the various departments of the establishment; and, directly or indirectly, this Aylesbury branch of the Company gives employment to upwards of 150 hands.

There is another occupation with which the public are not well acquainted—the preparation of sherry. Hitherto, as is well known, this wine has been imported in a matured state and fit for immediate consumption if required. There are no underground cellars in Jerez; the wine is fermented in Bodegas above ground, where the temperature in warm weather is so high that it necessitates the addition of a large quantity of spirit to keep it sound, in consequence of which the consumption of sherry in this country has greatly decreased, a highly fortified wine not being popular. This system has been superseded by Mr. James Pettit, who now receives the juice of the grape in its crude and natural state direct from the Spanish wine-press, and in the vaults at Aylesbury it is nurtured in a low temperature, without the addition of spirit. It is an experiment to determine whether sherry cannot be fermented much better in a low temperature than in a high one. Thus, the production of sherry from the imported fruit may fairly be classed amongst the industrial occupations of the town.

The Bucks Infirmary, Aylesbury.

Chapter XLIX.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS, INSTITUTIONS, &c.

The Bucks Infirmary—its erection—first President—Chaplaincy Fund—New Infirmary—description of building—Dr. Lee, LL.D.—Mr. Robert Ceely—the Rev. C. Erle—Sir Harry Verney—The Literary Institute—original founders of—its vicissitudes—new building—British Schools—new schools—National Schools—St. John's National Schools—Aylesbury Union House—the Market Company—the buildings—The Clock Tower — building of — cost — Recreation Ground — The Post Office — the first at Aylesbury—Penny Post.

THE BUCKINGHAMSHIRE INFIRMARY.

THE first movement for the establishment of an Infirmary emanated from the Newport Pagnell district. This was in the year 1827. The distance of Newport from the centre of the county was an objection to the erection of a General Infirmary in that district, and the subject passed into abeyance; but it was not altogether overlooked. Efforts in the meantime were made to obtain a list of subscribers, which for awhile lengthened but slowly. Exciting and troublous times followed; there was a general election in 1830, consequent upon the death of George IV. In the same year there was alarming discontent amongst the agricultural labourers, with riots, machine breaking, and incendiary fires. In the next year another general election took place; still progress in the establishment of an Infirmary had been steadily made. At a meeting called for furthering the project it was announced that £5,176 capital had been raised for purchase and building purposes, and an annual subscription of £255 was also promised. Subsequently, Dr. Lee, of Hartwell, added a present of £500 to the capital fund. Subscribers increased; the Rev. John Dell, of Walton, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Carrington, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Grenville, Sir H. Verney, Bart., and others had already given a hearty adherence to the movement. In January, 1832, Dr. Lee was in treaty for the purchase of an eligible property, situated at the junction of the Buckingham and Bicester Roads, at Aylesbury, and known as "Dawney's Nursery." This site was eventually secured, upon which occasion Dr. Lee made a second donation of £500, expressly to aid in the completion of the purchase.

There was already standing on the spot a neat and substantial villa; to this building two wings were added, and the internal arrangements were altered and adapted to the purposes for which the building was intended; for the time being this was all that was

requisite. On the 7th August, 1833, a meeting of the Governors was held, when Messrs. Robert and James Henry Ceely and Messrs. Young and Hayward offered their gratuitous services as visiting surgeons. Dr. Lee was at this meeting elected the first president, and the principal wards were named the "Lee" ward and the "Verney" ward; Mr. Rickford was also appointed treasurer, so that the establishment was now in working order. Concerts, balls, and sermons were brought into requisition to aid the funds; all were highly successful, and the proceeds greatly increased the funds. A bazaar in aid realised nearly £1,000 profit.

At the second annual meeting Dr. Lee was re-elected president, and in the following year he was succeeded by Sir Harry Verney, Bart., as the second president. Sir Harry had shared energetically in the work of establishing the Infirmary, in conjunction with Dr. Lee and others. In 1838 the financial state of the Institution was not satisfactory, but remained only temporarily so. At the general annual meeting, in August of that year, it was resolved to make a great effort to improve the funds, and a ball, concert, and bazaar were again resorted to, and were held under the patronage of the governors; these were spiritedly supported by the public, and the result was a profit of £1,142 to the funds. In October, 1841, a meeting of the subscribers was held for the purpose of considering the appointment of a chaplain; a strong feeling was evinced against the proposition, and it was thought best to defer it. Two months later the subject was re-opened, with the proposition to devote a sum of money, subscribed by the Radcliffe Trustees to the general fund, to form a chaplaincy fund. On this occasion a vote was taken; the majority was against the proposition, and a voluntary Chaplaincy fund was resolved on by those who had pressed the question.

There could not be a greater proof of the usefulness of this institution or of the benefits it had conferred on the poorer classes than the fact that the building was found to be too small for its requirements. Not being originally built for the purposes of an Infirmary there were defects in the construction of it which could not well be remedied. After several meetings had been held, and the whole subject thoroughly considered, the Committee came to the conclusion to rebuild entirely. Arrangements for the temporary removal of the patients and the continuance of the affairs of the Infirmary having been made, the place was vacated, the materials sold by auction, and the erection of a new building commenced forthwith.

On the 30th of April, 1861, the foundation stone of the new Infirmary was laid by Lady Verney, and in June, 1862, it was formally opened. The building, which is of the order technically known as Roman Doric, consists of a central portion and two wings—the centre comprising four stories, and the wings two. On the ground floor, after passing through the hall, the visitor finds the matron's sitting-room on his right hand and the house-surgeon's on the left; the corresponding bedrooms being placed opposite, in the rear of the building. In the west wing are the matron's and other storerooms,

porter's room, pupil's room, board room and chapel, and secretary's office. In the east wing, the physician's room, surgeon's consulting room, and patient's waiting room, with dispensary, laboratory, &c. The basement story, which occupies only the central portion of the building, comprises the kitchen, scullery, larder, beer-cellar, coal-cellar, &c. Ascending the easy and well-lighted staircase, we reach the principal floor, containing the patients' wards. These are spacious rooms, 81 feet by 25, and 16 feet high, the female ward being named after the venerable Dr. Lee, and the male ward after the late Lady Verney. Each ward contains 22 beds. The ventilation is secured partly by the windows, which range along both sides of the wards, but more especially by a shaft which admits the external air through brass gratings in the floor, the exit of heated air being provided for by a simple escape placed over each window. Cheerful, open fire-grates are placed in each ward. The floors are of oak, the walls of polished cement, and special care has been taken to use no material which in course of time would absorb the noxious exhalations of the sick room. On this floor are placed two "bye wards" for special cases which it may be necessary to isolate; the sculleries, nurses' rooms, &c. On the second floor (which, like the basement, occupies the centre only of the building) is situated the operating room, to which the patients are conveyed by a "lift," and which is thus entirely out of sight and hearing of the patients in the wards. Here also are the servants' bedrooms and other offices. Lifts are fitted in the centre of the building, one for the conveyance of food from the kitchen, the other for raising coals, &c., to the upper portion of the building. The ground belonging to the Institution, including that occupied by the building itself, is about two acres, and is inclosed by a boundary wall. The total sum expended amounted to £11,179. To meet this expenditure, the committee received subscriptions to the general fund, amounting to £6,705 3s. 11d., and special subscriptions of £16 12s. The amount raised by the sale of the old building and trees was £549 9s.; the total profit of the bazaar, £1,736 13s. 7d. The money withdrawn from the capital of the Institution for building purposes amounted to £2,055 1s.

The latest addition to the establishment is the Sanatorium, for the use of the convalescent patients; it is built at the rear of the Infirmary. This originated with the late Rev. C. Erle, who bequeathed £300 for its erection. It has recently been enlarged and greatly improved; it is very neatly furnished, supplied with books and periodicals, and is a very agreeable retreat to those patients whose recovery is advanced sufficiently to enable them to visit it, and it is a valuable feature in the institution. It is through the exertions and liberal subscription of Mr. Cazenove, of the Lilies, that the late improvements to the Sanatorium have been completed. The architect both of the Infirmary and the Sanatorium was Mr. D. Brandon, of Berkeley Square, London.

With the Infirmary must ever be associated the name of John Lee, Esq., LL.D., of Hartwell, who was so instrumental in its original formation and a munificent donor to its treasury. Dr. Lee was born in 1783, and was the eldest son of John Fiott, Esq., of London, who married Harriet, daughter of William Lee, Esq., of Totteridge, Herts;

he took the name of Lee by Royal mandate, in 1815. The family of the Lees have owned the Hartwell estate since the junction of the houses of Hampden and Lee, A.D. 1570, and the Hampden family trace back their possession to the year 1268. The Rev. Sir George Lee, the sixth baronet, dying unmarried in 1827, bequeathed the mansion and estates to Dr. Lee, who was the representative of both branches of the family, and was seised of the estates of Hartwell ; Totteridge, in Herts ; and Colworth, in Bedfordshire. He was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow. He was fifth wrangler in 1808. As a travelling bachelor of the University he visited Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor. It was at this time that he formed that taste for the collection of antiquities to which the collections at Hartwell bore testimony. A year or two before his death he was made a Q.C. by Lord Chancellor Westbury, an honour which, it is said, afforded him great satisfaction ; he was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and also a Fellow, and for two years the President, of the Royal Astronomical Society. He was a member of the Geological, the Geographical, the British Meteorological, the British Archæological, the Syro-Egyptian, the Asiatic, the Chronological, the Numismatic, and other learned Societies. Of Dr. Lee's benevolence as a landlord and a master it is unnecessary to speak. He married, in 1833, Miss Cecilia Rutter, and in 1855 Miss Louisa C. Heath, step-daughter of Mr. Robert Wilkinson, of Totteridge Park, Herts. He died in 1866, and was succeeded in the estates by his nephew, Mr. E. Dyke Lee.

Another worthy patron of the Infirmary was the Rev. Christopher Erle, M.A., F.G.S., J.P., &c., the rector of Hardwick, who died in 1870, at the age of 83 years. The rev. gentleman was the elder brother of the Right Hon. Sir William Erle, late Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and, like him, was educated at New College, Oxford. He was inducted into the living of Hardwick, which falls, in succession, to the senior bachelor of that College, in the year 1834. Mr. Erle was one of the most liberal supporters of the Infirmary, his contributions to which were far greater in proportion than those of many of much larger means. His last public act was one which showed his great love for the Institution—his kind donation of three hundred guineas for the erection of the Sanatorium before-mentioned.

A third name closely connected with the general management of the Bucks Infirmary must not be passed over—that of the late Mr. Robert Ceely, of Aylesbury. No one connected with this district had formed wider associations, associations which included all classes, nor could anyone be more generally beloved. His manner was so genial, kind, and affectionate that a friendship, having been once formed with him, was assiduously cultivated. Mr. Ceely's choice of the profession was made early in life. His first practice of it was intended for the service of the East India Company, but this was overruled by medical advice, and his career opened in March, 1821, at Aylesbury. The commencement of his practice was in conjunction with Mr. Henry Hickman, jun., a representative of a very ancient and highly respected Aylesbury family. Mr. Hickman died soon after Mr. Ceely joined him. Mr. Ceely's heart and soul were in

his profession. He gave attention to the subject of vaccination, in which he felt great interest. He became a champion of cleanliness, and sanitary matters under his interference and recommendations improved. Those who are old enough will not fail to recollect the invaluable services rendered by him when Aylesbury was afflicted with a severe visitation of that dire disease, cholera, in 1832. In 1840 he published, in the Transactions of the Provincial, Medical, and Surgical Associations, "Observations on the Variolæ Vaccinæ as they occasionally appear in the Vale of Aylesbury, with an account of some recent experiments on vaccination." This publication having met with much approval and encouragement, in 1842 he published further observations on the same subject. In his profession he was no respecter of persons; the occupier of the lowliest cottage or the most miserable hut received from him the same degree of care and attention as the resident in the most stately mansion. Mr. Ceely, in conjunction with his brother, Mr. J. H. Ceely, gave his gratuitous services to the Bucks Infirmary from the date of its original foundation; he regularly kept his appointments there, his name as receiving medical surgeon appearing up to the time of his death. He held the appointment of surgeon to Her Majesty's prison; he was medical officer to the Aylesbury Union and the Aylesbury Board of Health; he was a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Licentiate of the College of Apothecaries; and was also a member of several medical and other scientific societies. Mr. Ceely's death took place in 1880; he had been ill from the effects of a severe cold but little more than a week. The subscribers and friends of the Bucks Infirmary presented him with his portrait. It is a three-quarter length, and was executed by Mr. Storey. It hangs in the board room of the Institution, in which are also placed the portraits of Sir Harry Verney, Dr. Lee, and other distinguished benefactors to the hospital.

Notice only has been taken of those patrons of the Infirmary who have passed from us, but in a history of the establishment which may be handed down to future generations it would be exceedingly ungenerous not to record with his compeers the name of Sir Harry Verney, Bart. Sir Harry was one of the earliest promoters of the Institution, and a liberal donor to the first fund; he followed Dr. Lee as president, and for more than half a century has been untiring in his efforts to maintain the efficiency of the establishment, devoting much labour to both its general and detailed management.

THE LITERARY INSTITUTE.

The first gleam of any movement in the town, having for its object the diffusion of knowledge, appeared in the early years of the present century. In 1821 "the Aylesbury Library Society" held its annual meeting at the White Hart Hotel, and it was reported to be in a prosperous condition; it had evidently existed some few years, and may be deemed to have been the earliest effort of the kind; nothing after the date of 1821 is recorded respecting it. In that year a second library was established, the object being the loan of suitable books to the poor. Neither of these Societies had any distinct

establishment, and the supposition is that they were short-lived. Subsequently there was the "Aylesbury Subscripton Library;" this was a private matter, in the hands of a limited list of subscribers, who passed the volumes on to each other.

The first meeting on record having for its object the establishment of a public Literary Society was held in 1833.* The only available room this Society could obtain, free of rent, was the upper part of the old British School buildings in Church Row; this room could only be had in the evenings, after it had been crowded all day with school children; it was inconveniently situated, exceedingly uncomfortable, and, as a matter of course, not well attended. The whole property of the Society then consisted of the weedings of various private libraries, which were deposited in one bookcase. This very weakly state did not long continue. In 1835, a removal was made to rooms in Temple Street, which, being more central, were better attended; and this impetus given to the Society was followed by an increase of members. Amongst its earliest patrons were Dr. Lee, of Hartwell, and Lord Nugent, of the Lilies, both of whom gave lectures on practical subjects to the members. In 1841, Mr. Francis Hayward became connected with the Society; the rooms had been closed, but by a strenuous effort, in which Dr. Lee gave great assistance, the doors were re-opened, and the name of "The Mechanics' Institute" was adopted. Lord Nugent, Lord Brougham, Captain Hamilton, and others made donations to the funds, and the library was greatly extended by presents from gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Mr. Robert Thorp was appointed treasurer, and Mr. Rowland Dickins secretary, and the position of the Institute was promising. Subsequently, the Rev. C. Erle became a valued patron of it. After many vicissitudes, changes of situation, closing of its doors, and other incidents, the Society settled down in contracted and inconvenient rooms on the north side of Kingsbury, and there existed for many years, Mr. Robert Thorp and Mr. Rowland Dickins continuing to hold their offices. During this period attempts were made to form a building fund, in order to ensure a permanent place of settlement. In these exertions, Mr. Thorp, the treasurer, was indefatigable, but the fund made very slow progress.

The King's Head property having been acquired by the Rothschild family, it was contemplated to improve it by making an entrance from Temple Street, and several houses were purchased, to be taken down for that purpose; the plan was not carried out. Eventually the property passed into the hands of Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart., M.P., who generously erected the present structure and presented it to the town, free of cost of building or rent. On the 15th of October, 1879, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the building took place, when Sir Nathaniel and Lady de Rothschild attended, and her ladyship laid the stone, which is placed in the front

* Present—Mr. Thomas Dell, jun., of the Brewery, Bourbon Street; Mr. Thos. Field, Returning-officer; Mr. James Wyatt, jun., afterwards of Bedford, F.G.S. (he collected a famous array of paleolithic implements, which are now deposited in the British Museum); Mr. John Rolls Gibbs, the first editor of the *Aylesbury News*; Mr. Robert Gibbs, author of this Work; Mr. S. Marlin, bookseller; Mr. F. Warren, Aylesbury Gas Works; Mr. J. B. Edmonds, afterwards of Penzance; Mr. J. Coleman, afterwards of Northampton.

part of the building, and bears this inscription :—"Aylesbury Reading Rooms. Erected by Sir N. M. de Rothschild, Bart., M.P. This foundation stone was laid on the 15th October, 1879, by Lady de Rothschild. 'Wise men lay up knowledge'—Proverbs x., 14." On a silver trowel used at the time is inscribed :—"Presented to Lady de Rothschild upon the occasion of her laying the foundation stone of the Aylesbury Reading Rooms." There was a large attendance at the ceremony, and several addresses were given. On the 7th May,1880, the opening of the new building took place, under the presidency of Cyril Flower, Esq. Sir Nathaniel and Lady de Rothschild were again present, and a concourse of the residents of the town and others filled the room. After the opening, the company adjourned to the Corn Exchange, where a *recherché* luncheon was served, Cyril Flower, Esq., presiding. Here again addresses were given by the patrons and members of the Institute.

The building, which is conveniently situated, consists of a reading-room on the ground floor, about 20 by 40 feet, in which are two fire-places ; the light is good, there being large plate-glass windows at each end ; there are also two gas chandeliers ; this room is very nicely fitted in dwarf oaken panelling throughout ; it is lofty and well ventilated. From the entrance-hall the upper part of the building is reached by a spacious staircase ; on this floor is the library, which is fitted with dwarf oaken book-cases, having plate-glass panels and cupboards below ; this room also has large windows and gas sun-lights ; it is of the same size as the lower room ; the ceilings of both are ornamented and panelled; adjoining the upper room is a convenient committee-room, under which is a lavatory, &c. The interior fittings and embellishments of the building are of a superior character ; the arrangements are characteristic and uniform. The trustees of the building are Messrs. George Butcher, Rowland Dickins, Robert Gibbs, James Gurney, Thomas Horwood, C. Hooper, W. W. Walker, C. H. Watson, and H. Wyatt. It is held on lease for a thousand years at a peppercorn rent ; there are stipulations that it shall be used for the purposes of a public institute only.

THE BRITISH SCHOOLS.

In November, 1826, a school was opened in Green End, on the Lancastrian system, when 2d. per week was the school fee ; the children read the Scriptures, without note or comment. In January, in the following year, a meeting was held in the Magistrates' Chamber for the purpose of establishing a British School, and a committee was formed. In 1828, Mr. Marshall was appointed treasurer, and Mr. Marcus Turner* secretary, in the place of Mr. Richard Shiells†, who had left the town. In 1830, the old Workhouse and premises in Church-yard were sold by public auction, when a portion of the property was purchased for the purposes of a British School. Mr. John Hull, of Uxbridge, was the principal in this movement, in which he was assisted by several residents in

* Of the old family of Turner, of Parson's Fee ; he was uncle to Archdeacon Farrar.

† Editor of the *Bucks Chronicle*, a newspaper published at Aylesbury in 1824.

the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Hull mainly aided in founding not only the British School at Aylesbury, but also others in several towns. A considerable outlay was made on the newly purchased premises, a boys' school-room being formed on the ground floor and a girls' school above it; there were separate entrances, and a house for the school-master fronted the street. For awhile the schools were maintained, but the subscription list failed, and eventually they were closed for want of funds. In August, 1842, a meeting of the subscribers of the schools was held, at which Lord Nugent and Dr. Lee were present; it was then decided to re-open the boys' school forthwith; a master was appointed, and in October the school was so re-opened, but for boys only. In August, 1843, matters were more promising. In 1844 the school-boys were publicly examined in the County Hall by Sir George Stephen; it was an interesting meeting; in the following year the school was found to be well established; in 1865 schools were thrown open both for girls and boys. They were continued in the old building for many years, and with success; still the place was not well adapted for the purposes of education; more space was needed; better ventilation was requisite; indeed, a great many defects in the general arrangements of the old building were apparent. The schools had for some time been under Government inspection, and in 1870, the accommodation was found to be so insufficient, and the structural arrangements, according to modern requirements, so defective, that her Majesty's Inspector condemned the building, and refused to continue the Government grants unless certain important alterations were made. These were so extensive that the committee perceived that a reconstruction of the building would be required, and at once set themselves to work to carry it into effect. It was resolved to pull down the school-house, to enlarge the site, and to build the new schools on the area. The Trustees of Harding's Charity liberally granted £700 for the purpose, a sum equivalent to that which they had already allowed, with the permission of the Charity Commissioners, for the enlargement of the National Schools. The total cost of the undertaking was about £1,250, including the purchase of the new premises. The new schools consist of three rooms, one for boys, another for girls, and the third for infants. They are admirably constructed, lofty and well ventilated. Accommodation is provided altogether for nearly 500 children, and the schools may be truly said to be superior in their general arrangements. In January, 1873, they were opened by Sir N. M. de Rothschild, Bart., M.P., who had very liberally subscribed to the building fund.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

There was a school in connection with Aylesbury Church at an early period. In the "Aylesbury Diary" are these entries:—"1787—August 1st—Sunday Schools were established in this town by subscription." "August 19th—The schools were first begun this day." "December 16th—An attempt was made by the committee of the Sunday Schools to remove the proprietors of the new gallery at the west end of the Church from their seats, to make room for the boys and girls belonging to the schools, but it was

rejected, *nem. con.* It was particularly opposed by Mr. Hilliard, Mr. James Berry, sen., Mr. T. Dell, and Mr. Joseph Burnham." This was evidently a Sunday School only.

In 1844, at the sale of the Workhouse property in the Oxford Road, Mr. Thomas Tindal purchased a portion of the ground, which he presented for the purpose of the erection of a National School; he also gave a quantity of materials towards the building. In August, 1845, Mrs. Pretyman, the daughter of Mr. Tindal, and wife of the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, then vicar of the parish, laid the foundation stone; the building was at once proceeded with. In February, 1855, the school was reported to be in a prosperous state, there being 286 scholars in attendance. In course of time the accommodation was found to be insufficient, and in 1870 steps were taken to enlarge the school accommodation, and to provide an infant's class-room and other additions. The cost of the various works was defrayed by liberal subscriptions and by the grant of £700 from the Trustees of Harding's Charity, so that in 1871, soon after the Education Act came into operation, it was found that, with the Education provided by the Nonconformists, there was sufficient provision made in the Elementary Schools of Aylesbury for all who needed it. It was Archdeacon Bickersteth who suggested the idea of supplementing the voluntary subscriptions by a grant from Harding's Charity, so as to meet the requirements of the Education Act of 1870; and the grant was apportioned to the various Elementary Schools in proportion to the amount of accommodation which they respectively provided.

The school buildings are substantially brick-built and slated; they are divided into three compartments for boys, girls, and infants. Playgrounds are attached. The enlargements of 1870 included the erection of a master's house adjacent to the schools.

ST. JOHN'S NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

When Archdeacon Bickersteth became Vicar of Aylesbury, in 1853, his attention was soon directed to the necessity of providing additional school accommodation at the north-east part of the town; and about 1856 he succeeded in purchasing by subscription a house, with garden and outbuildings, in the Bierton Road, known as Read's, with the intention of placing one or two of his curates in it, and of converting the outbuildings into an Infant School. The outbuildings were gutted, and when properly fitted up made an excellent school-room, which, with the ground about it, was duly conveyed to the Vicar of Aylesbury and his successors, much on the same terms as those on which the school in the Oxford Road was conveyed. The school was opened and very soon filled, and in the course of two or three years it became necessary to enlarge it. The work still grew as the number of scholars increased, and the school was again enlarged by the addition of a separate infant-school and class-room. There is now school accommodation for 250 children: it is a mixed school.

The Aylesbury Elementary Schools are supported by voluntary contributions, aided by grants from the Government; there is no School Board.

THE AYLESBURY UNION HOUSE.

For some time after the formation of the Aylesbury Union, the Parish Workhouse, in the Oxford Road, which was comparatively a new and a very substantial building, was continued as the Union House. Having been built for the parish of Aylesbury only it was found to be inconveniently small for the purposes of the larger area of the Union and consequent increase of inmates. After a good deal of contention, the erection of a new Union House on Bierton Hill was decided on, and it was built in the year 1844. There is little to record concerning it except that it has always well answered the purposes for which it was erected. The building is of red brick, with stone dressings; it has slightly projecting gables, with intermedial smaller ones; the window-frames are of iron, with diamond quarries; the roofs are slated. A ventilating shaft, rising out of the centre of the roof, mars the effect of the clustered chimneys, and it could have formed no part of the original design of the architect. The selection of the spot for the building was judicious, it being both healthful and pleasant. The style of architecture may be said to be the Domestic. The forecourts are neat, and the care bestowed on the ornamental front garden aids in giving a generally pleasing effect to the whole. The entrance is by a pair of open iron-work gates, to which a porter's lodge is attached; adjoining is a waiting or reception room; the Board-room is detached, and intervenes between the entrance and the main building. The internal arrangements of the House are of the same description as most establishments of the like character. The apartments are lofty, well lighted, well ventilated, and cheerful. The dormitories are all furnished with single bedsteads, having cocoa-fibre mattresses, covered with white counterpanes, and have every appearance of the strictest cleanliness and comfort about them. The Chapel and the dining-room, situate in the centre of the House, are excellent apartments. In the rear is an Infirmary, also the casual ward, stable accommodation, and other requisite out-offices.

THE MARKET BUILDINGS.

The desire for some accommodation suitable to maintain the position which Aylesbury market has always held in the district had been expressed for many years, but the first formal attempt to carry out this object was made at a public meeting held at the White Hart on November 12th, 1862. At a subsequent meeting, a committee was nominated, and the purchase of the tolls from Mr. Acton Tindal, the Lord of the Manor, effected. The necessity of an Act of Parliament was obvious, and accordingly it was obtained; it received the Royal assent on the 11th May, 1863. The capital authorized by the Act was £18,000, with power to increase the same to £25,000. The first and most difficult duties of the Directors consisted in the selection of a site. No less than eight were mentioned at the outset. After long negotiations it was found impossible to obtain either of these on advantageous terms, and finally the Directors purchased one which had not at first been thought of, namely, the White Hart

Clock Tower, County Hall, and Corn Exchange, Aylesbury.

premises, which were obtained for the sum of £6,000. Mr. D. Brandon, of Berkeley Square, London, was appointed the architect of the Company.

The building is in the late Elizabethan style, of red brick, with stone facings. The front adjoining the County Hall consists of three archways—one for carriages, 18 feet wide, the other two for foot passengers, each 7 feet wide, and supported by ornamental pillars, the central arch being 20 feet high. These archways lead into the new thoroughfare known as Exchange Street, which unites Walton Street with the New Road. Above the archway are two spacious rooms, with retiring rooms and other conveniences. The front room contains a handsome bay window, surmounted by an ornamental gable and Elizabethan terminals. This part of the building is reached by a geometrical staircase on the left hand of the archway, surmounted by a mansard roof, with a vane and metal cresting. The staircase also communicates with the gallery in the Corn Exchange. The Exchange is placed in a parallel line with the front of the County Hall. It is approached by three stone steps on the left hand side of the archway; it has folding doors, surmounted by carved work. This main building is 90 feet by 45 in the clear, the roof being supported by semicircular iron ribs, the spandrils filled with tracery. The height in the centre is 38 feet. Light is afforded by a skylight extending for 70 feet along the centre of the roof, as well as by the clerestory windows. The construction of the walls is peculiar, is designed to economise space, and resist the lateral thrust of so large a roof; indeed it may almost be said that there is a double wall on each side. The space between the buttresses is inclosed to form offices. There is a spacious gallery at each end. The room is certainly a handsome one; it is much used for public meetings, concerts, balls, theatrical performances, flower shows, &c. The oil paintings on the walls were those which for so many years adorned the ancient dining-room at the White Hart Hotel; they are allegorical subjects. Kitchens, with all necessary appliances, adjoin the Exchange.

The general Market House is in the rear. This building is 112 feet by 61, and is covered with slate and glass. The roof, consisting of three spans, is supported by iron columns 14 feet high, with ornamental brackets, the clear height being 22 feet. Under the Market, extensive vaults are constructed. At the rear of these buildings there is a large open space for the use of the Cattle Market, having convenient approaches from the New Road and Walton by means of Exchange Street, which obviate the driving of cattle through the principal streets of the town.

The ceremony of opening the new buildings took place on the 13th of July, 1864, when Lord Carrington, who was then the Lord Lieutenant of the County, presided.

THE CLOCK TOWER.

There is no doubt that Aylesbury was possessed of a town clock at a very early period. In the representation of the ancient Town Hall, the clock is a leading feature. This Town Hall is assumed to have been built by Sir John Baldwin in the reign of

Henry VIII., but a closer reading goes to show that Sir John improved and renovated it, so that it may be conjectured the original building was of a date anterior to that ascribed to it. The clock, as represented in the old engraving, has every appearance of being an original, and evidently was brought into use with the completion of the building. A public clock was then a rarity. It was in 1530 that the first portable clock was made. In 1540 a clock was set up in Hampton Court, before which date none went accurately. That at Aylesbury was what is termed an arm-clock; it was held out a distance from the building by a kind of bracket, carved, and representing the human arm and hand; the object of thus placing it was to give a better view of the dial, as by this means it could be seen for a long distance up or down the street. These ancient clocks are fast disappearing; there was one on the old Market Hall at Wendover, and one still exists at "The Loft" at West Wycombe. With the demolition of the Aylesbury ancient Town Hall, about the year 1802, the clock also disappeared. The succeeding Market House was built by the Marquis of Buckingham, when he purchased the Manor of Aylesbury of the Pakingtons. It was evident that the architect of this building contemplated the addition of a clock, as he surmounted his building with a turret and cupola, the one for the clock and the other for the bell, and he probably was disappointed at his work never having received the finishing addition, which would have been so appropriate to it; and so also must have been the inhabitants of the town, as they were by this oversight deprived of their public clock for a period of nearly 50 years.

When the late Mr. Acton Tindal purchased the Manor in 1849 of the Duke of Buckingham's trustees, one of his first acts, as Lord, was the erection of a public clock in exactly the position the architect of the building intended it should have been placed in when the building was erected. The clock was purchased by Mr. Tindal, at a cost of about £200. This second Market House shared a like fate to that of its predecessor; in the year 1866 it was levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants were once more deprived of their public time-keeper. So faithful a servant, and one so accurate in the performance of its public duties, was the clock presented by Mr. Tindal, that it was preserved, hoping that its services might be called into requisition at some future period, a hope which has happily been realised. The absence of the clock was much regretted; year after year passed, and at times there was but little hope that it would ever again appear in public. Meetings were held, and various plans suggested for its re-erection, the great obstacle being the difficulty of obtaining a building fund. At one meeting an estimate was furnished, for erecting a suitable building in which to place the clock at a cost of £300. This sum, which would have been quite inadequate, was not forthcoming, and the matter again went into abeyance. It was subsequently suggested that the clock might be affixed to some well-situated public building already erected. The front of the Corn Exchange was spoken of, but the architect of that building had made no provision for a clock dial, and the erection there was an utter impossibility. The County Hall was then thought of, but the proposition was met with obstacles, the Hall being a county and not a town building; again, the appendages of

the clock would have seriously interfered with the light and interior arrangements of the edifice ; further, a right of ingress and egress would have to be ceded, and thus the project could not be entertained by the county justices.

In October, 1875, a public meeting on the subject was held in the Corn Exchange, with Mr. Tindal in the chair ; this meeting was largely attended. The issue of it was the appointment of a committee *pro tem.*, and a Clock Tower committee was formed, with Mr. Henry Watson as chairman, aided by Messrs. A. Tindal, H. Gurney, J. Gunn, H. A. P. Cooper, A. Self, J. K. Fowler, Robert Gibbs, W. Ward, H. Gurney, jun., T. Field, F. F. Lehmann, Joseph Kingham, R. Dickins, Jas. Gurney (treasurer), J. Jefferay (secretary). The committee set vigorously to work, but in the outset met with a difficulty, that of procuring a site for the intended erection. This being overcome subscriptions were solicited, and a house to house collection made. Most parties appealed to willingly subscribed, and even the poorer classes came forward with their ready pence. Mr. D. Brandon, of Berkeley Square, London, was appointed architect, and Mr. Cooper, of Aylesbury, builder. The foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Acton Tindal, on the 11th July, 1876.

The tower is of solid brickwork, faced with stone from the Blackthorn quarries, near Bicester ; the dressed portion of the stonework, consisting of string courses, quoinstones, windows, spire, &c., being executed in Coomb Down Bath stone, which produces a pleasing variety of colour, whilst affording a contrast to the many red brick buildings surrounding the Market Square. There are drinking fountains on two sides. On a canopied niche in the north front is a tablet, on which the date of the erection is inscribed. The entrance is in the south front. The clock is the same as was formerly erected on the late Market House ; it has four illuminated dials, placed in gables at the height of 35 feet from the ground. Above the gables is a stone bell-turret, with a spire, surmounted with a vane. The Tower is placed on a platform 15 feet square; its width at the base is 6ft., and its height to the top of the stone spire 64 feet. There is a staircase in the interior. The exterior is divided by cornices, enriched with carvings into three stages, and the style of the architecture is that of the Early Period of Gothic.

The subscriptions amounted to £778 0s. 2d., to which was added the proceeds of the sale of the materials of the old Market House, making a total of £882 10s. 11d. This amount was disbursed as follows :—Preliminary expenses, £6 19s. 2d. ; the contractors, £620 ; for silver trowel, &c., £8 3s. 6d. ; carvings, £96 ; lightning conductor, £11 18s. ; repairing and re-arranging clock, with two additional dials, £50 ; painting, glazing, gilding, and fixing dials, £24 12s. 7d. ; weather vane, £6 8s. ; architect's expenses, £21 ; printing and advertising, £11 12s. ; sundry small bills and incidentals, £8 19s. 9d. ; testimonial to Secretary, £11 6s. 4d. ; total £882 10s. 11d. At the completion, there was no formal proceeding ; the building was handed over to the Board of Health, on the 25th of June, 1877.

THE RECREATION GROUND.

Shortly after the passing of the new Poor Law Act the Aylesbury Parish Workhouse in the Oxford Road was abandoned, and the property sold, the proceeds of which sale, as a matter of course, formed the fund out of which the parish had to pay a proportion of the expense of the new Union House on Bierton Hill. The Silk Mill was not then disposed of, but was held in hand for some years. It was eventually sold to Messrs. Evans. There was an understanding that the proceeds of this second sale should be reserved for the purpose of purchasing a public recreation ground. No suitable piece was, however, obtainable.

In July, 1860, F. O. Martin, Esq., an inspector appointed by the Charity Commissioners to institute an inquiry into the mode in which the charities of Aylesbury were conducted, held an open court for that purpose in the County Hall. It was there stated that some parish property had been recently sold for £575, which amount it had been resolved should be appropriated to the purchase of a recreation ground for the parishioners. That sum being considered inadequate for the purchase, the inspector was requested to recommend the Charity Commissioners to sanction the appropriation of £500 from the charity funds, so as to carry out the object in view. Mr. Martin, who very much approved the plan, said he had already laid the suggestion before the Commissioners, and they felt disposed to sanction the allocation of £250 from the funds of Harding's and £250 from Bedford's charity. This scheme was never carried out.

In 1863, a piece of land was offered, likely to answer the purpose, but being situated at the northern end of the town it was not considered sufficiently central to accommodate the parish generally. In 1867, the matter was again brought before the public, and in that year a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Barford, Dickins, Connor, Fowler, Robert Gibbs, Samuel Gibbs, James Gurney and H. Gurney, jun., waited on the Board of Health for the purpose of consulting that body on the subject of a recreation ground. The lease under which Messrs. Ceely had for many years held some of the property belonging to the trustees of John Bedford's Charity having expired, and a portion of the premises, consisting of a meadow at the rear of the Market buildings, being admirably adapted, from its central position, for a public recreation ground, this deputation to the Board of Health urged the Board to arrange with the trustees of the charity for the acquisition of that meadow. The trustees at once acceded to the proposition. A meeting was subsequently held in the County Hall, the late Mr. Acton Tindal presiding, when the acceptance of the offer of the trustees was warmly advocated, and a vote of thanks to them, for their generous appreciation of a public want, was carried. Thus the Recreation Ground was obtained on a lease for fourteen years, which expired a few years ago ; the tenancy is now a yearly one. The amount of the sale of the Silk Mill thus remains in hand, producing an income which meets the rent of the Recreation Ground, and the capital is reserved for the purchase of ground at any future time, if found to be desirable. In 1867, the Board of Health took possession of the

meadow, and under certain regulations it was thrown open as a public Recreation Ground. It has fully answered the expectation of the promoters, and, without doubt, is greatly appreciated by those for whose special use it was intended. It is an admirable adjunct to the town.

THE POST OFFICE.

In the year 1685, a Post Office was established at Aylesbury, when letters were received and despatched every other day, so at that period a week at least would be consumed in forwarding a letter to London and obtaining an answer. There is no record as to the means by which the letters were conveyed. The General Post Office underwent great changes during the reign of Queen Anne, a very important Act of Parliament being then passed for consolidating and reorganising the whole department. In 1784, John Palmer, manager of the Bath Theatre, finding the Post Office coaches the slowest on the road, their speed averaging only about three and a half miles an hour, and knowing them to be more frequently robbed than any other conveyances, proposed building mail coaches adapted to run at a good speed, by horsing them liberally, and attaching an armed guard to each coach. Palmer's was the first grand step made towards bringing the Post Office service up to the public requirements of the time, and its financial success was complete. From the introduction of Palmer's improvements the net revenue of the Post Office, which in 1784 was £196,513, increased so rapidly that in 1793 it had more than doubled itself, and in 1806 it exceeded £1,000,000 sterling. In 1792 three clerks in the General Post Office established the Money Order Office, under a plan approved by the Postmaster-General of the time. It was originally intended for the transmission of small sums to soldiers and sailors; but the general public soon saw its advantages and availed themselves of the facilities it offered. In 1838, Lord Lichfield, who was then Postmaster-General, obtained the consent of the Treasury to the conversion of the Money Order Office into a Government department; and on the 6th December, 1838, the chief Money Order Office commenced business in two small rooms at the north end of the Post Office building in St. Martin's-le-Grand, with a staff of three clerks. The first mails conveyed by railway were those between Manchester and Liverpool, in the year 1830. The next great step towards progress, and also towards making the Post Office more useful, was the pamphlet on "Post Office Reform," published in 1837 by Mr. Rowland Hill. Everybody knows that the main feature of the plan proposed by Mr. Hill was a uniform rate of one penny for letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight, irrespective of distance, within the limits of the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands. The project was investigated by a Royal Commission, and also by a committee of the House of Commons. The report of the committee was most favourable, and during the session of Parliament which followed the publication of the report of the committee, 2,000 petitions were presented to Parliament praying for the adoption of penny postage. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Baring) brought in a bill to authorise the system being carried into effect, and

after passing the Commons by a majority of 100, it became law on August 17th, 1839. On the 5th December following, the charge on London district letters was reduced to a uniform rate of one penny, and the postage on all other inland letters to fourpence per half-ounce. The parliamentary privilege of "franking," which had been in operation since the time of the Long Parliament, was abolished.

Prior to 1839, the postage of a letter between London and Aylesbury was 7d., and if the sheet comprised more than one piece of paper, however small, the charge would be doubled. The villages a few miles from a post-town felt greater disadvantages from expensive postage, and also tedious delivery. A letter from London would at Whitchurch be loaded with an extra charge of 4d. for the carriage from Aylesbury, and if sent on to any other near place beyond Whitchurch a second 4d. would be added; thus a letter from London to Oving would be charged 15d.!

We are apt to consider the Penny Postage scheme of our day as an original idea; it was not so. Two hundred years ago a penny post system was in full operation in London, but it was not universally adopted. In the reign of Charles II., William Dockra, a merchant, invented a penny post, and directed it for a considerable time, with the approbation of the inhabitants of London. But, by a statute, the monopoly of the Post Office was settled on the Duke of York. The Duke, finding the project capable of great improvement, filed an information against Dockra, and obtained a conviction against him in the King's Bench, and he was ruined. Dockra had at last a small pension allowed him. In 1776, a penny post was set up at Edinburgh by a Mr. Williamson; it was independent of the General Post, and met with indifferent success. Twenty years after, the General Post Office obtained an Act prohibiting any private conveyance of letters, when Williamson had an annuity for life allowed him, equal to what his private establishment yielded.

The business of the Aylesbury Post Office is far different from what it was even a quarter of a century ago. Old Betty Goodwin, the postwoman, used to deliver letters once a day; there are several establishments now receiving more letters daily than Betty had to deliver for the whole town. The delivery of a letter, when sevenpence was demanded for postage, often led to quibbles between the postwoman and the recipient of the letter. If a letter was refused, or received at the Post Office, for which no owner could be found, it used to be stuck up publicly in the Post Office window, and was obtainable by anyone on paying the postage. The postmaster at that period would have been startled at the posting of 20,000 packets at one time by one firm in the town; such an occurrence took place a few months ago.

Post Office Memoranda.—Uniform postage of 4d. as an experiment, 1839; postage 1d. for half-ounce, 1840; stamped covers and adhesive stamps, 1840; 1d. instead of 2d. for every ounce above the first, 1865; book post, 2 ounces 1d., 1870; newspaper covers, ½d. each, 1870; half-penny post-cards, 1870; one ounce for 1d. postage, 1871. The

machine for perforating postage stamps was invented by Mr. Henry Archer, and purchased by the Government for £4,000, in August, 1853, and forthwith introduced into public use.

In 1643, the General Post Office yielded £5,000 per annum; in 1883, it produced £745,000, and in 1884 £785,000. The Parcels Post, which at its commencement carried parcels at the rate of fifteen millions per annum, now transmits packages to the amount of twenty-five millions in the year. This, however, is still two millions short of the number estimated by the promoters of the scheme; but the desired figure will, no doubt, be reached very soon. The re-arrangement of the Postal Order system has been attended with gratifying results, and the business done in this department now amounts to twenty millions sterling per annum. It is more pleasant still to record that children in large and increasing numbers are taking advantage of the system of small deposits made up of the postage stamps affixed to forms supplied by the Post Office.

We now have postal orders, postal savings banks, postal annuities; indeed, the Postmaster is becoming one of the most important of all social functionaries. By means of the postal telegraph a message may now be sent and an answer obtained without the enquirer leaving the Post Office, and ere long, with the aid of the telephone, we may have a gossip with our friends who reside at the Antipodes.

Chapter L.—THE HAMLET OF WALTON.

Walton distinct from Aylesbury—Formed no part of the Ancient Corporation—Not included in the Parliamentary Borough—Freeholders only voters for Aylesbury—Boundary line—Manor, or reputed Manor—Prebend of Walton—Prebendaries—The Charities—Walton Field—Walton Church—Ancient Church—Incumbents—Schools—The Parish Cemetery—Old Roads, &c.

IN most parish matters the hamlet of Walton and the parish of Aylesbury have been treated as one and the same. The Aylesbury poor rates have always been assessed and levied so as to include Walton, but one of the overseers was generally elected to represent the hamlet. Walton held vestries distinct from Aylesbury, and in the matter of its highways there was a separate jurisdiction. There are also charities connected with Walton in which the residents of Aylesbury do not partake. Walton hamlet formed no portion of the ancient Corporation of Aylesbury, nor were the inhabitants admitted to the privilege of voting at the Borough Elections. By the Aylesbury Bribery Act of 1804 the franchise was extended to all who owned freeholds situate in the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury, irrespective of residence. Walton freeholders participated in this new right, but householders did not acquire the right of voting at Aylesbury Elections until the passing of the Reform Act of 1832.

Most of the original boundary marks between Aylesbury and Walton have been built over or obliterated by other causes, and are now difficult to trace. Starting from the East, the dividing line is traced by the London and North-Western Railway; it then passes through the Gas Works premises, a part of which are in the town and a part in the hamlet, and passes at the rear of the Star Hotel, crossing the New Road near the Chandos Arms Inn, which, with the adjoining cottages facing the New Road, are in the hamlet; the boundary then crosses Exchange Street, runs along an old watercourse at the back of the wharf-yard, which watercourse is intersected by the Bear Brook and the Canal, and re-appears at the waste-weir, passes by the side of the Brewery premises, and divides Walton Street and Walton at the bridge formerly known as "Glassweir;" following this stream for a distance, the division is then marked by a fence running in a direct westerly course, between the Court Farm and the Prebendal Farm, the former being in Walton hamlet, and the latter in the Township of Aylesbury.

The Parish Church, Aylesbury.

THE MANOR OF WALTON.

The lands of Walton having been chiefly owned by those who had possessions in Aylesbury, few records of very ancient date have been found descriptive of its early condition. It has always been reputed a Manor, and occurs in the Fine Rolls of Henry III., a fine being passed in 1222 between Isabel, formerly wife of Robert de Walton (juxta Ailesbury), and Walter de Stoke (Stoke Mandeville), of lands in Walton, the dower of Isabel. In another, of messuages and lands in Walton between William de Stoke and Elias, son of Nicholas de Walton, which William granted to Elias for life; and another in the same year by Elias, the draper, of Ellesbury, and Jordan de Hertwell, and Alice his wife, of messuages and lands in Walton, the right of Elias. In 1302, Elias Audlat, of Walton, and Isabel his Wife, and John, son of William Caperun de Aylesbury, and Margery his wife, passed a fine of messuages, lands, and meadow, in Walton, as the right of Elias Audlat. In 1332, a fine of messuages, lands, and rents in Aylesbury, Walton, and Whaddon was passed, by which Robert, son of Richard le Ward, granted to Richard le Ward and Basiles, his wife, that estate for life. The family of Stonor is mentioned also in deeds of early date as having held lands in Aylesbury, Walton, Burcote in Wing, Hulcott, Caldecot, Bedgrove in Weston Turville, nearly contiguous to Walton, and Hartwell; and John de Stonor and Richard, his son, are specifically mentioned in a fine with Gilbert Poygnaunt, and Joane, his wife, and Joane, daughter of Robert Fitz-Simonds, in a conveyance of such property in the reign of Edward II.; and it is presumed that their descendants continued to hold some of the inheritance long afterwards, for Gilbert de Stonor was found by an inquisition to have died seized of a manor in Aylesbury, Walton, and Stoke Mandeville, in 1445. In 1461, John, Duke of Norfolk also died seized of Walton, juxta Aylesbury. Afterwards, having been transferred to the church, it is recognised as forming part of a Prebend in the Cathedral of Lincoln, called the Prebend of Heydour, or Hedor-cum-Walton. The corps of this Prebend is the impropriation of Arwardburn Deanery and St. Margaret's in Lincoln, with demesnes in Walton Hamlet, reputed a manor, valued in 1554 (Henry VIII.) at £26 per annum. The Prebendary was patron of St. Margaret's and of Heydour church, Lincoln.

PREBENDARIES OF HEYDOUR, OR HEDOR-CUM-WALTON.

Walter de Wotton, 1308; he was succeeded by—

John de Grandison, who was presented in 1317 by Papal provision. In 1327, he was advanced to the See of Exeter by Papal bull; he died in 1329, but had previously vacated this stall.

Piggelus de Mariotti di Florence; he exchanged in 1334 with—

Jeffry Godleyvein, who died the same year.

Jeffry le Scroop, or Le Stroop succeeded; he died in 1380, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

Alan de Stokes held the Prebend in the year 1387.

Richard Mawdeline; he was admitted in 1393, and on whose resignation—

Henry Hamberton succeeded; but he quitted it in 1405.

Hugh Hanworth was presented in 1404; he quitted in 1405; he was also Canon of Lincoln; he died in 1418, and was buried in that church.

John Welbourne, collated 1407; he had been Archdeacon of Ely.

Alan Kirketon, 1440; at his death he was succeeded by—

William Piercy in 1443; in 1452 he was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, and died in 1462.

Christopher Warmington succeeded in 1452.

John Bell entered in 1469, and died in 1483.

Henry Ainsworth, B.D.; he resigned in 1516.

Richard Mawdesley, B.D., 1516; he resigned the same year, when

Thomas Swayne followed; he exchanged for the Prebend of Corringham, and was succeeded by—

William Frankland, or Franklyn, B.D.; he was a great pluralist; was succeeded by—

Thomas Westby, 1540, who gave place to—

Anthony Bellasis, LL.D., who was instituted in 1543; he was succeeded by—

John Marshall, installed 1552; being styled Generosus, is supposed to have been a layman.

John Richardson, 1562; he was followed by—

John Hitchcock, in 1591.

Roger Parker, S.T.B., 1592; he died in 1629, and was buried at Lincoln.

Laurence Chaderton, 1598; he died 1640. He was one of the Divines appointed in 1603 to manage the cause of the Puritans before the conference at the King's Privy Chamber in the presence of James I., to adjust differences about rites, ceremonies, and Church discipline. He was one of the translators of King James's Bible.

Thomas Linsted, 1641.

Henry Pight, installed October, 1660.

John Hocking, A.M.; he was presented 1675, but not installed.

Isaac Carter, A.M., 1678; installed on the King's title.

Richard Carrier, A.M., 1687; he died rector of Orton Longville, Hunts, where he has a monument.

William Gardiner, LL.B., 1704; he also held the Vicarage of Hambledon, Rutland, and was succeeded by—

Dr. Bernardiston, D.D., who died in 1778.

Luke Heslop, D.D., collated August, 1788 ; he held this Prebend, with many other ecclesiastical preferments, until his death in 1825.

The Cathedral Act of 1839 vested in the Ecclesiastical Commission the property attached to the Prebendal Stalls, and, under authority of that Act, the Commissioners refused the renewals of lives under which leases of that property were held. They were at the same time empowered to buy out remaining leaseholders. The rentals of the Prebendal Lands are now paid over to the representative of the Bishop of the Diocese.

Dr. Lipscomb states "that on the usurpation, upon the spoliation of ecclesiastical property, called 'resumption,' amongst other grants, in 1650, Sir John Wollaston, Knight, and others, Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the sale of the Bishop's lands, granted 'to William Meade, of London, linen draper, in consideration of £1223 9s. 4d., the Manor of Walton, or lay fee, with all rents and appurtenances to the same belonging, parcel of the possessions of the late prebend of Heydor-c-Walton, in the Church of Lincoln, which had been demised by Queen Elizabeth to Christopher Dighton for 99 years ;' the same William Meade, in consideration of £1640, conveyed by indenture, in 1653, the Manor of Walton aforesaid, to Henry Phillipps, Esq., of Aylesbury, by whom, in 1714, it was settled upon 'Aylesbury Free Grammar School,' in the trustees of which it is still vested." Dr. Lipscomb is altogether in error here. The trustees of the Aylesbury School never held lands in Walton, indeed their trust property has not varied from the time of their original investment of the funds of the Charity. The Doctor must have confused *Walton* with *Broughton*, at which latter place the Free School property is situated, and which consists of the Manor of Broughton Abbots, &c., in the hamlet of Broughton. The error of Lipscomb is evident, as in his "History of Buckinghamshire" the account of the Manor of Broughton Abbots is almost overlooked, being disposed of in one line, and that an extract from Lysons, thus—"Messrs. Lysons tell us that Broughton Abbots, extending into Hulcote parish, became ultimately vested in the Trustees of Aylesbury School." The Trustees of the school had held Broughton Abbots more than a century before this extract was written by Lysons.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH.

As early as the year 1838 a project for building a Church for Walton Hamlet was entertained. In 1841 further steps were taken, and ground had been given for the purpose ; in July, 1842, the plans were definitely settled, and the building arranged to be commenced. In April, 1843, Mr. Jenney, of Drayton Lodge, laid the first stone, but in October following, progress was delayed from want of funds. In July, 1844, every preparation was made for the consecration of the new building, and a large assembly attended, but a second misfortune intervened ; some oversight in the proceedings led to sad disappointment ; a legal notice had been neglected ; the bishop was in the town ready to perform the service, but it had to be postponed. On the 30th of May, 1845, Dr. Kaye completed the consecration ; the ceremonies were simple and few.

The Church is of flint, with red-brick quoins, and is slated. The principal entrance is at the West End, which adjoins the street, but from which it is somewhat recessed and inclosed by a dwarf wall. This end has a gable, and a bell-cot on the summit, in which is one bell; here also is a porch, over which is a triform window. The Church consists of a nave, with aisles and clerestory, and a north transept; the transept was added in 1849 during the incumbency of the Rev. W. Pennefather; there are other entrances on the South side and at the Vestry end; there is no tower or spire. In the year 1865 the chancel was built, and it was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford in November in that year. The exterior character of this addition is in accord with the building. The architect of the chancel was Mr. D. Brandon, of Berkeley Square, London. It is 25 feet long. The East window is in the Early English style, and filled with stained glass. A vestry and chancel aisles were also added. At the period of the erection of the chancel, the South aisle was made available for additional sittings, to the number of about 40, besides other seats for 10 choristers. Handsome stalls were placed in the chancel, and the necessary alterations were made in the reading-desk and pulpit; the chancel was originally paved with white, blue, and red tiles. In March, 1880, the entire chancel-floor was re-laid with Maw and Co.'s beautiful tiles, in a rich Mosaic pattern; a new and elegant Communion rail was substituted for the old plain one; a handsome new crimson velvet covering for the Holy Table, and new hangings for the pulpit and reading desk, were provided; and the lighting of the church remodelled throughout. These improvements were carried out at a cost of over £80. The organ, built by Mr. Walker, of Francis Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, is placed in the North aisle. The instrument consists of open diapason, stopped diapason, suabe-flute, principal, keraulophon, 15th, and 2½ octaves of Bourdon stop; there is room for two more stops. The church is paved, and the fittings are in varnished pine. The pulpit is on the south side of the nave; there is a spacious gallery in the transept; the gas fittings are neat. The edifice was erected by private subscription; the Rev. Edmund Hollond, of Saxmundham, Suffolk, gave the site, and was also a liberal contributor to the cost of the building and to the endowment fund.

The Incumbents have been:—

1845.—The Rev. A. D. Campbell.

1848.—The Rev. W. Pennefather, B.A.*

1853.—The Rev. W. Beresford.

1858.—The Rev. F. Young, B.A., of Queen College, Oxford, and who is the present Vicar.

The Church was in the first instance endowed with a gift of £1,000; subsequently the Rev. F. Young was the means of obtaining from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners two augmentations to the living of £25 and £117 respectively. These latter grants

* A volume entitled "Life and Letters of the Rev. W. Pennefather, B.A.," has been published.

were made in consideration of the funds in the Commissioners' hands, arising from the lapsed Prebend of Haydor-cum-Walton. A further source of income is the pew rents. The living is a vicarage, and is entirely unconnected with and independent of the Parish Church. The vicarage-house was built in the year 1862, the architect being Mr. Brandon; this addition was also made through the instrumentality of the present Vicar.

There is a faint recollection amongst aged Walton people of an ancient place of worship once existing at or near Walton Grove; whether it was a chapel of ease to Aylesbury or a Nonconformist meeting-house cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained; the probability is that it was an Episcopal building. That such an edifice did once exist there is no doubt whatever, but all the information now to be gained respecting it is that it was "a church."

WALTON SCHOOLS.

These schools, which are in connection with the Church, are situated near to it. The school buildings are substantial and commodious, and consist of a general school-room, class-room, and infants' room. They are founded on the National system; are Sunday as well as day schools, and are mixed. They are conducted by a master, with assistants, and provide accommodation for 230 children. These schools partook of the grant made by the Trustees of Harding's Charity in 1870; they had been erected some years previously (1849) on the site of two houses, with ground attached, which were purchased by the Rev. E. Hollond, and made over to trustees for the purposes of the schools.

JORDEN'S CHARITY.

According to a tablet once exhibited in the Parish Church, "William Jorden, gentleman, gave by Will, A.D. 1638, 40s. a year for ever, to buy two gowns for two poor people of Walton." In an ancient Churchwardens' book this rent-charge was stated to be payable out of a close on the right hand of the road leading from Walton to Wendover. The close was converted into gardens; it was of about three acres. This rent-charge is paid to the Churchwardens of Walton, who expend it in the purchase of two sets of clothes, which are given to two poor women. The persons chosen must be of good character, and vary from year to year.

BABHAM'S CHARITY.

A sum of £2 is received yearly by the Churchwardens of Walton, from the proprietor of an estate at Bledlow on which the principal is charged; it is expended in the purchase of two sets of clothes, which are given to poor persons. The same persons do not receive the gift in successive years.

HARDING'S CHARITY.

The annual sum of £5 mentioned to be payable to poor persons of the hamlet from this charity is expended in the purchase of five sets of clothes, each consisting of either a

coat or a gown, with other garments, which are given about Christmas to five poor persons of the hamlet of Walton. No distinction is made as to whether the persons receive parish relief or not, and they are varied from year to year. A list is kept of the recipients.

MILES'S CHARITY.

There was formerly a tablet in the Parish Church, of which the following is a copy :—"Simon Miles gave 16 acres of land and two tenements, vested in trustees, to repair the highways belonging to Walton." It appears from a recital in an indenture dated 7th September, 1670, that Simon Miles, then late of Walton, in the parish of Aylesbury, conveyed to nine persons all those two cottages, with the appurtenances, situate in Walton aforesaid, and also several pieces or parcels of arable and meadow, pasture and ley ground, lying dispersedly in the common fields of Walton, containing 16 acres, which said cottages or tenements and premises are in the said recital stated to have been conveyed to the said trustees in trust for and towards amending and repairing of the highways in the vill of Walton only. The property of this charity consists of three cottages in the hamlet of Walton, with a garden thereto attached, the whole containing 2r. 24p., and an allotment of arable land in the hamlet of Walton, part of a field called Deanfield, containing 11a. 0r. 31p. The income is expended in amending and repairing the roads and footpaths in and about the hamlet of Walton.

THE AYLESBURY CHARITIES.

The poor of Walton participate in the Aylesbury Charities, with the exception of John Bedford's, which acknowledges the town only.

THE CEMETERY.

The Parish Cemetery is in the Hamlet of Walton. The burial places of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans were outside their towns, indeed it appears to have been originally the unvarying custom, whether pagan or Christian, that the resting places of the dead should not be in the midst of the living. The abuse of burying in churches and crowded church-yards crept up imperceptibly, until it became a great evil.

The parish burial ground surrounding Aylesbury Church had for years been overcrowded, insomuch so that it was with the greatest difficulty space could be found for an interment without disturbing the remains of a former occupier. Burials there were continued much too long, longer than was decent or respectful. The sexton was accustomed to use, in a very unseemly manner, a long iron rod, which he forced into the earth for the purpose of discovering whether he could open a new grave without encroaching upon an old one. Further space was indispensable, and as no enlargement of the church-yard was possible, a new Cemetery had to be provided. In November, 1855, legal notices were published, to the effect that the existing burial grounds in the parish would be closed for interments after the end of the year 1857, excepting in certain cases, in which specific leave to inter would be obtainable. This notice affected

Congregational Church, Aylesbury.

not only the church-yard but the burial ground at the rear of the Castle-street Chapel, also that at the Walton-street Chapel; all were duly closed. In September, 1856, five acres of land, abutting on the Tring Road, were secured for the new cemetery.

A natural feeling exists amongst most people to cling to the burial places of their forefathers and relatives. It was always so. Jacob's dying injunctions were, "Bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite;" thus did the venerable patriarch recur with his last breath to his dearest and holiest connections—his father, his grandfather, and his tried and faithful wife. Ruth said to Naomi, "Where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried." Tobit conjured his son to honour his mother, "and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave." The Burials Act of 1857 very properly acknowledged this feeling, and in that Act certain provisions were made accordingly. A grave can be re-opened to deposit the remains of a wife with her husband, or husband with wife; deceased children also can be interred in the graves of their parents, under certain circumstances.

There is something deeply interesting in a secluded, undisturbed churchyard. Few there are who do not like to linger amongst the rustic graves, and read the homely epitaphs. There is not in these quiet receptacles of the dead that military-like precision of arrangement which is so often seen in cemeteries. Some graves in cemeteries exhibit very early neglect after erection; perhaps it is by contrast with those surrounding them; this is not so observable in old churchyards. In cemeteries, graves, after a first decoration, are frequently allowed to remain in a deplorable state of disorder. The clematis planted by friends under the first impulse of grief is trailing in disorder, far and wide beyond its original and proper bounds; and the branches of cypress, unnurtured, untrained, forgotten, are sere, brown and unsightly; rank weeds and neglected shrubs deface the very memorials graven on the tombs. In a plain village churchyard, however neglected, decay does not strike such a feeling of desolation to the heart. The long, rank grass, uncared for and unpruned, is unsightly enough; but it does not convey the idea of the forgetfulness of the living which is raised by the sight of a grave once trim, and surrounded with costly exotic flowers, and then carelessly suffered to dwindle and decay.

The Cemetery is divided from the high road by an iron palisading, alternated with brick work; it is entered by a pair of ornamental iron gates, also by a smaller gate for foot passengers; a porter's lodge adjoins the entrance; the north and south boundaries are of brickwork. The consecrated and unconsecrated portions are divided merely by a foot-path. Each portion has a very neat Chapel; the two in general appearances are much alike; their exterior is of rubble work, with Bath stone dressing; they are gabled, and on the summits are finials, croslet, and other ornamental crosses; each has a small spire, the one attached to the Episcopal building containing a bell; the buildings are buttressed; the principal windows are of the Decorated style, giving the erections a light and pleasing appearance. There is a mortuary at the rear of the ground. The Church

of England portion of the cemetery was consecrated in March, 1858, by the Bishop of Oxford; his Lordship, attended by his officer and a number of clergymen, paraded the ground with the usual form and ceremony. An addition has been made to the original area since the opening.

OLD ROADS, THE INCLOSURE, OLD FAMILIES, ETC.

The highway leading through Walton, and now known as Walton Road, is an ancient one; eastward, it joins Stock Lake, and the lower and old way to Bierton and Broughton; to the west, it takes the lower way to Stoke Mandeville, and unites with the tracks which traverse the foot of the Chilterns. There are some very old houses in Walton proper. The inclosure of the open field took place in 1771. The following names of some of the portions of the uninclosed field are preserved:—Bedgrove field, Cawsey furlong, Turn furlong, Suck meadow, Horestone furlong, Short Benhill, Mill Leys furlong, Dean field, Cooke's Dore furlong, Dean furlong, Stopps furlong, East Dean furlong, Lower Winch Grove, Bytham Leys, Pease furlong, White Earth Pits, Middle Winch Grove, Mill field, Rayner's hedge, Rayner's hedge tree. Rayner's hedge is the fence on the east side of the Wendover Road, between Walton and the "great tree," or what used to be known as Rayner's hedge tree. A fair was formerly held there, known as "Rayner's Hedge Fair." At this fair was heard the last of the "bough-houses" in this neighbourhood; they were places of refreshment where boughs or bushes were hung out as signs, thus the saying "Good wine needs no bush," which intimates that where good liquors were sold, no sign was required, as the customers would find them without any such aid. Formerly the only route by which Aylesbury could be entered from the south passed through Walton. The high road from London, *viá* Tring, diverged near Broughton Pastures, passing along Turn Furlong, and entered Walton between Walton Grove and the New Inn. By the formation of the New Road, a great deal of traffic was diverted from Walton, and by this road more direct access was obtained to the centre of Aylesbury. Walton turnpike-gate, an old landmark which crossed the main road at the junction of the old road to Stoke disappeared some years ago; it once stood a small distance nearer the town.

The names of the old Walton families are fast disappearing from the hamlet, the Bells, the Graces, the Biggs, the Dells, the Terrys, the Perrins, the Cheeses, the Todds, and the Steeles. The Bells still thrive in the neighbourhood, but not in Walton; the family of Grace, of Walton, is extinct; the name of Bigg will probably long survive in that of "Bigg's Pond;" the name of Dell ought long to be remembered through the charitable acts of the Rev. John Dell, who resided for many years at "The Crofts," Walton.*

* He was of New College, Oxford, LL.B., and Fellow, Rector of Weston Longville, co. Norfolk; he was brother of Mr. Thomas Dell, of Aylesbury, whose lengthy correspondence with John Wilkes has been given in a former chapter. The heir of the Rev. John Dell was the late Mr. Thomas Dell, referred to in a footnote as one of the originators of the Aylesbury Literary Institute; he was F.R.A.S., F.R.M.S., and M.R.I.; he died at Bath in 1874; the family is still represented by his son, Mr. Thomas Dell, of Clapham Common.

Chapter LI.—THE VALE OF AYLESBURY.

The Vale—its fame—its geology—its streams—its extent—its ale—Grass lands—Grazing—Cattle—Sheep—Pigs—Horses—Poultry—Butter—London Milk Supply—Rents—Sporting—Straw plaiting.

THE fame of the Vale of Aylesbury as an agricultural district is far and widely spread. Its exceeding fertility is ascribed to the preponderance of Kimmeridge clay as its subsoil. This clay is largely developed at Kimmeridge, in Dorsetshire, and thus its name. It is essentially a marine deposit, and contains ammonites and belamites, which belong to the class of mollusca-cephalopoda, represented by the nautilus and cuttle fish in our present seas, and others of the oyster family, besides remains of large reptiles, as the plesiosaurus. This deposit varies from 100 to 200 feet in depth, and must have occupied ages in formation. In the neighbourhood of Hartwell this clay is covered by coarse limestone beds, showing that some great change took place after its deposition. This limestone predominates in the district west of Aylesbury. The Vale has evidently been denuded and scooped out by the action of water; the lithological peculiarities are therefore seen in a very detached and irregular manner. Gault crops up near the surface at several places in the Vale. Gault, or Golt, is a provincial term now applied to the formation, wherever apparent; it contains much lime, effervescing strongly with acids, and is, indeed, on this account sometimes spoken of as marl or calcareous clay. When decomposed it forms a strong and fertile soil. Gault is mostly excavated for brick-making, but of late years many deposits have been disturbed for the search after fossils, known as coprolites. Coprolites, which are found at Dinton, Stone, Ford, Towersey, and other places, and of which tons have been raised, are sent to the manufacturers of artificial manures. It is now more than fifty years since scientific men first directed special attention to coprolites, Dr. Buckland being amongst the earliest to investigate their properties with care and precision. From their form and chemical composition it is evident that these bodies were simply fossil excreta; they are hence called coprolites.

The Chiltern Hills form the southern boundary of the Vale of Aylesbury. The ranges of hills belonging to the cretaceous formation radiate from Salisbury Plain; the

Chilterns run N.E. through Oxon and Herts, and are continued by the Gog Magog Hills and East Anglian Heights, which terminate at Hunstanton Cliff in Norfolk. Chalk, sand, clay, and gravel, all of which abound in the Vale, have been deposited in water as sediment. Water was the agent mainly concerned in their formation. Chalk abounds in animal remains, every particle of it being the result of life. A profound ocean existed over all those regions now covered with chalk. The substratum of the Vale is shown to be of a most fertile composition, and here is the great secret of its far-famed productiveness.

The Vale is watered by four brooks or rivulets, which unite on the north-west and western verge of the parish of Aylesbury. For these rivulets is claimed by some the honour of being the original sources of the River Thames. The spring rises in the most northern point near Littlecote, in Stewkley, one stream runs southward of the pastures near Cottesloe, and between Cublington and Creslow to Hardwick, where, returning towards the west, it is joined by a rivulet from Whitchurch, and by other streamlets from the Quainton Hills, and then, bending southward, falls in with Twisle Brook at Quarrendon, which brings a copious supply from springs arising on the eastern verge of the county ; it then, taking a westerly course near Wingrave and Broughton, passes Aylesbury on its south side, and at the western extremity of that parish, uniting with the stream first-mentioned, passes through the south-western part of the Vale, and receives a tributary stream from the south-east, which is derived from springs arising in the Chiltern Hills near Wendover ; the two streams severally passing, one through Weston Turville and Broughton, running close to Aylesbury on the east and south, and the other through Stoke Mandeville, until it meets with the former one, at length flowing into the main stream before reaching Haydon Mill, west of Aylesbury and north of Stone. Thence pursuing its course near Nether Winchendon and Cuddington, it is again joined by streamlets from Over Winchendon and Dorton, which, uniting, acquire the name of Chearsley Brook, near Notley. It then runs near Thame, and is joined by the Kingsey Brook, principally derived from the hills near Kimble, where, passing westwardly near Tythrope, it is augmented by another rivulet from the Chiltern Hills, passing between Saunderton and Risborough. Here it begins to be called the Thame ; at Worminghall, it makes an acute flexure to the south, and enters the county of Oxford, which it crosses, and on the confines of Berkshire, after a course of 39 miles, it joins the Thames near Dorchester.

The extent of the Vale of Aylesbury is not well defined. Historians differ as to its dimensions. Leland, in his "Itinerary," describes it as "going one waye to the forest (Bernwood) beyond Tame markett ; it goeth otherwayes to Buckingham, to Stonye Stratford, to Newport Painell, and along from Aylesbury by the rootes of the Chilterne Hilles, almost to Dunstable." This is a most extraordinary stretch of its area. Mr. Clare Read, on the contrary, gives it a very limited range, and includes only Aylesbury, Hartwell, Stone, Winchendon, Waddesdon, Pitchcot, Dunton, Wing, Aston Abbots,

Bierton, and Broughton, admitting no places south of Aylesbury. The general idea of the extent of the Vale is all that tract of land bordered on the south by the Chilterns and on the north by the Whitchurch, Pitchcot, Quainton, and Waddesdon Hills.

Camden, the ancient historian, has recorded the fertility of the Vale, in describing it "as almost all champain, the soil stiff, chalky, and fruitful. The rich meadows feed an incredible number of sheep, whose soft and fine fleeces are sought after, even from Asia itself. In this most fruitful Vale one pasture, called Beryfield, part of the inheritance of Sir Robert Lee, Bart., in the manor of Quarendon, lets yearly for £800 a year and upwards." In his "Magna Britannia," speaking of this district, he says, "the country generally is of a rich plentifull soile, and passing full of inhabitants, who chiefly employ themselves in graizing of cattel. It is divided into two parts, whereof the one bending into the south and east and rising into hills they call Chilterne: the other lying under at northward is named the Vale." Two hundred and fifty years ago the Vale was a subject of notoriety, and is thus described by Michael Drayton in his "Poly-olbion":—

> For Aylesbury's vale that walloweth in her wealth,
> And (by her wholesome air continually in health)
> Is lusty, firm, and fat, and holds her youthful strength.

And again, after mentioning the pasturage of the Vale, he adds—

> That as her grain and grass, so she her sheep doth breed,
> For burden, or for bone, all others doth exceed."

With the advantages of a rich sub-soil, and the watering by fair rivers, the Vale of Aylesbury may well boast of its prolific character. The beeves here pastured reach gigantic proportions; the sheep are not excelled in any part of the world; and pigs are fed until they reach an enormous size.

The ale of Aylesbury Vale achieved a standard of celebrity more than two centuries ago; it is to be feared it has not sustained its reputation. In the British Museum rhymes are preserved in which the invigorating action of that fluid upon the animal spirits is set forth as "affecting the parson, the poet, the woer, the widow, the soldier, the sailor, the lawyer, the ploughman, the carter, the reaper, the mower, the thrasher, the sower," who all and severally then, if not now, glorified English ale. These rhymes were printed in 1642, and consist of thirty-four stanzas, from which a short extract will suffice as a fair description of the former renown of the potent beverage of the neighbourhood—

> Not drunk nor yet sober, but both to a neighbour,
> I met with a friend in Alesbury's Vale;
> He saw by my face that I was in the case
> To speak no great harm of a pot of good ale.
>
> And as we did meet, and friendly did greet,
> He put me in mind of the name of the Dale,
> That for Alesbury's sake, some pains I would take,
> And not burie the praise of a pot of good ale.

A more recent bard also praises Aylesbury ale—

If you've any disorder,
Or feel out of order,
There's a cure safe and certain, that never will fail;
Contradict it who pleases,
What cures all diseases,
Is a plentiful dose of good Aylesbury ale.

The merits of the Vale have awakened the lyre of other poets. One who appears to be about to leave not only the Vale, but also his country, makes his adieu of it in a "vale of tears." Unfortunately the initials only of the inspired bard are preserved; he seems to be about to exchange land for water, for thus he sings :—

Adieu, yee dear A'lsburian bow'rs,
Yee purling streams adieu;
Sweet partners of my silent hours,
A long farewell to you.

I tempt the sea's impetuous tide,
'Midst threatening rocks and noisy wind;
Eternal power my actions guide,
I'm to Thy providence resign'd.

If poverty's my lowly lott,
I'll hope for heavenly store;
Nor shall thy praises be forgott
If I'm enricht with more.

Aylesbury, January 7th, 1709. D. M.

The following notes referring to the Vale of Aylesbury are extracted from the description given of it by Mr. Clare Read, written in 1856, which was prior to the introduction of the system of forwarding new milk to the London dairies and the establishment of the Aylesbury Condensed Milk Works :—

"Grass Lands.—The grass lands of the county of Bucks may be divided into three heads—the rich grazing lands of the Vale of Aylesbury; the greater extent of dairy land, which includes the cold clay pastures of the north; and the alluvial meadows that border the various streams which water the county. The fertile pastures in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury are principally devoted to the grazing of cattle.

"There are many good grazing farms within a few miles of Aylesbury, where the quality of the land and the selection and management of the stock are alike excellent. There are patches of land better, and perhaps some whole farms may be as productive as Creslow, Putlowes, and Broughton Pastures, but none are more celebrated or worthy of notice.

"*Creslow.*—A visit to Creslow on a summer's day seldom fails to prove a rich treat. To the agriculturist, the number, magnificence, and superb condition of the stock, the boundless extent of the inclosures, the luxuriance of the herbage, and the able management of the whole farm form subjects of wonder and admiration, while the general observer cannot fail to be pleased with the beauty of the pastoral landscape, the splendour of the wild flowers, and the mediæval relics of the interesting old homestead. Creslow has long been celebrated in the annals of grazing for the wonderful animals which have been fed on it. In the days of the great war the former occupier at different times sold 20 Christmas oxen for the enormous sum of £2,123, which is an average of £106 6s. each bullock, a price probably never before or since realized by any one

grazier. Creslow is a farm of 860 acres. The common stock of this farm is 500 cattle, and in the winter 700 ewes ; in grassy seasons, after the ewes are gone, sheep are bought, to come out at Christmas. One grazing field, perhaps the largest inclosure of really good ground in the kingdom, contains by admeasurement no less than 323a. 3r. 21p.

"*Broughton Pastures.*—This farm lies about one mile south-east of Aylesbury, on the Tring Road ; and, as the Portland is clearly seen in the garden allotments near, it must of necessity follow that this superior grazing land is on the gault. This confirms the remark that the fertility of the land did not depend so much on what clay it rested on as on the quality and depth of the top soil. There are two or three fields at Broughton Pastures as good as any in the county ; but there are some, where the deposit of mould is not so deep, which are only of a second-rate description.

"*Putlowes.*—The grazing land at Putlowes, though of less extent than that of Creslow, is decidedly of superior quality, and presents that true feature of the feeding district, a rich, deep loam, resting on a strong clay. It is really wonderful to see the size and fatness of some of the cattle here. In one field were 20 splendid oxen, weighing 160 stone each, not one of which had received hay or oil-cake. At Putlowes there is a ground of very excellent quality, containing 98 acres. The usual stock for such land is a bullock to an acre, but sheep are generally kept in addition, to the extent of one fat sheep, or one couple (ewe and lamb) to each ox. The cattle which are not disposed of from grass are perhaps supplied with a little hay in the pastures before they are tied up. They are stalled for about two months, and fed on hay and oil-cake. The quantity of cake given to these large cattle is really wonderful, six cakes, or 18lbs., per day, being a common allowance. Putlowes has long been extensively known for its Christmas beef.

"SHEEP.—On the pastures throughout the county it is common to keep sheep. On the grazing and dairy lands, generally ewes with their fat lambs ; they are to be found, from the gigantic Cotswold to the tiny Welsh. Perhaps there are more Half-breds than any other, but there are also many Long-wools and heavy Downs. Wethers are bought in the spring, either in their coats or just shorn, and are fatted during the summer. By October they are cleared off ; a few of the superior are kept till Christmas. On the Chiltern Hills and in the south the sheep fed are chiefly Downs. These wethers, as lambs or shearlings, are imported from Berkshire and Hampshire, and, being well fed on roots, hay, and corn, or cake, during the winter months, furnish Smithfield with some very superior mutton. A marked improvement in the management and feeding of sheep on arable land has taken place within the last few years.*

"PIGS.—A large quantity of pork is made in Bucks. The pigs are mostly of the Berkshire breed, and are often bred in that county, stored in Oxfordshire, and fed in the Vale. Larger pigs, weighing from ten to twelve scores, are generally fattened in the winter, and in addition to milk receive an allowance of beans or corn meal. When slaughtered it is common to singe the large bacon pigs ; but porkers are always scalded. The burning may be best for the bacon, but the pigs always weigh lighter.

"BUTTER.—Buckinghamshire is certainly the greatest butter producing county of England. The grazing land is confined to certain localities, but dairying extends over a much larger area. Bucks may freely challenge any county south of the Trent to produce a more extensive or better assortment of milch cows ; they are well bred, have large frames, and are excellent milkers. The credit of breeding these useful animals does not belong to the county, as they are mostly imported as three-year-old heifers from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire ; few are reared in Bucks.

* Mr. John Treadwell's sheep are of world-wide reputation ; at the annual sale from his stock at Upper Winchendon, animals are purchased for exportation to most parts of the globe.

"HAY.—Hay from the Vale of Aylesbury finds ready sale; its peculiar clammy touch and exquisite perfume will at once test its goodness. Little of this superfine hay is sold, but a great deal of the produce of other meadows is sent to London."

A considerable number of horses are bred, chiefly for the supply of dray horses in London. It is not easy to form a correct approximation to the numbers, as they change hands from the breeder to the grazier, and are again sold to the arable farmer. A portion of them at two and three years old are bought for the county of Norfolk, but the ultimate destination of all the heavier horses, when they become of age, is London. About three thousand are annually bred, at an average price of about £35, representing a value of £100,000. A proportion of these are, however, kept permanently in the county for the purpose of breeding, &c.

There is no better index to the general fertility of the Vale of Aylesbury than the exhibits at the annual show of the Royal Bucks Agricultural Society, where cattle of all kinds are shown, of a quality not to be excelled in any part of the world.

The poultry reared in the Vale has within late years wonderfully improved, and is now remarkably fine. The superiority of the Aylesbury duck has been already eulogised. Game is plentiful.

The Vale is essentially a sporting district. In the season there are frequent meets of staghounds, foxhounds, and harriers; Aylesbury has for many years been far-famed for its annual steeplechases; it has a favourite steeplechasing course, which attracts not only local racing men, but those of the highest celebrity from a distance.

Before the formation of railways it was no unusual occurrence for more than three days to be occupied in the passage of a drove of fat beasts from Aylesbury to London. All are aware how much injury is done to cattle by driving them along the common road, besides the actual loss sustained by a reduction of their weight. As early as the year 1804 an attempt was made to obviate this inconvenience. A meeting of graziers and feeders of cattle in and near the Vale of Aylesbury was held in that year, when it was resolved that to remedy the disadvantages of sending all the fat cattle from this neighbourhood to the London markets, whence many of them were afterwards driven back for the supply of the north-eastern and north-western districts (greatly increasing the price of meat to consumers), there be established at Aylesbury, fairs on Monday, 10th December, and on the 7th and 21st of January next following, for fat cattle. Two of these fairs only are now held, one on the second Wednesday in December, and the other on the third Saturday in January.

LONDON MILK SUPPLY.

The modern system of supplying the metropolis daily with new milk had its origin consequent on the frequent outbreak of disease in the London dairies; this supply, which has of late years vastly increased, has now reached marvellous proportions, and must have led to a thorough revolution in the management of most of the large dairies in the

Vale of Aylesbury. From information obtained from reliable sources it is calculated that the average quantity of new milk forwarded by rail to London out of the Vale of Aylesbury amounts to 134,600 Imperial gallons per month, to which has to be added the consumption of the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Works, of (say) 104,000 gallons monthly, which together will show the enormous product of 238,600 Imperial gallons, or 2,863,200 per annum. The effect of this gigantic demand on the dairying system of the Vale must be great. Aylesbury butter has lost its prestige; buttermen who formerly obtained their supply from the Vale have now to seek other neighbourhoods, the trade having been transferred elsewhere. The alteration has not so much affected the fattening of pigs as might have been expected. The refuse of the dairies has been superseded by cooked potatoes, and from the present low prices of corn a good deal is used as pig food. The milk traffic has transferred the labour from the dairymaids and shifted it to the labourers, as a journey of some miles has now to be performed daily to the nearest railway-station or milk-factory. Some of the large dairies are completely evacuated, and the plant lies idle, or only portions of it are used, for the milk not forwarded on Sundays or the requisites of the household. There is no diminution in the amount of labour on the farm consequent on the innovation, but farmers obtain by the milk traffic a quicker and more certain return for their capital, as the stated days of payment are generally monthly.

ARABLE LAND.

The proportion of arable land in the Vale of Aylesbury proper is small compared to the grazing land; the great feature of the Vale is its feeding properties, and these have been mainly dealt with; the arable soil is of superior quality, and, where well farmed, exceedingly fertile, and produces luxurious crops.

FARM RENTS.

The Rev. St. John Priest, in his "General View of the Agriculture of Buckinghamshire," published in 1810, gives the following as the farm rents in this county at that period:—Arable land, £1 0s. 6d.; dairy, £1 16s.; mixed, £1 5s. 10d.—the average of the whole being £1 7s. 7d. per acre per annum.

After the repeal of the Corn Laws, there was a check in the upward tendency of rents, which lasted for a period of some ten or twelve years; indeed the income-tax returns for 1857 show that the gross annual value of lands was estimated at £50,000 less than in 1846. Confidence in the future of British farming appears, however, to have returned at this period (1857), and rents rose steadily and continuously up to the time of the present depression setting in. In the West Riding of Yorkshire in the above period land went up in rent from 16s. 6d. to 40s., and labourers' wages from 6s. to 14s.; their pay has also in the Midland Counties considerably advanced.

STRAW PLAITING.

Straw plaiting is one of the industrial occupations in the Vale of Aylesbury. It is probable that the idea of plaiting straws was first suggested by the making of baskets of

osiers and willow, alluded to by Virgil in his "Pastorals," as one of the pursuits of the agricultural population of Italy. We are ignorant of the period when the manufacture of straw-plait first became of importance in that country; but it appears that in 1611 "the most delicate strawen hats" were worn by both men and women in many places of Piedmont. It is evident, therefore, that the art of straw-plaiting must have arrived at great perfection upwards of two centuries since; but it does not appear to have been followed in England much earlier than a century ago. So successful was straw-plaiting at one period, that women earned as much as 22s. a week. Subsequently Leghorn hats came into the markets; and from their superiority in fineness, colour, and durability, they speedily acquired a preference over those of home manufacture. The fashion of wearing Dunstable straw hats had established itself, and many persons abandoned the working of pillow lace (another domestic manufacture peculiar to Bucks and Beds, which had fallen into decay), and betook themselves to straw-plaiting, finishing, and bleaching, as a more profitable employment.

Straw-plaiting gives employment to a number of persons besides those who plait and make the hats and bonnets. There are bleachers, cutters, dyers, flatters, stringers, drawers, packers, &c.; their earnings vary. The first of these classes whose services are called into requisition in connection with the straw-plait are the "drawers." Their duties consist in drawing out the straws from the wheat as it lies in the barn. The straw of wheat that has been thrashed is useless for the purpose of plaiting, as it is always broken and bruised by the flail or machine. The drawer, therefore, draws out the straws and cuts off the ears of corn. He is usually employed by the farmers. The material then passes into the hands of the cutters, who cut it into lengths of about six inches, each straw being again cut into four lengths, each of which will be of a different degree of fineness—the lower part being the coarsest, and the upper portion, near the ear, the finest. The outer coating of the straw is then removed, and thus prepared is made up into bundles, in which state it is sold to the plaiters. The services of the dyers, bleachers, and flatters come into requisition after the material has passed through the hands of the sewers and has been formed into hats and bonnets. The packers are employed in arranging the hats and bonnets for conveyance to their ultimate destination, in London or elsewhere.

In the year 1846 an attempt, in which the late Mr. Robert Thorp took an active part, was made to establish a plait market at Aylesbury; for a time it succeeded, but an unfortunate collapse occurred in the price of straw-plait, which so affected the new market that it never recovered, and after a few struggles for existence it ceased altogether.

Addenda.

The Earldom and Marquisate of Ailesbury — The Bruce-Brudenell-Bruce family.— Aylesbury Market and Fairs — old Fairs — new Fairs. — St. John's Church — description of.—Stephen Holloway.—New Vicar of Aylesbury.—New Lord of the Manors of Aylesbury. — Population of the town. — Returning Officers—extinction of the office.—Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885—new name of constituency—additions to constituency.

THE MARQUISATE.

AYLESBURY gives the titles of Earl and Marquis to the Bruce-Brudenell-Bruce family. Robert, second Earl of Elgin, Baron Bruce, of Kinloss, and Baron Bruce, of Whorlton, Yorkshire, for very essential services rendered to Charles I., and his Lordship's active exertions in promoting the Restoration, was created in the English peerage, in 1663-4, Baron Bruce of Skelton, co. York; Viscount Bruce of Ampthill, co. Bedford; and Earl of Ailesbury, co. Bucks. Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell, obtains its name from the Earls of Ailesbury, because in olden times their garden wall skirted the south side of that thoroughfare. Ailesbury House was probably a name given to part of the old Priory of St. John, where the Earls of Elgin and Ailesbury resided, about 1641. This Robert Bruce, the second Earl of Elgin, lived there in 1671; he was a devoted cavalier, and an ardent struggler for the Restoration, and was made Earl of Aylesbury by that not usually grateful King, Charles II., to whom he was Privy Councillor and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. At the coronation of that untoward monarch, James II., the Earl of Ailesbury bore in procession St. Edward's Staff, 8 lb. 9 ozs. in weight, and supposed by some credulous persons to contain a piece of the true cross. The Earl died in 1685, the year he had been appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household. Anthony A. Wood sums up the Earl as a good historian and antiquary, a friend to the clergy, and a collector of curious manuscripts. Thomas, his son, was third Earl of Elgin and second Earl of Ailesbury; he married Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of Henry, Lord Beauchamp. By this great heiress he had issue, Charles, his successor, who was summoned to Parliament in the life of his father as Lord Bruce; also Elizabeth, who married George Brudenell,

third Earl of Cardigan. The son of George and Elizabeth Brudenell succeeded his uncle, Lord Bruce, as Earl of Ailesbury. This Earl, although amongst those who first invited the Prince of Orange into England, peremptorily refused to sanction his advancement to the throne, or to swear allegiance to the Government of the Revolution. Having raised the suspicion of the Court of William III., he was committed to the Tower, which so affected his countess as to cause her death, in 1696-7. His lordship subsequently obtained leave of the King to reside at Brussels, and died in 1741. Charles, the third Earl, married for his second wife Lady Juliana Boyle, second daughter of Charles, Earl of Burlington. In consequence of no surviving male issue, his Lordship in 1746 obtained a patent of remainder of the Barony of Bruce to his nephew, the Hon. Thomas Brudenell, and on his death, in 1747, the Earldom of Ailesbury became extinct. On the death of his uncle, the Hon. Thomas Brudenell assumed the additional name and arms of Bruce. As Lord Bruce, he was, in 1776, created Earl of Aylesbury; he died in 1814. He was succeeded by his son Charles Bruce-Brudenell-Bruce, who in 1821 was created Viscount Savernake, Earl Bruce, and Marquis of Aylesbury. His son and successor was George William Frederick Brudenell-Bruce, Marquis and Earl of Aylesbury, Earl Bruce of Whorlton, county York, Viscount Savernake, of Savernake Forest, county Wilts, and Baron Bruce, of Tottenham, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Earl of Cardigan, and Baron (1611) Brudenell, in the Peerage of England, and a Baronet; he was the eldest son of Charles, first Marquis of Aylesbury, and was born the 20th November, 1804. He married, the 11th of May, 1837, Lady Mary Caroline Herbert, third daughter of George Augustus, eleventh Earl of Pembroke. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's Barony of Bruce in 1838. He succeeded to the Marquisate of Aylesbury on the death of his father, in January, 1856, and to the Earldom of Cardigan on the death of his cousin, General the Earl of Cardigan, in March, 1868. The Marquis was Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Wilts, and Master of the Horse to the Queen from June, 1859, to July, 1866, and again from December, 1868, to February, 1874. In 1864 he became a Knight of the Garter. He died in January, 1878, and, as he left no issue, the Marquisate devolved upon his brother, Lord Ernest Augustus Charles Brudenell-Bruce, born the 8th January, 1811, and who married the Hon. Louisa Elizabeth Beresford, second daughter of John, second Lord Decies. He was educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1831. He sat in the House of Commons as representative of Marlborough in 1832. From December, 1834, to April, 1835, he was a Lord of the Bedchamber to William IV., was Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen's Household from September, 1841, to July, 1846, and served the same office again in December, 1858. His Lordship is a Deputy-Lieutenant of Wilts, and Major of the Yeomanry Cavalry of that county.

MARKETS AND FAIRS.

The principal Market at Aylesbury was originally held on Wednesdays; this was under

the Charter granted to the town by Queen Mary as follows :—" And she grants to them and their successors a Wednesday-market, and two fairs for three days each, viz., on the eve, feast, and day after the Annunciation, and on the eve, feast, and day after the Invention of the Holy Cross, or Holy-Rood-Day, and a Pye-Powder-Court, and all privileges, as stallage, &c., belonging to the said markets and fairs, and return of writs, &c. And she likewise grants, that the bailiff, for the time-being, shall be escheator-clerk of the market, and coroner," &c., &c. In 1579 a Charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth, by which the market was to be on Saturday, on which day it has always since been held.

In former years a very limited sheep market was held in the Bell Yard, in Walton Street; growing into more importance, and trenching upon the rights of the Lord of the Manor, this market was removed from these private premises to the cattle market in front of the County Hall. This led to an attempt on the part of some inhabitants to remove the then cattle market into Kingsbury. Some private interests were of course interfered with, and the proposed removal led to a town squabble. This was in 1824, and the question was submitted to the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord of the Manor and owner of the market tolls, and the following letter was addressed to the constables by the Duke :—

"Stowe, Jan. 29th, 1824.

"Gentlemen,—Having received a paper numerously signed, expressive of regret that the cattle market has been removed into Kingsbury from its former place of holding, and the said removal having taken place without any communication with me as Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury, I am desirous of knowing what are the real wishes on the subject of the inhabitants of Aylesbury and of those who are in the habit of attending its cattle market, in order that I may consult the same, so far as is consistent with the interest of the buyers and sellers, as well as of the inhabitants of the town. I have therefore to request that you will, by publishing this letter, and by giving public notice in addition thereto, call a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Aylesbury, and of those persons who are in the habit of attending its market, within fourteen days from the date hereof, and at the said meeting you will be pleased to read this letter, and request those present to signify by resolution, or letter addressed to me, what are their wishes upon a subject so materially affecting their interest and convenience.

"I am, gentlemen, yours truly,

"Buckingham and Chandos,

"Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury."

In compliance with this letter from the Duke, Messrs. Sherriff, Dawney, Cross, and Perrin, the constables of Aylesbury, called a public meeting at the George, for the 14th of February, 1824, and such meeting was held. There were about 200 persons present. Mr. Dawney, the senior constable, stated the purpose for which they were met, and Mr. Churchill was called to the chair. He said that he considered it unnecessary to make a single observation on the mode of proceeding which his Grace had adopted; it was extremely handsome, and entitled him to the thanks of the meeting. Mr. Bull, solicitor, submitted to the consideration of the meeting some resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Robert Dell, to the effect that the market should be retained where it was. Mr. Lovell proposed, as an amendment, which was seconded by

Mr. Faulkner, "That it is highly expedient and necessary, in consequence of the general crowded state of the market, to have a part of the said market removed, and that Kingsbury, from its ample space, is a very eligible situation for a part of the said market to be removed to." On the amendment of Mr. Lovell being put, the scanty show of hands excited considerable mirth, in which the losers seemed to join with the greatest good humour. The market for awhile continued to be held in front of the County Hall, but in a few years it was found to be absolutely requisite, in consequence of the increase of cattle sent, to remove it into Kingsbury, where it continued to be held until the formation of the Aylesbury Market Company, when it was taken to the place where it is now held.

An annual fair was granted by King John to be held on St. Oswald's Day, 5th August; this grant was confirmed by a Charter of Henry III., but the fair has been discontinued from time immemorial. Another fair was granted by the Charter of Queen Mary on the Annunciation (25th of March); also a fair on Holy-rood day (14th September), already referred to; the latter was confirmed by a Charter of Queen Elizabeth, and likewise another on the eve of Palm Sunday. With the exception of the last named, these fairs have long been discontinued. The more modern fairs were held on the Friday next following the 18th of January; Palm Saturday; May 8th; June 14th; September 25th; October 12th, and a fat cattle fair in December. These have subsequently been altered under the authority of the Aylesbury Market Company, and are now held on the third Saturday in January; Saturday next before Palm Sunday; second Saturday in May; third Saturday in June; second Wednesday in July (wool); first Saturday in August (sale of rams); fourth Saturday in September; second Saturday in October; second Wednesday in December (fat cattle).

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

The site of St. John's Church was formerly known as "Read's." In the year 1856 portions of the property, consisting of a dwelling house, yard, garden, and extensive outbuildings, were purchased at auction for the Rev. E. Bickersteth, then Vicar of Aylesbury, and vested in trustees for School purposes. One of the buildings was improved, enlarged, and fitted up as a temporary church and schoolroom, and was so used for some few years, the services being largely attended. In the year 1880 it was found that further church accommodation was required in this part of the town, which had now assumed the name of "St. John's district," and in that year meetings were held to promote the building of a church. Several meetings were subsequently held in the Lady Chapel of the Parish Church, and it was eventually agreed that one should be forthwith erected. Subscriptions towards the building fund having been liberally promised, a building committee was formed in 1881, and tenders were advertised for. Arrangements were then made for the purchase of the premises, as a site, from

the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth as trustee. In September, 1881, the first stone of the edifice was laid by the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, the silver trowel used bearing this inscription:—

Prid id Sept.
MDCCCLXXXI.,
Quo die
Ecclesia S. Johanni
Dedicanda
Fundata est
Edvardo Bickersteth,
Decano Lichfieldensi,
Pastori quondam
Amicissimo D.D. Edificii custodes.
Aylesbury.

A bottle, containing a scroll bearing the names of the clergy, churchwardens, and subscribers, together with copies of the *Times* and the Aylesbury papers and some current coins of the realm, was interred. The Dean, having laid the stone, exclaimed —"In the faith of Jesus Christ we place this foundation stone, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen." At this period subscriptions of over £3,000 had been collected. In April, 1883, the opening of the church took place. The ancient right of consecration, which is known to have prevailed in this country as early as the second century, during which, as recorded by Bede, pagan temples were formally dedicated to the honour of the true God, was witnessed by a large congregation, consisting however almost exclusively of townspeople. The limited interest in the event shown by the county gentry was matter for surprise and regret; but there was a large attendance of the clergy of the district.

The structure is entirely of brick, the lining or inside face being of stock bricks, relieved with bands and dressings of red ones. The total accommodation provided in the whole Church is about 600. The cost of the part already built has been £3,584. It is believed the whole fabric, including all contingencies, will be completed for a total sum of £5,000. The building was designed and carried out by Mr. J. P. St. Aubyn, of the Temple, London, architect; Mr. George Cooper, of Aylesbury, being the builder. When completed, the Church will have a Chancel 36 feet long by 23 feet wide, and on the north and south sides thereof lean-to aisles 16 feet long by 10 feet wide. Attached to and communicating with the south aisle are the two vestries, which are also approached from the outside of the building. The nave is 75 feet long, and, including the lean-to side aisles, which are parted from it by arcades of four arches, has a width of 48 feet 3 inches. At the west end there is a Gallilee porch, 25 feet 9 inches long by 9 feet wide, with north and south doors. The organ is placed in the south aisle, and the font stands at the west end, between the two west doors of the nave. The nave has a clerestory, and is 34 feet high to the plate line, and 56 feet to the apex of the roof. The clerestory is lighted by 4 lancet couplets

on each side, and the aisles are similarly lighted. The west end of the nave is also pierced with a lofty three-light window, the gable being capped with a bell-cote for one bell.

STEPHEN HOLLOWAY.

All the information that can be gleaned respecting Stephen Holloway is that he was a very poor lad, an orphan, and may be said to have been almost friendless; he was brought up by an aunt in one of the meanest cottages in Baker's Lane, now Cambridge Street. At a very early age he enlisted as a soldier, went away from the town, and was lost sight of. As surmised, he made his way in the world; he became a draper in London, and, at his death, left what property he had to the poor of his native town. There were other families in the town of the name of Holloway, but no connexion between them and Stephen Holloway can be traced; who his parents were cannot now be ascertained. The errors in his will go to show that he was uneducated, and had but little intimate knowledge of the trustees to whose care he bequeathed his money, as is shown by the inaccuracies in recording their names.

THE VICARS OF AYLESBURY.

Since the commencement of this work a change has occurred in the Vicarage of Aylesbury. In 1882 the Rev. A. T. Lloyd accepted the living of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was succeeded by the Rev. C. C. Mackarness.

The Rev. Charles Coleridge Mackarness, who is the eldest son of the Lord Bishop of Oxford, was educated at Winchester College. At Exeter College, Oxford, he obtained a second class in the Final Classical School; graduated B.A. in 1873, and M.A. in 1876; was ordained deacon in 1874, and priest in 1875; after which he was assistant curate at St. Mary's, Reading, from 1874 to 1879. The late Bishop of Argyll and the Isles appointed him his Examining Chaplain in 1876. From 1879 to 1881 he was chaplain, censor, and lecturer in Exegesis of Greek Testament at King's College, London, and from 1880 to 1882 was lecturer in Liturgical and Pastoral Theology at the same College. He was appointed Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford in 1875, and Vicar of Aylesbury in 1882. He is the author of the article on "The Ordination Services in the Prayer Book, with Commentary," published by the S.P.C.K., and also of various sermons published by request.

POPULATION OF AYLESBURY.

According to the census returns of 1801 Aylesbury parish contained a population of 3,186, consisting of 1,603 males and 1,583 females; there were 675 dwelling houses and 22 houses not inhabited. In 1811 the numbers returned were 3,447, showing an increase

of 261. In 1821 the population was 4,400, showing a further increase in the ten years of 953; the number in 1831 was 4,907, which gave an increase of 507. A very extraordinary fact is shown in the census of 1841, when the total was 5,414, giving the increase of 507, exactly the same as in the previous ten years. In the return for 1841 there were 1,070 inhabited houses, 45 uninhabited, with 16 building. In 1851 the population reached 6,081, being 3,041 males and 3,040 females, the town being equally paired within one odd man; the increase shown was 667. Between 1851 and 1861 the increase was remarkably small, being only 87, namely, 1851, 6,081; 1861, 6,168. The returns of 1871 give 6,962, composed of 3,385 males and 3,577 females, a preponderating increase of females compared with the return of 1851. In 1881 the increase in females was more observable, the returns giving a total of 7,795, composed of 3,699 males, and 4,096 females, or a majority in favour of the latter of 397. This return also shows 1650 inhabited houses, 160 unoccupied, and 30 under erection. These figures give in 80 years an increase of 4,609, in 2,096 males and 2,513 females, and 975 more houses. The largest increase in this period is shown in the last return, as between the years 1871 and 1881 the addition reached 1,503, or nearly 25 per cent. on the population of 1871.

THE REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS ACT OF 1885.

Prior to the passing of this Act the Parliamentary Borough of Aylesbury (Borough and Hundreds), according to the census returns of 1881, contained 6,167 inhabited houses, 438 uninhabited, and 35 building, of which latter number 30 were in course of erection in Aylesbury. The population was 28,907, of which 14,070 were males and 14,837 females. The area of the constituency comprised the following places:—

Aylesbury-with-Walton.
Aston Clinton.
Bierton and Broughton.
Bledlow.
Buckland.
Cuddington.
Dinton.
Ellesborough.
Haddenham.
Halton.
Hampden, Great.
Hampden, Little.
Hartwell.
Horsendon.
Hughenden (part of).
Hulcot.
Kimble, Great.
Kimble, Little.
Lee.
Missenden, Great
Missenden, Little.
Princes Risborough.
Monks Risborough.
Stone-with-Bishopstone.
Stoke Mandeville.
Wendover.
Weston Turville.

The Register of Voters for the year 1884 contained 4,403 names.

The Constituents of the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury receive no benefit whatever under the new Franchise Act ; they were already in possession of household suffrage. They are greatly prejudiced by the Redistribution Act, as, in addition to the loss of one representative, a man cannot vote both as freeholder and householder, except his freehold be situate in a constituency other than that in which he resides. Previously, householders, who were also freeholders, possessed the right of voting for four candidates ; they can now only vote for one.

The following places, in addition to those which formed the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury, are now comprised in the Mid Bucks or Aylesbury Division of the County :—

Aston Abbotts.
Aston Sandford.
Bradenham.
Cheddington.
Chenies.
Chesham, with its Hamlets
Chesham Bois.
Cholesbury.
Creslow.
Cublington.
Drayton Beauchamp.
Eddlesborough.
Fleet Marston.
Grove.
Hardwick.
Hawridge.
Hughenden (remaining part of).
Ilmire.
Ivinghoe.
Kingsey.
Linslade.
Marsworth.
Mentmore.
Oving.
Pitchcott.
Pitstone.
Quarrendon.
Quainton.
Radnage.
Rowsham.
Saunderton.
Shipton Lee.
Slapton.
Soulbury.
Stewkley.
Towersey.
Waddesdon.
Weedon.
Westcott.
Whitchurch.
Winchendon, Lower.
Winchendon, Upper.
Wing.
Wingrave.
Woodham.

These are mostly agricultural villages, with small populations. Chesham is an exception, being a market town, and, with its hamlets, having a population of 6,502 ; this is the most important addition to the constituency. Chesham does a large trade in the manufacture of brushes, wooden ware, and shoes ; it lacks railway accommodation, but for which it would probably become one of the most thriving and important

towns in the county.* Ivinghoe also ranks as a market town, but the population is only 1,380. Hughenden has 1,803 inhabitants, but half of that place was previously included in the limits of the Borough and Hundreds. Linslade, which adjoins Leighton Buzzard, has a population of 1,724; Wing 1,636; and Waddesdon, with its hamlets of Westcot and Woodham, reaches 1,651. Creslow and Grove are noted for their diminutive numbers, the population of the former being 10 and the latter 17. The other villages vary from 300 to 600.

The population of the Borough and Hundreds, according to the census of 1881, was	28,907
Additions to the Constituency under the Redistribution Act	27,013
Population of New Constituency	55,920

The additional population is not so large as that of the old Constituency, but the voting power will probably be doubled, reaching very near 10,000 voters.

THE MANORS OF AYLESBURY.

In July, 1884, the Manors of Aylesbury-with-Bierton, the Rectory Manor of Aylesbury, and that of Broughton Stavely, otherwise Broughton Holland, were disposed of by auction under the will of Acton Tindal, Esq., deceased, the late Lord. These Manors passed into the hands of John Parker, Esq., of Hill Side, High Wycombe, F.S.A., who is now Lord.

The Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885 deprived the Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury of his last vestige of authority in public matters. From time immemorial the management of the elections for the Borough, and subsequently the Borough and Hundreds of Aylesbury, has been vested in the Lords of the Manor or their representatives appointed by them in their Court, as returning officers. The usual number of such officers was four; the now holders of that office will doubtless be the last executive of a very ancient and important duty connected with Parliamentary elections at Aylesbury. The last elected were Messrs. George Lepper, Edward Terry, John Locke, and James Gurney. The office has always been considered a sinecure, but it was not free from responsibilities. The case of Ashby v. White, in 1701, involved the returning officers in great trouble and probably large expense; it is given in detail in a former chapter. In the year 1835 the returning officers were again involved in dispute and loss. The Reform Act of 1832 had in view the lessening the expenses of elections, and certain costs

* The Metropolitan Railway Company have very recently obtained powers to carry a branch to Chesham in connection with their proposed Aylesbury and Rickmansworth Railway; also to form a deviation, so as to bring the already authorised line much nearer Amersham than was originally contemplated. The Chesham line however is to be a distinct undertaking.

only were allowed returning officers in making preparation for taking the poll at contests. At an election in which Mr. Thomas B. Hobhouse was a defeated candidate the officers sent him a large claim as his share of the cost of erecting hustings and performing other duties. Mr. Hobhouse tendered the officers £30, being, as he asserted, £1 in excess of the legal claim upon him. This tender was absolutely refused. An action was commenced, and preparations were made to defend it. Before, however, coming to trial, the officers, by advice, accepted the £30, and nothing more was heard of the case. Under the new Act the conduct of elections passes into the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of the County for the time being. Aylesbury, as a Parliamentary Borough, no longer exists; the Returning Officers are relieved of their duty, probably without regret; and the name of "Borough and Hundreds" is superseded by that of "Mid Bucks, or the Aylesbury Division of the County of Bucks."

FINIS.

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise:
So generations in their course decay;
So flourish these, when those are passed away."

Pope.

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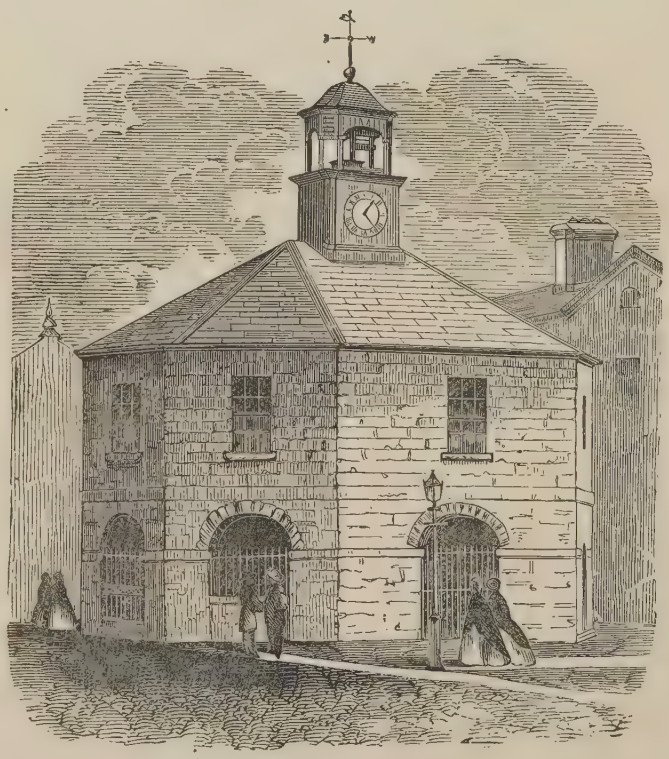

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